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FRASER'S MAGAZINE

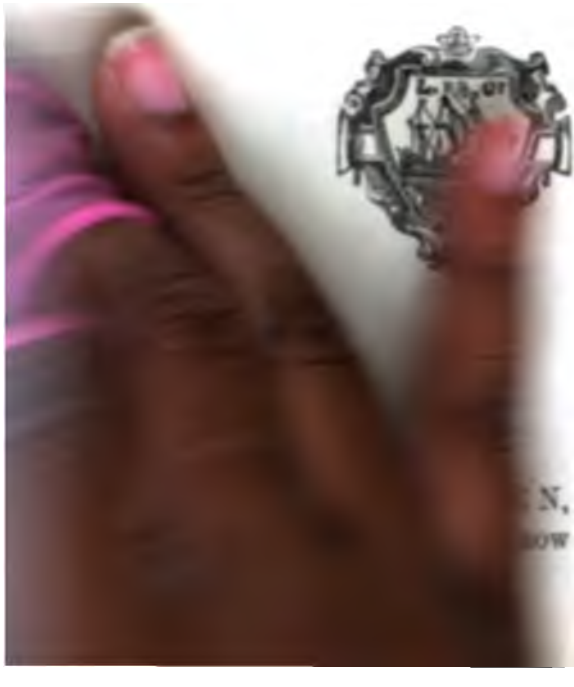
EDITED BY

University of MICHIGAN

JAMES ANTHONY FROUDE, M.A.

NEW SERIES. VOL. III.

JANUARY TO JUNE 1871



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JANUARY 1871.

ON THE CAUSES OF THE CRIMEAN WAR.

By F. W. Newman.

THE present behaviour of Russia in announcing that she does not intend to keep the solemn engagements made by her in 1856 in order to obtain a peace that delivered her from intolerable suffering and threatening dangers has naturally excited great disquietude. At the same time it has given currency to very erroneous representations of the causes of our war with Russia, by which those who have come to manhood since it was fought are likely to be deceived. A survey of those events seems therefore to be not untimely.

The rise of Russia to the rank of a Power previously great and formidable to Europe was brought about by her absorption of Poland. The dominion of the Polish monarchy reached to the mouth of the Dnieper on the Black Sea, and to the head of Livonia on the Baltic. Its eastern boundary went even beyond the Dnieper, including the Palatinates of Witepsk and Mogilev, passing Smolensko the Russian frontier. The Eastern league afterwards known as 'the Holy Alliance' was really made when Russia, Prussia, and Austria combined to appropriate Polish territory. The theatre of war was too distant for Western Europe to reach. France was sinking towards decrepitude, England was quarrelling with her American colonies

Presently France fell into a terrible revolution, and England was preoccupied by watching her agonies. Spain was effete, and Italy priest-ridden. Russia therefore was enabled to carry out her daring game, and take to herself the chief spoil, while bribing Austria and Prussia by portions large enough to implicate them in the common crime. The French Revolution induced the war of Europe against France. Germany had begun it, England had applauded it; but it soon appeared that French enthusiasm and the genius of Bonaparte were too much for them. The allies were glad to call in the aid of Russia; and only by her aid, and after the French retreat from Moscow, were they able at last to confine French ambition to its own soil. Of course that was no time for us to complain of Russian encroachment: moreover, Alexander I. was an amiable man, who professed constitutional doctrines and Evangelical religion. Nevertheless on the fall of Napoleon a severe shock was at once given by Russia to the feelings of her allies. She had been allowed or requested during the war to occupy Finland and the duchy of Warsaw for military convenience. At its close she refused to go out; and without a new war, to expel her was impossible. At such bad faith well might statesmen be-

annulled: yet it was agreed to let her keep Finland, and to 'compensate' Sweden by giving Norway to her at the expense of Denmark, who (as having been an ally of France) might deservedly be plundered. But to extend the duchy of Warsaw to Russia was very offensive to Austria and Prussia, and a war against Russia was actually impending in 1815, when Napoleon broke loose from Elba. Hereupon the Treaties (the secret correspondence between the allies against Russia) were sent copies of to the Emperor Alexander, saying in effect, 'See what your ally was projecting!' Be rather my ally, and I will consent to your keeping Warsaw.' But Alexander preferred another policy. He wished to have the glory of Napoleon, as if to ascend which alone they desired to have him. Thus pressed, they were forced to purchase him by acquiescing in his demands. It was a terrible warning to the two weaker members of the Holy Alliance of what stuff their mighty leader was made.

The Holy Alliance proceeded to set up constitutional governments in the two states in which it had been established by Bonaparte—Piedmont and Naples in Italy, and in Spain. Naples, by secret treaty with Austria, gladly undertook the first; the Holy Alliance sent French armies to execute the second. Lord Castlereagh's rival, Mr Canning, becoming Foreign Minister of England, separated us entirely from all sympathy in the dealings of the Holy Alliance, and protested in vain at Verona, by the mouth of the Duke of Wellington. The Greek insurrection against Turkey found sympathy in all Christian hearts. When it had lasted into a seventh year, and had become a general nuisance by the piracy which grew out of anarchy, Mr Canning brought about the Treaty of London (1827), which undertook to terminate it, not in the interest of Greece, but in the interests of Europe. The four powers England, France, Austria, and Russia were called mediators, and professed no hostility to Turkey. Exactly at that moment the Sultan, chiefly by the energy of the Pasha of Egypt, had got together a powerful fleet, which apparently was competent to recover the dominion of Greece. But the allies (chiefly English) sailed into the Bay of Navarino, where the Egyptian fleet was lying. No one knows who fired the first shot—possibly the Turks, conceiving themselves to be assailed—and a general engagement followed, in which the Turkish fleet was destroyed. Russia was one of the *mediators*. The Emperor Nicholas had succeeded his brother Alexander in 1825, and no sooner had we destroyed the Egyptian fleet than he forthwith declared war upon the Sultan. The fighting on the Danube was very severe; Varna on the Black Sea was not taken without the gold of Pasha yet, after two years of war, the Russians crossed the Balkan and forced the Sultan to sign the Peace of Adrianople. By this peace he conceded that the Sultan was virtually his subject-ally, in the same sense that an Indian prince is subject to England as the paramount Power. Lord Aberdeen regarded the terms of peace as so destructive to Turkish independence that he made a most vehement protest, which remained *secret* until he himself published it during the Crimean war.

In consequence of the humiliation to the Sultan (1829), his own Pasha despised him. The powerful and distant Pasha of Bagdad withheld his tribute, and in 1831 the Pasha of Aleppo was ordered to subdue him. A terrible plague in Bagdad and an inundation of the Tigris thoroughly disabled the revolting Pasha before his rival appeared. But a far worse disaster followed in the insurrection of the

Pasha of Egypt, who by his own
[illegible] Syria and
[illegible] years warfare might
[illegible] empire to two
[illegible] Russia, West
[illegible] Turkish
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well at orders from St Petersburgh, in the cause of *humanity* only, namely, to save the Transylvanians from the atrocities of the Hungarian General Bem. The atrocities were a fiction, and no one believed that the Russian general acted without orders. General Bem drove out the Russian troops, inflicting on them terrible loss, but we never heard of any report from St Petersburgh made officially by the Russian commander.

Let us turn to the progress reaching Russia for the peace of the West. When it appeared that no strong resistance was to be expected, we knew that she could safely contain Western nations between the Austrian armies and her strong, entrenched frontiers. Hungary, thwarted from Hungary, disaster after disaster thrown, Russia came cautiously to the rescue, pouring in 120,000 men as the great attempt.

As it appeared that no State in Europe would acknowledge Hungary as independent, even after she had conquered Austria in a campaign transparently easy, the Hungarian general Görgey despaired of his country, placed the traitor, and forced a surrender of his whole army to the Russians, foreseeing that it was useless to resist Austria. The Russians treated the Hungarian generals with respect, and then turned over the wretched men they had gathered as a present to their employers, by whom they were hanged. It was for the restoration of Hungary that Kossuth fled to Turkey. At the same time Louis Batthyany, the Prime Minister of Hungary under the Austrian Crown, who against the advice of Kossuth had gone with a flag of truce to the Austrians, in hope of obtaining some concessions for his country, was executed, and his property confiscated by the Austrians, who now began to cut and shoot, to warn Hungary that revolt and independence, as opposed to the dynasty, would be met at once for the offence of counting national law more sacred than the caprice of a foreign cabinet; for such was the Austrian Cabinet to Hungary.

No event had moved England so profoundly since the peace of 1815. The overthrow of the Spanish constitution by French armies in 1823, at the meeting of the Congress of Verona, was a deed having some outward similarity; but the case of Hungary had great peculiarities. The liberties of Hungary were as old as those of England. Her position towards Austria was conservative, and her contest Englishmen felt to be legal. She demanded nothing but that the dynasty should keep treaties, execute the law, observe the coronation oath and the special personal contract which was said to exist, that the King should not usurp the powers of government but as he was legally invested with them. Also, the Diet claimed the observation of their laws, which had remained collected only in the private act of the Austrian Cabinet. It was believed that he had been deposed because he could not be constitutionally retained to preserve himself by making war upon Hungary, and that Francis Joseph, a youth of sixteen, was put on the throne because he was sure to do what his master the Archduchess Sophia bade him. The Hungarian Diet refused to see the contract by which Ferdinand was said to have abdicated, and declared that he had never ceased to be King. Every attempt was made to [illegible] that

However, the resistance of the Russians, they [illegible] against the Austrians in the name of their legal sovereign, Ferdinand of Hungary, legally deposed by an Austrian Cabinet. Moreover the war had been begun by the most religious party of that Cabinet. The King was in fact almost [illegible]. The Cabinet stirred up Jellachich, Ban

of Croatia, to make war upon Hungary, and also by secret agents to excite the Hungarian Serbs (a small but great-hearted people, whom they hated by reason of the Archduke Stephen's love of Hungary) to rise against the Hungarians. Meanwhile, while they hated by reason of the Archduke Stephen's love of Hungary) to rise against the Hungarians. Meanwhile, while they [illegible] the Archduke Stephen's love of Hungary) to rise against the Hungarians. Meanwhile, while they [illegible] by reason of

duty; for England and Holland had been *mediators of the Peace* between Austria and Hungary in 1710–12, which Austria had now perfidiously broken. Kossuth, as Governor of Hungary, called upon England in November 1848 *to renew our ancient friendship*. Had we done so, we might have shamed Austria into more decent behaviour, and prevented a calamitous war; or, at any rate, the moment we acknowledged her belligerence, the United States and Turkey would have done the same, Hungary would have been able to buy arms of Turkey (the only thing that she wanted); Görgey would never have been a traitor, and the Russian armies would have been defeated as ignominiously as those of Austria. Or rather, if Görgey had pursued the beaten Austrians, as Kossuth bade him, Austria would have been forced to make peace in Vienna before the Russians could enter Galicia. But Lord John Russell (then Prime Minister) was frightened, it must be believed, and Lord Palmerston took that axiom that 'a strong Austria was a European necessity;' which he so interpreted as if to make Austria a tenure of Hungary depended on Russian arms would keep up Austria as a bulwark against Russia. He therefore refused to receive Kossuth's envoy, giving as reply that 'he had no knowledge of Hungary but *as a province of Austria*.' Lord Palmerston was not yet initiated in history. Any one who asked for the *Imperial Decree of Hungary* (two volumes only) in the British Museum, might see that Leopold II., on succeeding his brother Joseph II. as Emperor of Germany and King of Hungary, restored to Joseph's lawless proceedings, and expressly declared that Hungary is a separate kingdom not subject (*nullatenus*) to any legislation whatsoever. He might see also that every king of Hungary, on his coronation, entered into personal treaty with the nation in order to receive his right to govern; moreover that England, as mediator, reconciled the two belligerents, Austria and Hungary, nearly a hundred years before the 'Austrian Empire' was heard of. But English statesmen are not above resorting to fiction when convenient.

Resentment sank deep into all England when two Emperors could thus conspire against the only remaining constitution on the Continent which was coeval with our own. The freedom and laws of Castile, Arragon, and Valencia, of Sicily and Naples, of various Italian cities, of Bohemia, and of Austria itself, had been suppressed by the perfidious usurpations of the Austrian ruling house; and now Russia, with unapproachable deserts of frost as her rearguard, was beginning the same career with far vaster resources. At her bidding the constitution of Spain was overthrown. All Italy was kept under local tyrants, because it pleased Austria to sustain them. Austria herself in turn, when her misrule and violence were all but brought to a natural end by the high-spirited nation whom she had cursed for three centuries, found a protector in the Czar. Nothing was too distant to escape him. 'His armies were ready to march into Italy, if necessary;' that is to say, he was a universal and deadly enemy of European freedom. The perfidy by which he kept Finland, the plausible pretences of a constitution by which he beguiled the Polish nobility of Warsaw in 1815 (a constitution which he tore up in 1819), the ferocity with which he persecuted the Polish nobles in 1831, sending them to labour in the Ural mines as slaves, for daring to take arms against the lawless tyranny of his brother Constantine, warned everyone that, unless resisted, he would leave no freedom on the European continent; and in that

causes, if England were isolated, we had little chance for our own interests.

In consequence, when Kossuth came to England in the autumn of 1851, and England refused him to be received, except in private, at the passage at Southampton, where he landed, he had a grand ovation; but previous to that was the grand triumphal entry of the Prince of the Turkish Empire, and the Queen of England, and received in state at the Guildhall, and the toast of the evening proposed by the Lord Mayor was that of the Sultan and Turkey. At Charing Cross he received an ovation, which would have been denied to the Queen. Manchester, Birmingham, Edinburgh, Glasgow, Liverpool, Newcastle, Nottingham, Sheffield, and many other towns, vied with each other in giving him a welcome, and presenting him addresses of sympathy and invitations to visit them; but Lord John Russell refused to receive him, and Lord Palmerston, in the name of the Government, declined to receive the deputations from the cities of Great Britain. Indeed, it was known that the Government would not receive Kossuth, the man, but that they would receive sympathy with the cause of Hungary—a principle on the representation of Austria, and Great Britain, at the intervention of Russia to overthrow nationalities.

We at this day can hardly trace events to their true understanding, the cause of our Crimean war. Russia had to fight Russia, because our statesmen [illegible] In 1849, the west of Europe was in a perpetual War and Revolution. England was in the midst of a struggle of foreign affairs that became manifest. It was not with a view to the success of Russia at the time of Hungary by the Ministry of Lord John Russell [illegible] *that* well to the constitutional cause, but they could act in harmony with the Prince Louis Napoleon, and therefore action did but betray the [illegible] In N[illegible] they well, yet they acted for A[illegible] But our nation was for fr[illegible] and the nation shall be [illegible] Britain must secure foreign [illegible] treaty must be in [illegible] to every cause [illegible] It is a dy[illegible] cause the nation will not [illegible] sacrifices for an unjust object [illegible] the cause of foreign fr[illegible] our Ministers, whatever their [illegible] wishes, do not choose [illegible] offend dynastic influences a[illegible] desires of the Court.

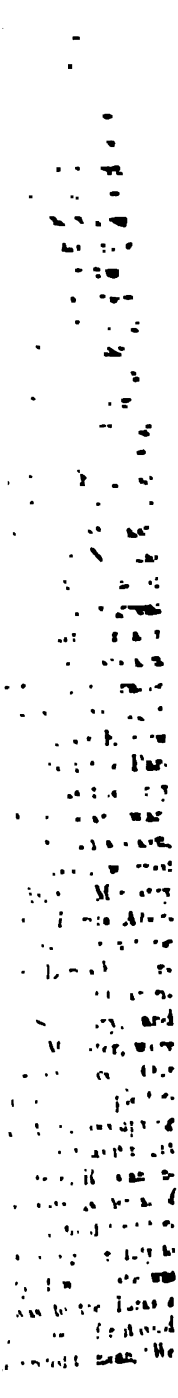
Scarcely had Kossuth quitted [illegible] shores of England, when [illegible] was hurried by Louis Napo[illegible] power to usurpation. Att[illegible] was for a while drawn off [illegible] Russia; it was believed that [illegible] peace would secure safety and [illegible] liberty by an alliance [illegible] of Eu[illegible] The Pope's overthrow was in[illegible] Joseph Hume [illegible] and [illegible] say [illegible] that might [illegible] Notes to [illegible] Our de[illegible] tax [illegible] were declared to [illegible] and six hundred th[illegible] peace were unanimously vo[illegible] [illegible] a fleet of [illegible] new steam [illegible] war [illegible] French [illegible] were the finest we ever built [illegible] they showed how [illegible] very [illegible] that [illegible] not [illegible] and [illegible] [illegible] with the [illegible] fleet to [illegible] up Russia [illegible] Baltic.

On May 14, 1851, Kossuth [illegible] Southampton in Britain, [illegible] an [illegible] exposition of [illegible] of Europe. In it he said, [illegible] the first Hungary, Russia [illegible] origin of all [illegible] and the first time Germany [illegible] master. And do you believe [illegible] Germany will bear [illegible] in the twentieth century which it never [illegible] bear [illegible]

age which it never bore in childhood? Soon after, and through, the fall of Hungary, the pride of Prussia was humiliated; Austrian garrisons occupied Hamburg; Schleswig-Holstein was abandoned; Hesse was chastised, and all that is dear to Germans purposely affronted. Their dreams of greatness, their longings for unity, their aspirations of liberty, were trampled in the dust; and ridicule was thrown upon all elevation of mind, upon all manifestation of patriotism. . . . Can you really believe that the moral feeling of such a people as the Germans, stamped in the existence of which it was a generous element, can be killed, or that it can bear for a long while such an outrage? . . . They brave the power of Rome and of Paris, which they agree to be governed by St Petersburg." Headed "It is my fear that this month or this year Russia will attack Turkey, and we shall not be entirely prepared; but though you do not give us material aid, still we (Hungarians) will arise when Turkey is attacked, because we cannot afford to lose her 400 deputies. The time draws near when you will see more the reason I have to hasten these preparations, that they may be complete whenever (most probably by a war between Russia and Turkey) we need to take time by the forelock."

Shortly after, speaking in Syracuse, in New York State, he yet more pointedly declared that Europe cannot remain free while Germany is under the pressure of Russia, and that Germany cannot shake off that pressure until Hungary is again free; and that the opportunity of Hungary will come with war between Turkey and Russia. Russia was sure not to throw away her opportunity. For this she had fought the Hungarian war, to make Austria her [illegible] and minister, and at that crisis the jealousy of England against the usurper Napoleon seemed to make an alliance of the two Powers impossible.

The Coalition Ministry of Lord Aberdeen and Lord John Russell seemed to give a new advantage to the Czar, who, immediately after his compliments on its definitive appointment, entered into secret conferences with our Ambassador, Sir Hamilton Seymour, with a view to sound our policy. This was not known to the English public for two years. But, meanwhile, his personal conference with the young Emperor of Austria was popularly interpreted as an invitation "to finish the port (Porte) together;" and the quarrels got up concerning the Eastern Church were understood by all except by the English Ministry, who thought it their duty not to understand. When at last, in July 1853, the Emperor Nicolas took the fatal plunge, and invaded Moldavia, there was naturally great excitement in England, and many bold words would have been spoken in Parliament but for the deplorable policy of the Ministers, who thought that dissimulation could keep Europe at peace. They entreated the Parliament to keep silence as the only way of avoiding European war; whereas, if Parliament had spoken, the Czar would have been warned of English feeling. In the Ministry opinion was divided. Lords Aberdeen and Clarendon spoke in a tone widely different from Lords Palmerston and John Russell; but Clarendon as Foreign Secretary, and Aberdeen as Prime Minister, were by far the superior influences. Our Ambassador at Constantinople forbade the Sultan from occupying Wallachia, and saving it, as it might have been saved, from Russian invasion. This monstrous denial of the right of Turkey to defend herself (while performing her duty to the Principality of which she was protectress) was to the Turks *the type of our alliance*; for it could only be interpreted to mean, "We



... Ambassadors After the ... termination of the ... what was called 'the ... with the Russian Minister ... by assuring that the Turks ... that was correct ... the Austrian and English M ... with Kossuth, meant to ... Russia and keep the peace ... secretly wrong the Turks ... playing at their Western ... were encouraging them. In ... private letter being pre... the Sultan so vehemently ... Palmerston to accept ... Russia had for nearly three ... been in hostile occupation of ... and when the Sultan ... war. It was remarked ... Czar had intended to act ... at Kalafat. He had ... England eight years before ... deposited the sacred docum... London. He had left secr... ference with Sir Hamilton Se... and received high compliment... Lord John Russell, and mu... ... in Lord Clarendon ... ... should ... Europe ... ... without any sign of ... ... or anything to ... that the exception of his pur... ... he received might call ... ... Emperor discerned the ... ... and ... Lord Clarendon ... tested, and composed ... it. For this devil Nesselro... a warm compliment to the ... Government, fully believing ... was playing into the Czar's ... since it had been so plainly ... of the Russian purposes. ... France was found lacking ... English interpretation of ... Vienna note, it seemed ... had won over France also ... pacific counsels, that is to ... the policy of schooling Tur... yield with it war. Of Aust... Czar was sure, and of Pru... had no fears. He had coun... the Cabinets, and knew them

was dismayed at the discovery that Austria could not be won into the foul disgrace of changing sides, and that we could get nothing out of her but neutrality, the English public was *not* dismayed, simply because they had never conceived the bright thought that Austria would dare to get into war with Russia while hated and despised by Hungary. In our worst distresses, when the heart of the Ministry fainted, the people remained firm, and their firmness at length triumphed. No word of murmuring was heard against the necessary war-taxes, though grief for precious lives was made deeper by a sense of the terrible mismanagement. But when our victory seemed to be won, there was great disappointment that so little was exacted of Russia. The nation wanted, while its hand was in, to take securities that it should be the last war with Russia, exactly as Germany now feels towards France.

To an *after*-war we had, and we have, an insuperable aversion. To enforce upon Russia the restoration of Poland seemed the only thing that could really bind her over to keep the peace: that our Government did nothing in this direction caused much dissatisfaction. It is more than possible that Prussia was here the great impediment. Old Lord Lyndhurst was not in the Ministry, and therefore he could more freely utter invective. His bitter assaults on Prussia (utterly needless and unwise as they were) perhaps detected his knowledge that Prussia would have sounded her arms to Russia if the Polish question had been touched. Without sure knowledge of secret facts, it would be rash to blame Lord Palmerston's Government for fully intending to introduce the question of Poland into the war when Napoleon proposed it: while, as a consequence, Napoleon, excited on making peace [illegible] showed much the same

in the English nation. It was universally felt that a promise from Russia was of no avail.

What could have been a milder imposition upon a beaten enemy? He had built a fleet and fortified a pirates' nest, for no other purpose than to terrify Constantinople. He had unjustly invaded the Turkish dominions; and he was punished by being required to keep no war fleet in the Black Sea, and to give up a strip of territory and the great fortress of Ismail, by aid of which he had infested the mouth of the Danube. He was not even required to pay to Turkey the expenses of her war, much less the expenses of the other allies. To the English people, for a little time, it seemed that we had fought a war with vast sacrifices, and been defrauded of its fruits by the incapacity or connivance of the Government.

Yet, after all, a great work was done, and the very work for which the war had been undertaken. Russia has been *repressed*: for full twelve years she had no practical voice in the councils of Europe; and in three years the consequences of this began to appear. First came the Franco-Italian War, which crippled Austria, made Italian freedom possible, liberated Milan, Parma, Piacenza, Modena, and Tuscany, and sent Austria to meditate what a thing it was to have Hungarians and Croats discontented. Next year came the actual union of the remainder of Italy and Sicily under the Sardinian Crown, except Rome and Venice. The example was kindling to Germany, and Prussia felt able to set without thought of Russia. The Prusso-Austrian war made German unity possible, restored Venice to Italy, and forced Austria to reconcile herself to Hungary. Now therefore the whole aspect of Eastern affairs [illegible] is changed. In 1853 we saw a weak Germany, a disunited Italy, a crippled Austria, a dominant [illegible] Em-

gary, and the Danubian Principalities in a sort of anarchy. Now we have a powerful Germany, a Hungary loyal to Austria, and the Principalities united under a Prussian Prince. Even if Russia become mistress of Constantinople, her position there will not enable her to give law to Europe, which undoubtedly was to be feared twenty years ago. One advantage of her recent scandalous and pernicious renunciation of a treaty signed to get rid of the intolerable oppression of war, is, that it will assuredly reconcile Hungary to the German nation, and compress the whole Danubian power into close political sympathy with the Teutonic race; probably into an alliance, offensive and defensive. If this be the result, Europe will have nothing to fear from Russia. On the other hand, Russia herself has made European war against her utterly absurd, if victory in the war is to stop short of dismembering her. For suppose that after vast sacrifices we lay her prostrate: what are we then to do? To take a promise from her again? But that would be mere infatuation. Nothing is to the purpose but to take away from her permanently the coast of the Black Sea; which, if we were ever so victorious, would be to England physically impossible. If we could re-establish a great Poland, and restore the Crimea to Turkey, our immediate problem might be solved; but only the joint force of Austria and Germany, with Turkey and perhaps other allies, could possibly succeed in schemes so vast—schemes which would in any case be lavish of blood and treasure beyond all wars yet known, and would, after all, be of very uncertain benefit, if successful. Those Powers which are nearest to the Russian frontier must now take the initiative against Russian lawlessness. If the rulers of England try to play any but an avowedly secondary part, it is certain that the nation will refuse to make sacrifices where success itself would be barren.

THE INDIAN DEFICIT.

IN 1900 A.D. the English nation was surprised by the arrival of certain Lunars in flying machines of inconceivable complexity. These Lunars were of heroic stature and strength, and possessed of arts and secrets of nature beyond the comprehension of the Mundanes. At first these Lunars applied themselves to trade, and were received with open arms by the Mundanes, for they brought machines and manufactures far superior to all that had ever been seen on the earth. Soon, however, they began to exhibit an arrogant and aggrandising temper; they employed great violence whenever it was considered by the Mundanes trivial, they constructed strongholds in the country planted with a cunning and destroyed by such an artillery that no Mundane engineer could hope ever to reduce them, and the poor English began to view their semi-divine visitors with great distrust.

Having established themselves in these strongholds, the Lunars next commenced to develop their trade and political economy entirely opposed to all Mundane ideas; and when these views were not succumbed to at once, they broke themselves without delay to coercion. The state of things soon produced local wars round the Lunar strongholds. At first, owing to their very small numbers, the English perceived hopes of getting rid of them altogether. But in addition to their superior personal strength, ferocious courage, and skill in arts of war, the Lunars possessed the power of drawing upon their Lunar reserves, which were found to be far larger than had been imagined. These local wars did little more than awaken the Lunars to a full consciousness of their own invincible strength. They could take what they liked; but at first they only took the political administration of provinces adjoining their several strongholds. These disastrous wars destroyed the integrity of the British nation, which split up into fragments; the Viceroy of Ireland making himself permanent in Ireland, and many great earls holding their counties and successfully preventing any nominal chancellor of the exchequer levying any taxes within their earldoms. National feeling and patriotism became finally dead, and the Lunars were able to hire mercenary English troops who could be trusted to fight against their own countrymen for those that paid them, officered them, and superbly equipped them.

But there was no pause in the march of events when matters had reached this pass. The Lunars had always displayed an intense love of gain, and now found that the political administration of the country was a profitable speculation. One war followed another, one great noble after another was crushed: it became apparent to the English people that all contention against the new comers was hopeless, and the whole nation and country lay absolutely at the feet of the Lunars.

Then, however, the Lunars began to display an irresolution quite inexplicable: they coyly refused to enter upon possession of all they had won; they took up various nobles whom they had defeated, and placed them in possession of districts. No single principle could be traced in these Lunar proceedings: they appeared to act by a proud caprice, they professed great respect for abstract justice and generosity towards their enemies, but the English people now understood the Lunars better, and they felt assured that a secret cowardice was the main spring of this exhibition of

Lunar imbecility, though they could not for the life of them imagine what the Lunars were afraid of.

Many of the Lunar arrangements were indeed beyond the fathoming of any earthly intellect. The Lunars held theoretically that revenue from land constituted the State property, and that revenue from excise and customs must necessarily be private property. The poor English had no way of approaching their Lunar masters but by entreaty and explanation. So entirely persuaded, however, were the Lunars that everything Lunar was right, and that every social arrangement that was established in the Moon must exist also in all other planets, that no amount of explanation would persuade them that the excise and customs had been really public property. On the contrary, the Lunars rewarded great court to the nobles and others who during the troubles of the country had resisted the national Chancellor of the Exchequer, and believed readily their tale that the excise and customs were their own private property.

The Lunars carried this view out to the extreme upsetting of society. They gave the Viceroy of Ireland the two provinces of Leinster and Ulster as his private property, together with all excise and customs duties that could be levied there, subject to a fixed charge only, to maintain a certain Lunar army of 8,000 men. Leinster and Ulster were divided in the same way among certain of Lord Clive's followers to whom fiefs were granted to their ancestors by Norman kings. The whole Church property was given to the Crown tax free, on the strength of a clause of the date of Henry II. Nearly the Irish Queen, but some of Mr. Gladstone's friends, who were given State pensions, and charged on excise and customs. The Lunars were tender of the interests of the whole country with little more than half the public revenue arising from the whole country. In order to make both ends meet they at once, according to their Lunar principles, laid a scourging tax on all lands in the area of their own direct administration, and they also introduced a great variety of other taxes which they said were approved in the Moon. The people groaned under the enormous variety of taxation, the novelty of which increased its oppressiveness; but many of the great nobles and the Viceroy of Ireland were able to indulge in the most lavish expenditure. In the hopelessness of despair they lost all patriotism, and vied with each other in entertaining and fawning on the Lunars, who on their side appeared peculiarly gratified by these demonstrations, and were never tired of boasting of their liberal treatment of the fine country that had fallen into their hands, and of their generosity to their vassals. Indeed the Lunars exhibited an extraordinary vanity and pleasure in seeing their vassals ape independence, and allowed them to maintain armies at their discretion. Many of these vassals were glad to avail themselves of this privilege, for they could not except by force levy their revenues in many cases.

Thus the Viceroy of North Ireland kept a private Saxon army of [illegible], with which he repressed Fenianism; in Dublin was another subsidiary army of 8,000, officered by Lunars; and as there might be a doubt whether on an emergency this subsidiary army could be depended upon, a strong Lunar brigade was also stationed at Dublin. Still the Lunar generals were not satisfied, and they pressed on the Lunar governor-general that such a mass of inflammable material in North Ireland was a source of danger, and that it was advisable always to maintain a Lunar force in South Ireland of such strength that at any time it could

if necessary instantly march in and account for all the Viceroy's troops.

Exactly a similar state of things arose on a smaller scale with reference to various earls in England who kept armies; and at last there was hardly a single petty earl maintained troops but that the Lunar commander-in-chief insisted on setting up a military station on Lunar territory just at the front door of his residence, to keep him in check.

The Lunar government became thus saddled with the expense of an enormous army, and in addition the pay given to Lunar civil officers was so high as to make the expense of the administration excessive. Nevertheless for many years, owing to the wealth of the country and the ease of the taxation, the government was contrived to be carried on without getting heavily into debt. But when the Lunar territory the system of taxation entirely destroyed the English upper classes: the taxation appeared strong in only one or two very large items, pensions and petty sinecures: there seemed to be a great outcry of want of employment in a country where before the Lunars came no such want had ever been heard of, and although politicians in many ways in many cases showed the trade which they were paying expenses. Every petty Lunar politician felt that the earls with the Lunar power maintained, and were a government was formed entirely by petty and Lunar extortioners.

[illegible] from time to time an earl would [illegible] to [illegible] the [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

deprive yourselves of half the innocent pleasure to be derived from their company. The question has nothing to do with female modesty, for you will observe our ladies are models to yours in point on your own waterproof earth, while many of your companies covered up women have very wrong ideas, there are other creatures of the earth whom you regard as little better than savages who sit at our feet, and whom we have at last succeeded in saving." To all this the Martians, whose spirit was quite broken, would humbly say, "You Lunars are far superior to us; we hope to grow to degrees to be your equals, but we cannot overcome all our prejudices at once. For many hundreds of years our ladies have been accustomed to be dressed, and we cannot give up the custom all at once." The Lunars retorted, "This practice of covering up your ladies is not really a natural practice, for there is every proof that before you were enslaved by the Romans you followed the natural custom." And the Lunars cited the modern English custom as a strange illustration of a theory to Lunar theory, viz. that Martians were overworked, and were degraded from their true position. So earnest were the Lunars in the moral improvement of Martians with whom they were at last brought into contact, and so anxious were Lunar philanthropists to see the way from the Moon to Mars, and to teach in their own Martian Lunar great [illegible] to the [illegible] which [illegible] Lunar [illegible] and [illegible] Lunar [illegible] from the Moon to [illegible] and [illegible] Lunar [illegible] to [illegible] Lunarised [illegible] yet [illegible] their

own girls to such schools, at least after they ceased to be infants. The position of these Lunarised Englishmen was indeed very pitiful; their self-respect was destroyed, and complete subservience to their masters became their most prominent characteristic.

The Lunar Government next, in pursuance of their theory that everything Lunar ought to be introduced below, started an extraordinary Department called the Public Works Department. The Lunar Government, by analogy from the Moon, undertook all kinds of duties which no native English Government had ever thought it necessary to undertake, but in the grand Department they followed no Lunar example. It was invented specially because the Government wished to undertake the drilling of the Mundanes in Lunar Arts and Sciences. This Department was designed to execute all works of every description according to Lunar models. These were found very expensive to carry out on earth, and very few of them were found to give a profitable return. England being now short of capital, the capital for many of these great public works was advanced from the Moon, none of it was given, it was advanced on loan, and the English nation was soon paying several [illegible] per annum to the Lunar capitalists. But many of the Lunar public [illegible] did not trouble themselves whether a profit could be made out of the country or not.

However, the vast [illegible] Lunar Department [illegible] Lunar Government [illegible] had been [illegible] private [illegible] was [illegible] Public Works [illegible] the [illegible] Lunar [illegible]

The Lunar Senate discussed this difficulty, and the orators mainly took two views, of which it was difficult to say which astonished the Mundanes most.

One party said the deficit was not owing to the income being less than the expenditure, but was entirely due to the bad adding up performed by the Finance Minister, and that the deficit was his fault, and not that of the Government who spent the money.

Another party held there was no real deficit, because the Public Works expenditure ought to be charged against capital. This party proposed that the Moon should advance on loan whatever the Public Works Department chose to spend, for, as it was to be spent on Lunar principles, the expenditure was sure to prove remunerative in the end.

The Governor-General in England, however, did not see so clearly that all the expenditure of the Public Works Department could be assumed to be remunerative: he saw, moreover, that an indefinite increase in the capital advanced from the Moon must ultimately strangle the country. But as the Lunar Senate was determined, on the one hand, on the maintenance at Lucknow of cavalry regiments to keep private armies for their amusement or for worse purposes; and as the Lunar Senate was determined, on the other hand, to extend to the Punjaub Public Works for Lunar principles, the Governor-General in Council had but one resource, viz. to increase [illegible] taxation.

I have probably thrown little light by the foregoing remarks, but I think it may be helpful to any of the readers of this Review who may not clearly understand the Lunar basis of the Hindu Deficit to point out that what appears to us in the form of a Deficit appears to the Hindu Treasury as a Surplus. The Surplus, as it may appear, is, like everything else, not enough to create the English man to realise Hindu feeling regarding our social arrangements.

In the feudal times the whole revenue of the State, with the persons of its subjects, was supposed to be the private property of the monarch, and as completely at his disposal as the private income of an individual. This view of the Divine Right of Kings was in England replaced by the modern view, which has ultimately reached the length of regarding the monarch as the First Public Servant of the State, drawing a fixed salary (the Civil List), and, like other servants, only to be maintained in his post so long as he earns his pay. This is not the view in Liberal England only, but it will be recollected that, after the disasters of the Seven Weeks' War in bureaucratic Austria, the Emperor himself voluntarily carried out extensive reductions in the Civil List. This distinction of a Civil List from the State Revenue constitutes the difference between a tyranny and a constitutional monarchy.

In the Hindu period in India it does not appear that any setting apart of a Civil List existed; but public opinion operated on the monarch with great force to cause him to spend a large portion of his revenues on public works (tanks and irrigation works which we can hardly rival with our Ganges Canal) and in feeding Brahmins. This feeding of Brahmins was performed not from principle, but from superstition, and may fairly be regarded as public grants to science, education, and learning.

It is not necessary to enquire much further into the Mahometan period. The Mussulmans were very barbarous foreign conquerors in their treatment of their Hindu subjects; they had hardly any reverence, and no love at all, for anything against the practice of which to set the feelings of any Government on the Mahometan model.

It appears to lay at the foot of the Englishman at the close of the

Mahratta and Pindarree wars. The Marquis Wellesley saw clearly that in order to carry out our duty to the people of India, if we attempted to govern them at all, we required the revenues of the country. Unfortunately, the English Home Government had an idea that generosity to the conquered meant generosity to conquered princes, and compelled the Marquis Wellesley, sorely against his judgment, to establish on a large scale the institution of subsidiary princes, which has since been so frequently imitated with less excuse. In finding individuals to play the part of subsidiary princes, a member of some governing family was selected if possible. In general, however, a prince who was willing to the possible interpretation of the laws of succession among subsidiary princes to a crown, and in some cases (notably in the recent Kashmir case), in default of any native candidate, a subsidiary prince was set up who was as much a foreigner as the King of Greece or the Emperor Maximilian.

These subsidiary princes were put in possession of large territories, and in a totally different position from any preceding Hindoo or Mussulman princes. Provided they were faithful to the English and especially provided they did not intrigue with the French, they were guaranteed absolutely by treaty in the possessions held by the irresistible power of the British Government. They were not called further to pay a penny to the Imperial Treasury, or to maintain a subsidiary force employed by English officers, but subject to these conditions they were guaranteed possession, within their own territories. They were set up as guarantees against the encroachments of their neighbours. The revenues of their territories were handed to them penniless. And it was laid down at once that every one of these princes, besides maintaining a private army, have applied the whole balance of their State revenues to their own private luxuries and extravagance.

Now two great evils arise under this system which never arose in the worst Mussulman times. First, we have deprived the people of the ultimate right of peoples, viz. the right of rebellion. The might of the English is so irresistible, that no attempt by rebellion to upset one of these subsidiary princes can be attempted, however gross their oppression or unpopularity. They have consequently reigned with a recklessness, and yet with a permanence, unknown in former times, when a prince was always kept in check by the reflection that if he goaded his subjects beyond a certain point a rival to the throne might appear. In one or two cases the misgovernment of the subsidiary prince has reached such a horrible flagrancy (as in the case of Oude) that the English Government has been compelled to interfere. But in general a subsidiary prince is allowed to collect revenue with troops, or to set up a Government monopoly of all the rice in the country, and thus squeeze the last rupee from the people, without action on the part of the Imperial Government. What that Government feels is of course that if they interfere at all they must interfere everywhere for once and aye. No native prince carries on his administration according to our ideas of duty, and if we are to interfere when we disapprove, the very ideal would be an impossible one, and the whole theory of subsidiary government upset. The line is one that cannot be drawn, and the Imperial Government will not pretend to draw it.

The second great evil of that has arisen under our subsidiary system is that the spendthrift native princes is able to borrow on the security of the State revenues, and almost invariably does borrow, and applies the money to the privy ——

Under former misgovernment, the misgoverning prince's head sat so lightly on his shoulders that he could not anticipate the State revenue by a rupee, but when revenue is guaranteed by the British Government, not only native but English capitalists have been found ready to advance money, and on a large scale. Amongst the chief troubles that the English Government has had with these subsidiary princes has been to remove them from the state of affairs indebtedness into which they fall; and of course the knowledge that the Imperial Government is pledged in this way, and may interfere again, induces the creditor to prefer increased facilities of acquiring ready money to the subsidiary princes.

But by far the most extraordinary feature with regard to these subsidiary princes is that they are permitted to keep hordes of turbulent private troops besides the subsidiary force. The existence of such armies as Scindia's and the Nizam keep in the excuse (and not altogether without reality) for keeping our standing mutinous army. These private armies of Scindia and the Nizam are horse, foot, and artillery, and respectively 40,000 and 20,000 strong, all other Eastern armies being weak in cavalry. Now we know what a British brigade with its horse artillery could do against ten times its number of the whites of the armies. Now why do the rulers keep these armies? First, to overawe the chiefs of the principality. Secondly, to collect revenue and tyrannize at pleasure over their subjects. Thirdly, to overawe the chiefs of the neighbouring principalities. Fourthly, to overawe the English Government itself. Fifthly, to act as a check on the subsidiary force. Sixthly, to protect the prince from foreign or other States; their territories are surrounded by British ground on every side: ought any one of these reasons for keeping private armies to be listened to by the English Government for one moment? Take the two best modern analogous cases of subsidiary princes. When Saxony was made subsidiary to Prussia, did not Prussia insist that instead of a private army Saxony should be garrisoned by a division of the regular Prussian army? And did not all Europe, though sympathising with the King of Saxony, see that the Prussian demand was really necessitated by the circumstances of the case? In the still stronger case when the Sultan objected to the Viceroy of Egypt increasing his armaments, did not the Powers admit the reasonableness of the Sultan's view? This is an extreme case, considering the vital interests of the Thread that binds Egypt to the Turkish Empire.

All this is self-evident; and our Indian statesmen see it clearly enough, the difficulty they feel lies in the treaties which we entered into with our subsidiary princes when we set them up. These treaties generally guarantee the subsidiary prince in undisturbed life, and uncontrolled liberty within his own territory, provided he keeps the conditions of the treaty, payment of subsidy, &c. All Indian statesmen feel keenly the immorality of exhibiting the spectacle of faithless dealings with these subsidiary sacrifices, though in passing it may be said that a great deal of this sacrifice is in vain, for the natives do not give us credit for any sentiment but of warfare when they see us give up annexations; and, moreover, very often when we act, according to our own notions, with the most scrupulous uprightness, our action appears according to the native standard as dishonest as any other European power's.

But let us look a little closer at

this treaty question. I put a man in possession of a house belonging to me, and next door to my own. I covenant with him to grant possession of the house on the payment of rent. He does pay the rent, but he is several hundred weight of gunpowder in his debt. Would the conduct of Prussia in declaring war against Austria that Austria was increasing her army? And is it not clear that no independent state, one of the best and most obvious causes for war, that other states are keeping great standing armies to aid its designs? How much more, then, may not a supreme state insist on the reduction of the private army of a subsidiary prince? There is no person that Sovereign possessing employs his army against except against his own subjects or the Imperial Government. Surely this fact is a sufficient reason in itself that there should be no such army. It may be urged that some of these treaties directly make provision to the extraordinary price to keep a private army. But without that the consenting to the existence of the power of the Native Government is very grave. But if all these arguments are against the existence, I would remind that it is chiefly an immediate danger and war against the existing power. What we have our hands full now, and have done at present, but not a drop of blood may be spilt and did the armies of Napoleon.

I have come to a close of the question which has been prepared to consult the Government, but which has been written at a time when many facts were not, and the question. What is now and what is to be done? I have confined the principal attention of the arguments to that part which is of the greatest and most immediate importance, namely, the measures to be taken in the present crisis.

Not only in India, but the greater part of Southern Asia, the revenue of the State was anciently derived almost wholly from land. The ideal was that the Government was to take a little more than half the Rack-rent of the land, and leave the remainder to the people. This was the principle of Bird's celebrated North-West settlement. Other principles crept in, more or less, but the Rack-rent, but that limit, of course, no other principle.

Modern political economists are pretty well agreed that land is the best form of national taxation. Ricardo has demonstrated that a Government land tax, such as ours, is no tax on the labourer, on the farmer, or on the landlord; neither does it raise the price of provisions. It only operates in this way that instead of the whole Rack-rent being spent in maintenance of landlords, one half is spent in maintaining the landlord, another half in providing State revenue. In another case the whole Rack-rent would be required in necessaries of life consumed within the year, but the important point to the country is, whether it is spent productively or unproductively. We may suppose that the Landlords spend the main portion of their incomes in brown sahibs at home, in maintaining retainers, in pageants, in horse-racing and equipage, in personal luxury and extravagance, while the Government spends a large portion of its revenue in railways, irrigation, education, &c. Or we may suppose that the landlords spend a large part of their incomes in improving their estates or invest it in productive speculations, while the Government spends a large part on [illegible] and the comparatively trifling sum which the landlords actually pay, then the latter part is that and when that which is the lowest grade, and [illegible]

Whatever argument may be held on this question of fact in Europe, there can be no dispute, looking at the habits of landlords, that the best of all taxes in India is the land-tax. It is an almost inconceivable thing that the public mind in England should be so trammelled by local circumstances as ever to have held that land-tax was not revenue, but the private property of landlords. Merely because the land-tax in India was, say, 12*s.* in the pound originally, instead of 4*s.*, as the English land-tax originally, it was believed that it was of a radically different nature. This extraordinary delusion has led to strange dealings on the part of the Imperial Government with its own subjects, but to still more outrageous public policy in dealing with subsidiary princes. The favourite English view, to this hour, is that because the revenues of subsidiary princes are mainly derived from land, therefore they are private property, and that any interference of the Imperial Government in the disposal of this revenue is really like a confiscation by Parliament of the rents of the Duke of Athol. It is argued that the revenue of the Nizam is the rent of his private estate, and as there is a series of princes in India by degrees smaller and smaller, until we have many rajahs poorer and more insignificant than the larger landlords, it is declared that rent is revenue in India, and revenue is rent, that no line can be drawn, and the subject is involved in inextricable confusion.

One delightful corollary to this character is the doctrine of adoption. If the Hindu subsidiary prince's revenue is private property, then the prince must have the same right of disposing of it as a private landlord has of his estate. This doctrine has, at last, the universal acclamation of the Liberal party in England, been carried in a recent case. Where are the principles of the Liberal party? How is it they see the prince and not the people? Do they really hold still the Divine right of princes, and that their principality is their absolute private property? If not, let them go right-about with their votes and influence at once.

The most monstrous example of the application of this doctrine (though not at present a very injurious one) is the case of the splendid province of Mysore. The subsidiary prince is a minor, and during his minority, which will last many years yet, Mysore is administered directly on his behalf by British officers; but it is actually administered on the same principle that the landed estate of a ward of Court is managed. It is worked as economically as possible, and the whole surplus revenue is set aside to accumulate as the private fortune of the young prince. Practically, as remarked above, the result is rendered endurable, because the British officers in charge do expend a much larger sum annually than any native rajah would for the benefit of the people of the country. What can be clearer than that in this case the prince should be given a reasonable Civil List, and that the balance of the revenue belongs to the people of Mysore, and should be spent in irrigation, tanks, roads, railways, education, &c.? Is there any country in Europe (even under the most absolute government) where the balance of the revenue is the private property of the prince?

But, it will be replied, you are begging the question that it is revenue; and though in these large provinces it certainly does look a little like public revenue, how can you draw a line between revenue and rent?

I have a simple test to settle this much debated difficulty. Wherever the receiver of rents has assumed the title of a prince, exercised sovereign rights, kept troops, or undertaken the administration of public justice, I shall hold that as he

had taken the dignity, so had he taken on himself the responsibilities of a prince, and that the proceeds he received from land were public revenue, from which he had a reasonable claim for a Civil List. I need hardly say that while the Imperial Government asserted this principle strongly and clearly, they need not push it harshly, especially against the smaller rivals; the smaller a principality the larger would be the percentage of the revenue applicable to the Civil List.

Closely connected with this question of rent, or revenue, is that of pensions. Nothing appears to have gratified the vanity of the great John Company more than the giving pensions to princes, and the English Government, at the present time, receives with extraordinary favour the applications of all princes for pension or territory. The indignation at this in India is burning hot: the English Government does not appear to see that what they give a pensioner is not their own to give, but the worst tax that presses on the people of India. Indians have no particular objection to the English Government pensioning deposed princes to any extent out of the Home Treasury, but owing to the laxness surrounding the question of rent, or revenue, all the pensions given to most ousted princes have been excessive in amount, even when those annexed have been suggested in India.

The King of Oude proved an infamous pensioner, and for his gross malversation of office was finally dismissed the Government service. He was entitled, at most, to a compassionate allowance, certainly not to a pension of his salary as Civil List on the revenues of Oude. Indeed, instead of a moral claim, that of the most atrocious sovereign in Europe, to private interest in the revenues of Oude might have amounted at most to 25,000*l.* a year, and even a year would have been a compassionate allowance of questionable morality. Government awarded him 120,000*l.* per annum, being more than fourfold the salary of the Governor-General. Such a sum could only have been given on the hypothesis that the whole revenues of Oude were his private property, subject to the expenses of collection. Let us look more closely how generosity of this kind to an abominable scoundrel works. With his 120,000*l.* a year, he, a State-prisoner in Calcutta, keeps a private army there, the scum of Lucknow. He maintains about 350 wives, and keeps up a perpetual tom-tomming and frequent fireworks; in short he manages to get heavily into debt; and it would have been a real kindness to him and would have prolonged his life if the Government had allowed him no more than a maintenance. But what might be done for the people of Oude had the Government this 115,000*l.* extra per annum disposable? What, indeed, might not be done? Every child in the land might be educated. Simple as the proposition is, it seems to want reiteration eternally in the ears of people in England, that what we give princes in India is not our own money to give; that if there is any justification for our rule of India, it is that we may hold the public revenue in trust for the people of India, and that we may spend it exclusively for their benefit.

As regards the Indian pensioners, few of them, fortunately, are guaranteed their pensions for ever, and the best excuse, perhaps, open is, on every death of a pensioner, largely to diminish the pension to his representative. Pensions in England are rarely given for more than three lives.

The well-deserved advantages of subsidiary governments will be right ably set by Lord Dalhousie in the papers regarding the annexation of Berar. The people here consisted a country governed by Hindoo territory, be-kej

a private army, he borrowed money on the public revenues, and he lived luxuriously himself and amassed considerable private treasure. He died without issue, and Lord Dalhousie annexed the province, to the horror of English Liberals. Lord Dalhousie pointed out that by annexation he got a large increase of land-revenue for the public, he got rid of a troublesome interior customs' line, and he was enabled to reduce the Imperial army after he had disbanded the private army of Berar. The alternative to these Imperial advantages was to allow one of the princes wives to adopt some client and grant to him these province-revenues. Lord Dalhousie never hesitated for one moment. He held that the private treasure of the prince had been accumulated out of public funds—that is, out of the revenues which Lord Dalhousie seized it, allowing the ladies of the family 12 lacs a year maintenance. On the other hand, Lord Dalhousie held that the prince had no authority to saddle the province with a private debt, and that the high interest which the advances had taken was in contemplation that the British Government might step in and cut the usurious transaction short; hence the Imperial Government never made over for payment interest on the debt. These measures of Lord Dalhousie were undoubtedly of a thoroughly strong character, and as to whether carried out with more or less severity than was necessary, it was not the severity of any one of the Governors-General for the time being criticised. A man in such a position as Governor-General of India must feel that he has no right to allow private feelings of humanity to interfere with the performance of what he believes to be his duty to the people of India. He may be generous from his private purse, but not in the public revenues.

It seems to us that the landlord of a private estate is a thoroughly bad analogy. Among Hindus the idea that land-revenue can be anything but public property seems inconceivable. The Bengalee zemindar to this day never speaks of 'my tenants,' but of 'my subjects:' he does not transact his rent-collection in a business office, but in a 'cutcherry,' i.e. a building standing out as a public court of justice, and supposed to be homologous with the collector's cutcherry in the station. He does not collect rent by mere land-stewards, but by his 'officers,' as he calls them; and though to English eyes he is a mere landlord, in the eyes of his ryots he is a Government High Officer, a collector of revenue. Very curious deductions from these premisses can be seen in Bengal Act X., the ultimate principle of which is that the British Government stands in the last resort to decide what is the 'fair and equitable' rent for every piece of land in Bengal.

We have in India alienated an estimated 11,000,000*l.* land-revenue (but probably much more) to subsidiary princes, who spend this money in such a way as to entail on us extraordinary military expenditure. We spend an enormous sum in the Public Works Department, and the cry is still more railways, more irrigation. Now it appears that India cannot afford such a system, and there is a deficit, said by some to be 4,000,000*l.*, by others 2,000,000*l.*

The popular fury in India is exhibited by raising an outcry against 'Destructive Dick' (Sir R. Temple) and the 'Bewildering Brothers' (Strachey) for their manipulation of the figures in the Financial Department. But the real cause of a deficit is the system. People in England shall be in such a slough of ignorance regarding the subsidiary princes that the Government in India seems it hopeless to propose any reform in that system. The Indian Government, therefore, applies itself to meet the deficiency—first, by an increase of taxation, second, by retrenchment in all departments, thirdly, by attempting to get it some of the charges now incident upon

[illegible] Imperial Treasury to the Provinces [illegible]

I will [illegible] on these points, but I will [illegible] I will [illegible]

[illegible] Imperial Government [illegible] Imperial Government [illegible] Imperial Government [

right when he says he could levy a million extra from salt with less practical oppression on the people than he could raise 100,000*l.* by a new local direct cess. And I am quite sure the people of Bengal would like the payment of the million on that wise better than the payment of the 100,000*l.* There is nothing for India like taxes few in number, but of productive amounts; and when the Government of India tries merely to shuffle off responsibility in this manner, it can be only accepted as an unmistakable indication that they are at their wits' end to make both ends meet. And that is the honest, simple truth of the whole matter.

I will now, finally, sketch a policy for 'India as it may be.'

Suppose we determine that we will support no more tyrants and no more tyrannies in India, and that we resolve that our subsidiary princes shall be constitutional sovereigns. Take Hyderabad as a first example, as there the Treasury is presided over by European officers now. Suppose we insisted on the entire disbanding of the private Musselman and Arab army that we then absorbed our subsidiary force, and kept only a division of the Queen's forces in occupation of Hyderabad. In place of a triple army we should have one, and we should make the Hyderabad revenues pay for the British division in occupation. Suppose next we set aside a Civil List for the Nizam's personal maintenance, and take care, through our European Treasury officers, that not another rupee of private money was ever dispersed. The Civil List must be arranged on a larger scale even than that of the Autocrat of All the Russias. The administration of the province might still be left entirely in the hands of the Nizam and his native Ministers. The state revenues, minus the subsidiary and the cost of the British occupation, would be large, and would be disposable for the administration of justice, police, education, tanks, irrigation, railways, roads, canals, letter-post, telegraphs, forest conservancy, agriculture. The disposable revenue in states thus circumstanced would be very large; and if the subsidiary prince was once thoroughly relieved from his notions about a private army, there is every reason to believe he would take up some of these healthy forms of Government expenditure. Some of the Madras subsidiary princes do now.

Suppose a similar state of things were established in Scindia's territory, and in all the subsidiary territories lying within our ring fence. A careful distinction between the annexation of an island enclosed in our own area and the conquest of an outlying state like Nepal or Birmah should be preserved. At present Scindia spends nothing except on his army or on his own pleasures. Possibly he might not care to do the work of a constitutional sovereign; but if he would not, I would let him sink into a landholder.

Supposing these reforms carried out, instead of 55,000 English and 150,000 native troops, we should require about 65,000 English and 60,000 native troops; but about 10,000 of the English and 15,000 of the native troops would be paid for by the local subsidiary states they occupied. I do not propose that a man of the native army should be disbanded, but that recruiting should be absolutely stopped till the reduction required was reached. The time has arrived for a consolidation of the Empire; and if the above-sketched change in policy were carried out, it would be looking our debt fairly in the face.

There is no more favourite theory [illegible] in England about India than that we are educating the country in self-government, and that when we see she is able to take care of herself we shall walk out. There are [illegible] ways of exploding the utter instantaneity of this theory,

of which I give two—one proceeding on theoretic grounds, the other on practical

The most differentiated (i.e. the most improved) organism is also the most differentiable (i.e. improvable). There was a certain gap between the Englishman and the Hindu in 1770—what progress have the English race made in the past century, and what have the Hindus? Think of arts, manufactures, science, the progress of public opinion in every subject. The Hindu is virtually unaltered. Whatever gap there was between the races in 1770, there is thrice as great a one in 1870, and there will be ten times as great a one in 1970.

Secondly. There is the practical proof. Suppose the Queen's Government and troops were withdrawn to-morrow, who would govern the country? The Hindus? No true Englishman ever knew better than that, and less the Mussulmans. But does the Englishman who has never been out of England reflect that there are tens of thousands of Englishmen who are doing work in India, who are rooted to the country, whose whole fortunes are bound up in it for ever? What would they do were India to be abandoned? They would have a certain time to wind up their affairs, take voluntary leave from their employments or forfeit their appointments, they would be put into the disorganized condition of the country which would be the greatest disturbance—there would be native warriors ever ready to step into the boots which had been vacated by the Englishmen, they did not transfer to the Hindus. A [illegible] would be very great terms England would [illegible] for, they [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

A FORTNIGHT IN KERRY.

By the Editor.

II

IN the spring last year a sketch with the above title appeared in this Magazine. The Irish Land Bill was under discussion in the House of Commons. English prejudice and English ignorance were busy with the reputation of the unfortunate country, clamorous with despair of its amendment by that or any other measure. I thought that at such a time a record of my own experience in Ireland might contribute, it may be to a small little, towards setting her condition in a truer light — towards showing how among the darker features there were redeeming traits of singular interest and attractiveness. Pleased with my own performance at intending to contribute it, I trusted that if my friends in Kerry could not approve of what I said, they would at least recognise my good-will. How great was my surprise to find that I was regarded as an intruder into basiness which was none of mine, after having had glimpses of ancient hospitality, of humble pictures of piety and [illegible] among the poverty, their [illegible] of [illegible], and the central fire-good will which existed over the country! I had anxiously that [illegible] Kerry [illegible] to me to [illegible] their wrongs of right and wrongs and to mend little [illegible] We [illegible] that in the matter [illegible] may be discovered [illegible] By [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

His invectives never spared others, either alive or dead; and I see no reason why I or anyone may not express our thoughts freely about him. If the armed foe of his forefathers, which remain among the traditions of the coast, are untrue or exaggerated, I meant no dishonour to the past or present owner of Inveraray. In the days of high rents, English gentlemen who lived on the coast were not particular how they got their wine or cigars; the smuggling was instituted by English capitalists on Irish trade in the 18th century erected smuggling into a system, and if the O'Connells on the shores of the Atlantic submitted tamely to the depredations of the officers of the revenue, Tartar blood ran in their veins than might have been expected from the character of their modern representative.

Anything like governmental fence was not thought of in Ireland. I was an instance in my own person of the mistakes which English statesmen are doomed to make when they try to rule, however lightly, with a foreign purse. I had stated to Lord Granville my determination, and, as it proved, my ability to [illegible] I knew that [illegible] I had [illegible] I was [illegible] I [illegible] I [illegible] I

gone to 'the dance,' and we were alone in the house watching the alternate play of fog and sunlight on the lake, there appeared round the angle of a rock on the gravel walk before the windows a group of strangers. Going out to enquire their business, I found myself in the presence of ten or twelve men, not one of whose faces I recognised. I asked what they wanted. One of them said they were looking at the place, which was obvious without their information. I suggested that the grounds were private — they should have asked leave. He replied, as I thought, with an odd smile, that he saw no occasion for it. And when I insisted that there was occasion, and that if he put it in that way they must go away, the rest looked at him strangely at their leader, as if to ask whether they should make me understand practically that I was not in England. He hesitated, and, after a pause, moved off, and his companions followed. I found afterwards they were bay-makers. They had meant to pass through the woods and, looking on me as an interloper, had not wished that we were to retain our exclusiveness. My guests were [illegible] and [illegible] and [illegible] and

devoted to the sacred bird. Long may it remain so! Long may it be ere Irish landlords follow the precedents of Yorkshire or Sutherlandshire, and sacrifice their human tenants to a surfeit of amusements! The sportsman that would kill his game in Kerry must be prepared to walk his twenty miles, keep his head steady amid rough scrambles, which will be to many a trial of head as well as feet. He must make up his mind—and the landlord in many cases will have helped them—to let him do his best, if he spares the hares he will not get more than he can carry conveniently on his own shoulders at the end of the day's sport. He must be content to find the best reward of his toil in the exquisite air, in the most delicate variety of the most perfect scenery in the world—cliff, cataract, and glen—fresh-water lake and sea-sand, and ever-haunted hill of Tara, with wild tales of Irish history—the mountain-wall set in the azure ring of the Atlantic, which encircles more or less three sides of the horizon.

Stop a bit, and let us breathe, and look over the wall by the roadside at the wonderful stone-building. Last year I spent two months in Kerry, and never saw one of these. Mr. Brassey has a mile or two, and as the time comes round I hope to be with the rest.

Let us, as we come then, a morning late in August, the year of grace, 1871. We start, I confess, to have an answer to a great many questions, which we think we have a right to ask, when we see a little two-roomed cabin, perhaps at a point, above where a stream runs slowly, a mile or two from the sea, or a small estuary or creek running inland. The path leads for half a mile along the shore, and then strikes up into the valley, which narrows as we advance. A deep river, fringed with marshy meadows, drags slowly down the middle of it to the sea. The lake out of which it runs two miles up is scarcely thirty feet above high-water mark. The ground is gradually sinking, and in a little while—a good gust a little while, in a few thousand years or so—the precipices which wall in the glens will dip their bases in salt water.

The greater part of the valley on either side is raised above reach of floods, and the soil from its situation might be very easily drained, and has been evidently inhabited, and even thickly inhabited, from a very early era. Wild as is the scene at present, we see traces as we advance of three distinct eras of occupation. On the hill side a quarter of a mile from us is a circular mound, flat at the top, with steep scarps of grassy sods. It is a representative of many which are in the neighbourhood—called a fort by some, but I fear it could have never been rather a human rabbit burrow. Beneath the surface seven or eight feet down, and excavated where the soil is hardest, run a series of circular chambers communicating with each other by holes barely large enough to allow the body to pass through, the arches of both hole and chamber turned so accurately that one would think some animal working by instinct, some missing link, had made them rather than a Celt with a weapon of any sort.

Here and there also is a circle of gray stones three or four feet high, some of them evidently hand-wrought, and the whole, perhaps the Druidical temple of a tribe, perhaps a Hall of Parliament or court of law, perhaps a temple to which agog before the Ikon priest for the yearly meeting and evening on Sundays. Further on, and lately exposed by the storms of the past winter which had covered and protected it,

is a broad slab of old red sandstone ground smooth by glacier action and scored over with circles something like a genealogical tree. They are of all sizes, and disposed in all varieties of pattern. Sometimes the rings are concentric, two or even three lying one within the others. Sometimes single rings, large and small, are clustered into groups. These, too, are a mystery. Was the stone the starry map of some Druid astronomer? Was it a rude astrolabe—were the circles magical signs—and did here stand the chair of justice of some Brehon, half rogue, half sage, that sat in judgment there on the quarrels of the glen? Even the rashest antiquarians forbear their conjectures. We know only that we are among the remains of a race which lies far away beyond the horizon of history.

Below us, among some trees at the side of a watercourse, are the fragments of a ruined building more modern infinitely than the monuments which I have just described, for it is composed of bricks, grey mortar, clay, and mortar. Yet it is still old. It has been standing certainly not less than two centuries. Looked at closer, it will explain how these valleys and mountains have clothed not so long ago, as we can see by the stumps peeping here and there, with trees of fir, and birch, and yew, and the present aspect of naked desolation. Sloping away from the foot of the wall is a belt of what looks at first like broken stone, but proves on examination to be slag. We have here unmistakable traces of the iron furnaces established by Sir William Petty. The founder of the Lansdowne family secured, in the seventeenth century, from the Irish Parliament, the right of the woods of Kerry. He speedily exhausted the wealth that lay stored in the mass of timber. He erected cargoes of iron from Waterford Harbour to the Kenmare river, and stripped the district bare—bare to the very bone of rock—to melt it into metal. What harm? The woods were hiding-places for wolves and rapparees, or, worse than both, for Jesuits; and the lovers of the picturesque had not yet come into being even in England.

And there is a third record before us of an order of things which, though nearer to us far than the other two, has still vanished as they have vanished. Far up the mountain sides and on the sloping meadows are ridges which mark departed cultivation, now fast relapsing into peat. Ditches, too, we can see, which were once deep and effective drains, overgrown with briar and bush, and choked with reeds and mud. I mentioned in my former paper that these districts, before the potato famine, were densely peopled. One house stands now where a quarter of a century ago there were four. The holdings attached to them are thrown together, and subdivision under any pretext is sternly forbidden. Should hard times come again, there are thus fewer inhabitants in danger of starvation, and those that remain are no longer utterly dependent upon a single root. They are so far better off than their fathers that they are above the reach of being overwhelmed by any sudden calamity like that which overtook them before; but the difference is rather relative than absolute. Their farms are now larger than they care to cultivate, or could cultivate if they wished it, where only a rude husbandry is practised. They till just so much soil as will provide their own potatoes, and keep alive their cattle through the winter and spring. They make money by their wool, and butter, and pigs; but they keep their holdings as they keep their pennies, in rags. Their fences are always broken. Their drains are choked in. The cabins are still the common

home of all the live stock, human and animal. Their habits are unchanged, and to all appearance unchangeable. They refuse to acquire a taste for any cleaner or better style of living. The turf bog provides them with fuel, and warmth is the only form of comfort which they value. Therefore they have no need to work when all their wants are satisfied. They tell you with a shrug that emigration has tried the price of labour, and that they can't afford to hire workmen. And thus everywhere in the south cultivation recedes with the decrease of population. The country, in its own language, is going back to bog. A steward alone is now overrun the road. In times of flood the ford was impassable, the causeway was so ruinous that an old drain had been closed by neglect, and the water at the same time was drowning and ruining twenty acres of excellent meadow. The tenant of such a farm now told me he was going to apply to Lord —— to let it be bogged at the head. The holdings would be twenty perches, with a few perches of labour and hay for the cow. Kerry farmers, as I am sorry to say, are fast losing that independence which used to characterize them. We passed many cabins where the inmates were evidently living in the most miserable poverty, and yet were not asking for alms. Whether this poverty is the result of their own idleness or not, it is certainly sad to see, and I must confess I can see no remedy for the present state of things. The best of the farmers are content to be forgotten. In a few years, when the country, or rather the world, gets richer, and the agricultural system has been reorganized, but the fact remains, that the valleys in Kerry would support, if properly tilled, at least twice their present population with ease.

The grouse are waiting for us, but they must still wait; we have a long climb to make before we shall see them. Although the heather here thickest on the lower slopes, they prefer the colder altitudes, and the Italian softness of the climate down below does not agree with them. Up, then, we must mount. The ranges for which we are bound are near two thousand feet above the sea; and as the keeper's wind is better than ours, he tells us a story as we rise. The ascent leads first by a rocky path where the river falls beside us in a series of cascades, the projecting rocks forming cool dripping caves where ferns of all varieties, from the tall Osmunda to the shy Killarney fern which hides itself in the most secluded corners, cluster in the translucent green. A few hundred feet up we emerge upon a level meadow half a mile wide and a mile deep, walled in by precipices, with a solitary farm-house at the upper end, which is the wing up its two columns of smoke against the cliff at its back. More desolate and forlorn a human habitation the eye has rarely rested on. In the winter months the occupants of it are cut off utterly from intercourse with the outer world. During summer the children can go to the valley school, and the old people to the chapel to mass. From November to March the rain and wind keep them prisoners.

The river, where it leaves the plateau, leaps over a shelf of rock and falls thirty or forty feet into a rocky pool. It was here, said our guide as we passed it, that Karl en Sullivan was murdered. The tale, when he told it, was as straightforward as it was well. The ridge over against the glen forms the dividing line between Cork and Kerry. From the crest you look

on one side over the Kenmare river, on the other upon Bantry Bay—Berehaven lies at your feet; and about forty years ago, when the English fleet was anchored there, a sailor who by some means had become possessed of a bag of sovereigns, secured them in a belt round his waist, deserted from his ship, climbed the crags by a goat track where they are generally considered inaccessible, and descended into this valley. He intended to hide himself there till the pursuit was over, and then to escape to America. A criminal flying from justice is a sacred person in most parts of Ireland. He made his way to the farmhouse, where he was offered shelter for the night; and presuming on his character, and perhaps warmed by whisky, he showed his host the treasure which he had brought with him. The temptation was too strong to be resisted. The sailor fell asleep by the fire. Kathleen, a girl belonging to the farm, who slept in the loft above, was disturbed by a light which glimmered through the chinks in the floor, and looking down she saw her master stood over the sleeping sailor and killed him. The body was carried out and buried. The man's presence there was of course unknown, and no enquiry was made for him. The girl, terrified at the dreadful secret of which she had become the unwilling possessor, did not venture to speak. At last, in an evil moment for herself, in a quarrel with her master, she let fall an imprudent word from which he gathered that she knew what he had done. One morning early, when she went out to milk the cows, he followed her to the top of the waterfall, watched his opportunity, and flung her over. She was killed on the spot. There was an inquest. She was supposed to have fallen accidentally, and the murderer, whom we will call O'Brien, was now assured of his safety. He was shrewd in his generation: quietly and without ostentation he laid out the sailor's money. He bought cows and sheep, he grew rich, and all that he did prospered with him. So passed seventeen years. Kathleen was forgotten. The lucky O'Brien was the sovereign of the glen and the envy of the neighbourhood, till justice awoke suddenly from its long sleep.

As Kathleen had seen him kill the sailor, so there had been an unknown witness to the murder of Kathleen. A stranger had been on the mountains, himself after no good—shearing O'Brien's sheep to steal the wool. He had been on the watch lest he should be himself detected, and from a crag overhanging the fall he had observed all that took place. He, too, remained silent, from a consciousness of his own guilt. He went down to Berehaven, where he found employment as a labourer in the copper mines, and there he continued to work, still keeping his secret, till, having grown an elderly man, he one day fell down a shaft: he was badly hurt, and believing himself to be dying, sent for a priest, and in confession told him all. The priest insisted that he must make his declaration public. A magistrate took his deposition upon oath, and a warrant was issued for O'Brien's arrest. Months elapsed before it could be executed: the murderer was protected by the customs which he had himself broken. By daylight his cabin commanded all the approaches to it; no one could come within half a mile of it unseen, the people in the valley below gave him warning by signals when danger was near, and he escaped into a cave high up among the crags, where he lay concealed till the coast was clear. At last one stormy night, when the watchers were under cover, and sounds were drowned in the warring of the wind and the water-

falls, a party of police made their way to his door and caught him. He was taken to Tralee, was tried, found guilty, and after a full confession was hanged.[1]

It is strong with the grouse as with Colonel Frith's story of 'The King of Rats and his Seven Castles.' We cannot get beyond the first sentence. Fruitcrops are not worth notice, we are near the ground now. We are getting to the keepers tale we have left the valley, and ascended gradually by the steep wake. We are making for a gap in the low which is now immediately above our heads. The area we have gone up is 1,500 feet above the sea level. Even cotes' hardiness is tried by getting up to our waists in heather, but to us on the top, and we flop ourselves down on the grass to recover breath and wet our throats in an unusual sport. From here there is no more. The sky above us is of a deep blue, the ground underneath seems to be with a tearpaper texture, but I have not my own books of Kerry now, with the thermometer marks and bird notes. We trace the course of the head river as it swerves away to the N.W., and S.W. to merge at the mouth, and in the Sound, at far away Mount Brandon and the Dingle range. An English yacht is standing with the tide, her sails flapping lazily with the breath to the shore. Immediately Ireland Tralee Bay is a sheet of water, it looks every inch the right size for a lake in Cumberland. In front there lies far away to Bantry Bay, with its deep inlet at our feet in a wide sea. In the latter Sugar Loaf and Hog's Head cover the fairy fort and Cromlech, covering Bantry itself, is Whiddy Island, where the French fleet came in 1796 — came, tempted by Irish promises, to find despair and destruction. Across the bay and over the hills, and far as we can see, lies the blue girdle of the illimitable ocean, flecked with white spots of sails, or crossed by lines of smoke where an Inman or a Cunarder is forging a floating bridge between the Old and the New World!

We have now no more climbing for the day; we can walk along the high level till, if we please, we make the circuit of our hands. At any rate, we shall pass round the head of the great valley and descend ten miles distant. My companion looks in dismay at the wilderness of rocks, and exclaims that he would as soon expect to meet a tiger as a grouse there. He need not despair he will meet a few, and that was as much as we promised him. The ridges of Kerry differ in all local traits from both those of North Devon. He is larger, heavier, and stronger on the wing. The packs break up early, the birds lie also at early, or in two and threes, closely on some face of cliff or in the hollows between the high hummocks, which the heather with hard thrusts keeps from view. They are wild, as they well may be, and if we get the distance we are afraid to wait for a point and must walk up to them. When they once see that flight is made about a mile, and if we let them go we shall see no more of them. The shooting parties have driven the big stretches to-day, in the absence of the keeper the gillies drive. They are as active as deer. With a good shot on every they divide

[1] The name of the man was [illegible] and he was a native of [illegible] in the county of Kerry. He was [illegible] and had been [illegible] in the county of Kerry. He was [illegible] and had been [illegible] in the county of Kerry. He was [illegible] and had been [illegible] in the county of Kerry.

the way that we are going, and while they keep steadily a few hundred yards ahead of us, ahead of them we see a continual flutter of brown wings, and mountain hares by dozens cantering leisurely away. It can't be helped. Sheep are of more consequence than sportsmen's pleasure, and meanwhile make the best of keepers. If they prevent the grouse from multiplying, they insure them effectively against being killed down. No matter: we shall get what we want. We separate that we may not talk. We must keep our eyes peeled, as the Americans say, for we know not where or when a bird may rise. A right and left from my friend, as we part, restores his good humour. We press a gossoon who is sheep-watching into our service to carry bags, and shoot whatever we come across. Why tire the reader with particulars? After three hours it is luncheon time. We have five brace of grouse, half a dozen hares, and a snipe or two; and for Kerry we have done respectably. We lie down in the heather beside a spring which sprouts from a rift in the rock, cold as if it ran out of a glacier. Our flasks and sandwich boxes are emptied, the dogs lie curled at our feet, and we smoke our pipes in meditative quietness, gazing over the grand scene. Go where we will, among these hills there is always some fresh surprise. The abruptness with which the gorges fall off on each side their entrance till we are close on them. We are sitting now on the rim of Glenarra, a narrow valley scarce a rifle shot across, with a solitary lake at the bottom of it sixteen hundred feet down. The lake is a fine sheet of water, and had been the scene of a quarrel in the legislature last summer, which, though happily it went no further than words, is extremely characteristic of the country. It may serve to amuse us for a few minutes till our pipes are finished.

I must premise that in the south of Ireland the priests and the fisheries go ill together. For some unknown reason the presence of a priest is supposed to bring ill-luck both to net and rod.

In a village a mile below the lake is a congregation of Soupers—Protestant converts so named by the Catholics from the means said to have been used to convince them of their errors. However this might be, there is now a church there, a school, two dozen or more useful Protestant families, and an excellent, high-spirited young clergyman, Irish born and Irish tempered, and one of the most hard-working of men. In this wild country we depend sometimes for our dinners on what we can catch or shoot. P., so let me call the clergyman, is a fisherman after the Apostles' model. One day he had gone with his rod to the lake. His rival the priest, Father T., an athletic young giant well known in the neighbourhood, was on another part of it on the same errand. Some boys who were fishing also passed P. and complained of bad sport; and P., who lives in normal militancy with the spiritual opposition, observed that they could expect no better when there was a priest on the lake.

The boys repeated the words to the father, who was seen shortly after coming up at a swinging trot.

'What's that you said about me?' he exclaimed when he reached P. P. made no answer, but fished on. 'What did you say about me?' reiterated the father more fiercely.

'I never mentioned your name,' replied P., not caring to turn round. 'You did!' rejoined the other. 'Well, if you wish to have it,' said P., 'I told them there was neither grace nor luck where a priest came.' P.'s head scarcely reached T.'s shoulder. The father flourished his fishing-rod. 'It is lucky for you,' he said, 'that we are in a land where the law is over us, or I'd break your head across. How dare you speak like that?'

'The law over me!' retorted P. 'well, it is, and we must bear it if there was no law, I was brought up where I learnt the use of my hands. But, if it come to the law, now don't you be after swearing that you were in the first room to the right when you were in the second, and you like as well as I that your case would be none the better for it.'

How much farther the conversation went, I do not know. The result of the matter was to [illegible] So far it may be the best cause of the parties had got as good as he bought, and neither had much to complain of. P., however, said he was not at the Sessions for nothing to commit a breach of the peace. One of the magistrates, I was told, was a Catholic, but poor Father T., notwithstanding, was convicted in costs, and had to pay for his trouble.

Protestant clergy, it seems, can never have justice in Ireland, notwithstanding the Church establishment.

We have heard long ago such cases could have been settled in a fairway. We are apt to think that [illegible] but the very [illegible] Our ultimate remedy is to [illegible] By-and-by we are [illegible] to that on which we are [illegible] in the morning, and as [illegible] we are not far from [illegible] The [illegible] is just under us, and [illegible] is just visible among the woods. The sun breaks, the mountain or Satan as the people call it, [illegible] we forget the [illegible] in the bright sunshine, but [illegible] at the foot of the hill [illegible] hour [illegible] The [illegible] has taken a [illegible] and [illegible] down with the [illegible] The heather presents [illegible] down and [illegible] We have [illegible] and [illegible] ways either to [illegible] pass round the [illegible] matter of the mountain [illegible] Derreen, or to make a round by another glen as remarkable as any that we had seen. My companion was tired, and said he would go with the horses. It still wanted three hours of sunset, and I myself decided for the glen. Here, again, the cliffs were precipitous, falling sheer from [illegible] my feet to where the rocks, which have been split off by wet and frost, lie piled in masses at the [illegible] There was a sort of [illegible] however, where it was possible to [illegible] with safety, and I had a special reason for my choice of way. All the glens are [illegible] alike, however, in their [illegible] there was a calm, which I could see from the edge on which I was standing, where we had heard the day before that there was a woman lying dangerously ill. Her husband had gone for [illegible] or medicine, but though there has been a doctor in the neighbourhood for [illegible] years, where, besides the three Rs, there are taught grammar and geography, and the practice of music and natural history, and [illegible] specimens of [illegible] exercises in prose and verse are hard [illegible] by pupils who do not understand a word of them, and [illegible] matters of more immediate importance are forgotten. The Irish of the glens do not yet distinguish between a physic-bottle and a charm. They would hang castor-oil and [illegible] at their necks, and expect just as much result as if it was in the most approved [illegible] a paper [illegible] with as much faith as the dose which it [illegible] They have a contempt for [illegible] and [illegible] but in [illegible] We cannot escape our responsibilities, but we can venture on nothing without going in person to learn what is the matter, and without seeing or [illegible] with our own eyes.

The cabin to which I was going was a mile distant from any other habitation. It stood on a green

bank across a river, and was only accessible over stepping-stones. Notwithstanding the dry weather the filth was ankle-deep before the door. The windows were blocked up with straw, and when I entered I could see nothing till my eyes had grown accustomed to the darkness. Gradually I made out two or three pigs, a spindle half overturned, and a plate or two. Human creatures there were none to be seen, old or young, nor sign of them. The place seemed so entirely deserted that I supposed I had made a mistake. Groping round, however, I found the latch of a second door, and on lifting it found myself in a sort of outhouse more wretched than many an English pigsty; and there, on a rude shelf of boards, littered over with straw, lay the woman I was in search of. She had been left perfectly alone. Her pulse was scarcely perceptible. She had received the last sacraments, and might have died at any moment; yet of all her family (she had a husband and two grown sons, certainly – whether she had daughters I do not know) there was not one who cared to watch by her. They were in good circumstances; they had cows and sheep; they had a fair-sized farm, and relatives in America who had helped them with money to stock it. When she died she would be decently waked. The whisky would flow freely; the keen would ring along the valley as if a thousand hearts were breaking. Yet the poor soul could be left to start upon its last journey with no friendly hand to smooth the parting pain, or loving voice to whisper hope and comfort. I could but feel that the words of Swift, written a century and a half ago of Ireland, were still as applicable as ever: 'Whoever travels in this country, and observes the face, habits, and dwellings of the natives, will hardly think himself in a land where law, religion, or common humanity is professed.'

The coming in of a yacht is always an event with us. It rarely happens but there is some one on board that we know or know about. At least they will have heard of Derreen, and will wish to see it; and living as we do at the end of all things, the sight of fresh faces is specially welcome. On the present occasion we were more than usually fortunate. The owner, Mr. ——, was a distant acquaintance. He had an American gentleman on board who was fresh from Gravelotte, who had stood on that bloody field beside the King of Prussia, and had been obliged, in leaving it, to pick his way for half a mile as he walked, lest he should tread upon the mangled bodies of men. We have supped full of horrors since that day. Death and destruction have become our common food. They have lost the dreadful charm of novelty, and we turn sick and weary from the monotonous tale. Here, at least, we need have no more of it. There was, besides, a person whose name I had often heard—Mr. C. F——,—an Irish landlord, whose stern rule had made him notorious for the crimes which he had provoked, who himself had borne a charmed life, so many a ball had whistled past him harmlessly.

We had a visitor, too, of our own, the Dean of ——, the most accomplished of Irish antiquaries, long second only to Petrie, and by Petrie's death succeeding to his vacant chair. Taking advantage of our company we determined the next day to open one of the large raths which I mentioned above, that we might see if it contained any curiosities. Guarded by superstition, and believed to be inhabited by the good people, it had been left untouched till thirty years ago, when an adventurous treasure-seeker was reported to have attempted an entrance. Attempted, not succeeded. An old man in the neighbourhood told us, that being then a rash youth he had himself

taken part in the adventure. They had penetrated into the first chamber, where they had found a broken quern, their way had then been stopped by an iron door, and while struggling to force it they had been startled by a black apparition resembling a man, they had fled for their lives—one of them (there were three) had broken his leg a mile and a half from the place—an alarm was raised, the third of the three of his own was up in arms, it was feared that the whole valley would be ruined. The hue was at length stayed in, and the spectre returned to his den.

Thirty years of rationalism had not been without its effects. There was no opposition to our project, but we had great difficulty in procuring workmen. A farmer was found at last who had spent ten years in America, another offered himself who was going the next week to America, and believed that the devil, if devil there were, would not follow him to the land of promise, the Scotch keeper and the gravedigger made two more; and to work we went with pleasure and energy. We were obliged to begin early, for the mound having a supernatural reputation had been used as a burying ground during the famine. The turf lay within a few inches of the surface, and the stones which we were in search of were far beneath them. We sank a trench, however, out of their way at the extreme edge, on the traces of the treasure seeker, hoping perhaps not to find it even there. The first thing was to remove the stones which had been flung into the entrance, that took us two hours of hard work at length eight feet of work carried a little over the mouth of a fine cave. Usually the rats are dry the reason of them having been selected with a view to natural drainage here the wet had penetrated where the soil had been loosened, and to enter we had to crawl through deep mud. A lighted candle pushed in at the end of a stick showed that the air was fresh. Clusters of bats were hanging round at a respectful distance, who refused to be bribed to make the first venture, so, disregarding the prayers and denunciations of a venerable old patriarch who was looking on in horror, one of our own party crawled in. He reported nothing of any door or other obstacle, there was a passage open, but he knew not whither so we procured a tape to measure the distance and guide us back if we lost our way, and entered in single file. After creeping on our stomachs for a few feet in three inches of mud we found ourselves in a cave eight feet long, five feet wide, and four feet and a half or five feet high, at the end of it was a second hole, through which we could barely squeeze ourselves, leading into a second cave like the first. Beyond this were another and another, seven in all, all but the first were dry.

The floors were covered with the undisturbed dust of centuries. At the far extremity, within a few feet of the opposite edge of the mound, was a rude stone fire-place with traces of ashes. There was no sign of any other opening, and how a fire could have been lighted in such a spot without suffocating everyone in the place there was nothing to show. On the floor lay the remains of the last dinner that had been eaten there, a few mussel shells and the bones of a sheep's head. That was all. No instrument of any kind, of stone, or wood, or metal. There were marks of the tools which had been used in the excavation, but of the tools themselves, or of the hands in which they were held, not a trace.

What these places could have been baffles conjecture. They were not places of concealment, for the situations of all of them are purposely conspicuous, as little could they have been forts, for it was but

to stop the earths and every creature inside must have been stifled. The Dean tells us that, like the present one, they are uniformly empty. Once, only, a rude crucifix was found, but this proves little. In the days of persecution, when supernatural terrors were more active than they are now, these strange caves might have served as safe retreats for hunted priests or friars.

We came out as wise as we had gone in, save that our imaginations could indulge no longer in possible discoveries. We had only inflicted an incurable wound on the spiritual temperament of the valley. The already wavering faith in the supernatural was confirmed into incredulity. We had made a way for scepticism, and another group of pious beliefs was withered.

As we walked home I had a talk with Mr F. He had earned his notoriety by the scale on which he had forced up rents, carried out evictions, and brought his vast property under economic and paying conditions. To make a property pay in the mountainous parts of Ireland is to drive off the inhabitants and substitute sheep for them. I could not venture to touch on his personal experience, or the sensations of a man who had shot his covert under a guard of policemen, and to whom to take a solitary ride had been as dangerous as to lead a charge of cavalry, might have been curious to enquire into. Our conversation turned rather on the social constitution of these two islands, with their scanty area of soil and their relatively vast population. Mr F's theory had at least the merit of boldness. The business and life of the empire, he said, lay in the great cities, where the wear and tear and anxiety of work became daily more exhausting. Our overtaxed constitutions required opportunities of escaping the storm of care at brief and readily available English, Scotch, and Irish, therefore, ought to be divided into, on the one hand, swarming centres of industry, densely-crowded hives of people; and on the other, wildernesses, solitudes of mountain and forest, where the deer ranged free as on the prairies, and wearied man could recuperate his energies in contact with primitive nature. It was a complete conception, expressed without flinching. Artificial solitudes require strict exclusiveness. Itinerant tourist parties disturb game. Remains of picnic parties, fragments of newspapers, and chicken bones banish the illusions of the picturesque. The happy beings, therefore, who can command an entrance into these charmed circles must be the very rich and the very few—less than one in a thousand of us—while of these few the brain of a large percentage is never taxed by a severer effort than the adjustment of a knitting-book, and their services to the community extend no further than the diligent use of their digestive apparatus. The resultant good, therefore, is slightly incommensurate with the cost of production. Mr. F., however, was but stating nakedly the principle on which the Scotch Highlands have been now for some time administered. There may be other Irish proprietors besides my companion who would follow the example if they dared. Were our colonies brought closer to us, were the enormous area of fertile soil belonging to England in all parts of the world made accessible by easy and cheap communication, and some shreds of our enormous income expended in enabling our people to spread, something might be said in defence of Mr. F's position. At all events, it would not be utterly detestable.

Two pieces of news were awaiting us meanwhile at home; one most unpleasant. The water-bailiff—water baby, as our little boy persisted in calling him—was in the yard with a long face to report that our salmon-nets had been stolen.

Search for the thief had been fruitless: there was but one resource—we must apply to the priest. How do our acts find us out? Among the most extraordinary remarks of mine which Father M—— had taken no decency to hear, had been an inquiry as to whether the priest's benefit of clergy included not the receiver as well as the stealer. Lord L—— knew better than to trust Father M—— with a watch even to him. It was quite true, but I had been most heedless in repeating it. The Father had been terribly puzzled, and now we must either lose our note with a chance of its being at all from the same cause, or we must appeal to him to exert the power which I had accused him of possessing. When the case came before him he considered neither his own pecuniary or our interests, nor anything but the special welfare of the flock committed to him. A wrong act had been done; he instantly ordered restitution to be made within twenty-four hours, or we were to expect out of the car to the waterside. That night I had an appointment to meet, at a place near Killorglin, the note would be found.

The second and more agreeable surprise was, that Lord L——'s agent, the antagonist of the North-west of Kerry, and tenant of the author of *Land and Water*, had despatched upon us a letter of invitation. We had imagined him far away preparing for the approaching massacre. He had been compelled to return to Ireland by an urgent lawsuit, which he had just terminated in a successful issue at the assizes, and he was overjoyed again to find us on the spot. We at once made an appointment to meet at his father's house. For fear of accidents we might prevent the news of our having the notes in charge from spreading over the place and people. I was not at first free from anxiety. We had a singular interest in and Kenmare whose bounds marched with ours, and whom for various reasons there had been a desire at head-quarters to see removed. Mr —— held the remains of another tenant's lease, and it was found extremely difficult to dispossess him. His house was like the castle of some border baron, protected by huge bull-hounds and wolf-hounds, who sent deep bay echoed fearfully through the mountains in the midnight air. Among other weapons, he was an accomplished master of his pen. The war in the Courts was carried into the press: letters, real or supposed, attributed to him, were posted on the walls of the town—nasty, scandalous verses were dispersed through the post-office. For two years and more all our corner of Kerry had been agitated by the quarrel. At length it had been decided. The authorities of the estate had won the battle. A verdict had been given for Lord L——. The sheriff's officer was prepared to execute the eviction, and I had come down to be ready to assist in his triumph. We had a delightful evening. Never had we found him more charming: never, for some reason, had he appeared more satisfied with the world and with himself. We offered him a lift, he was seventeen miles from home, and the road was peculiarly lonely. He was not to be persuaded, however: he had to return instantly to England on the most interesting of errands. Little bits of well-wishes from the neighbourhood had been to the house with us. The agent-lawyer-country-gentleman, after expressing the future, had pressed that he might be waited to receive on the lawn of his mansion early. There was no moon, but the night was soft, sultry, and bright with stars. The car came round to the door an hour before midnight, and he was in the act of stepping when a messenger, panting for breath from a long run, appeared suddenly upon the gravel. He had come to beg

T., if he loved his life, not to leave the house that night. Mr. —— was waiting for him upon the mountains, and had sworn to have his life.

It came out—confessed, perhaps, with a shadow of reluctance—that T., who had to pass Mr. ——'s gate on his way down to us, either unable to conceal his exultation in his triumph or wishing to give his enemy an opportunity of encountering him on his own dunghill, had stopped his car, walked up to his house, and executed a deliberate parade for some minutes outside the drawing-room windows. The provocation was too strong for flesh and blood to bear. Had Mr. —— been at home, the consequences might have been considerable. Happily he was out, and T. had been gone for a quarter of an hour when he returned. There was an instant pursuit, but it was unsuccessful, and the indignant gentleman was now reported to be lying out on the top of the pass with his blunderbuss, and no one knew how many desperate boys besides, to waylay T on his road home. What was to be done? We, of course, insisted that he must stay where he was; that with his marriage settlement signed, and the day fixed not ten days distant, he had no right to expose himself. If go he must, the water was open; we could not tie him up in a boat. We might as well have argued with the wind. He said that if he allowed himself to be frightened off the road he could never show his face among the gentlemen of Kerry again. He had done nothing but what was strictly in harmony with Irish proprieties. Go he must, if there were fifty —— s in the pass and all the bloodhounds in the county. There was nothing for it but to give him a couple of double-barrelled guns, mount the Scotch keeper the other side of the car, and let him start. They drove off into the darkness, the driver scarcely able to keep his seat for terror. The rang of horses' hoofs on the hard road gradually sank and was lost. We listened for shots, but all was still. T. told us afterwards he had been on the point of firing to give us a little excitement, but he recollected in time that it might bring us in force to the scene of action, and he forbore. He saw nothing either of —— or his dogs. Either Mr. —— had been tired of waiting — it was by this time midnight—or perhaps he had never been on the hill after all. Anyhow T. got home with colours flying, and would have stood a degree higher (were elevation possible) in the estimation of the neighbourhood for his bearing in the whole transaction.

I have rambled on incoherently, wishing rather to convey an idea of the constituents of daily life as they present themselves to an English stranger in the wild parts of Ireland than to tell a consecutive story. As I have observed little order hitherto, I shall be no less abrupt in the rest of what I have to say, and I shall conclude these sketches by a few words on the long-vexed Irish problem. I have nothing to propose in the way of remedial measures: no measures could be expressed in words which could heal a chronic sore as little now as ever disposed to heal. I speak merely as one who knows something of Ireland and something of its history. Let it not be supposed that the late concessions to Irish agitation have touched as yet the source of disloyalty. They may have been right in themselves I do not question it; but the wound remains, and will remain. The Irish, as a body, are disloyal to the English Crown, and disloyal they will continue. The Church Bill was the removal of a scandal; the Land Bill will rescue the poorer tenants from the tyranny of middlemen and adventurers chiefly of their own race; but the people generally regard these Bills, both of them, as extorted from us by the Clerkenwell explosion. They do not thank us for them. They rather

gather courage to despise us for our fears. Their sympathies on all subjects are in antagonism to ours. If we are entangled in a war, they will rejoice in our defeat, and they will do their worst or their best, whatever their worst or best may be, to forward our ruin.

England had once great opportunity of the weakness of Ireland to break it to her will, and to crush it with a heavy hand. The Celts, who had been conquered by the Normans, resumed their power and part of their lands when England was convulsed by the Wars of the Roses. The great Norman families maintained themselves by all possible means and at their cause, and intermarried with their families. The Tudors succeeded to contend with the majority of the united island, and their policy from time to time was directed to the destruction of the Irish race after the fashion of the Boyne. The Irish poets, Celtic and Catholic, were hunted down, their leaders went abroad and took service in foreign armies, the estates and titles were parcelled out to the Irish adventurers, and the Celtic race was thrust down to the lowest depths of misery by the Celts themselves. Cromwell in the Scottish Wars of Ancient Britain, and William in the Protestant Wars of Modern Europe, had Irish Celts in their armies. The Celt was at that time a splendid soldier, and was highly valued at the time that my own family was first known in Ireland as a military name. After a brief interval of peace, massacre, and confiscation, extirpation and settlement in favour of severe conquest. It was natural to seek for a perpetual removal of disturbing causes which were ineradicable except by excision; yet, if it was found necessary to consecrate an entire country, to prohibit the exercise of its religion, to create a new proprietary, to sow the four provinces with colonies of aliens of another race and another creed, the justification of those stern measures was to be looked for only in the most unrelaxed exertions to benefit morally and materially the people who were so cruelly held down—to develop their industry, to teach them a purer faith, to make them feel that the conquerors whom they had resisted so desperately were, after all, their best and truest friends. At the close of the seventeenth century a third of the population of Ireland were Scots and English, French and Flemings—all Protestants. They had inherited of the land, they possessed all the skill, knowledge, enterprise, and capital, they were covering the country with planted hedges, they were growing rich on a great scale, they had established a lucrative foreign trade, they had founded manufactures which were employing tens of thousands of people, and by the laws of natural expansion, had they been allowed to grow, they would have absorbed and provided with regular and orderly government the entire nation. They were strongly Protestants, as I said before, warm Anglicans made, not from conviction, but from traditional habit, strongly Conservative with hereditary notions of loyalty. Had the Irish been as these had been allowed their play, had England left them alone from interference with them, it would have found the state of Ireland, let down as it were, with utensils, more helpless even than peasants, who, I have said, to the superficial observer, are all irresponsible creatures of their masters, as their brothers of the same race yoked in Wales and the Highlands.

Worried as England had so long been by the Irish difficulty, it might have been thought that she would

have rejoiced at last to see the troubles there so happily composed, and would have exerted herself to build vigorously upon a foundation which had been laid so fortunately at last. But the victory had been too complete. The mercantile element in English legislation—always short-sighted, always mean, always preferring the base profits of individuals, I will not say to duty and high principle, for that is not to be expected, but to patriotism and national interest—took advantage of Ireland's political weakness to destroy in the germ her promise of prosperity. English shipowners took alarm at the growth of Irish commerce. English millowners at the dimensions of her woollen fabrics. Possessed as Ireland was of cheap labour and inexhaustible water power, they found that she could undersell them in the world's markets, and the dread of diminished profits drove them mad with jealousy. The woollen factories were nipped in the bud by prohibitive statutes. The industrial immigration was not only checked, but twenty thousand skilled Protestant artisans already settled in the North moved instantly back across the Channel. Driven from their manufactures, the settlers turned their hands to the growth of raw material and to the rearing of sheep. Again they were forbidden to export their wool to any country except England, and in England only to a few selected ports. These are but a few instances of the cruel tyranny by which Irish industry was beaten down. The prospects of Ireland were deliberately sacrificed to fill the pockets of a few English rich men, and the wretched natives were forced back into their potato gardens as the only means of subsistence.

In ecclesiastical matters went the same road. If the Irish Church was not increased in the same sense, it was oppressed in a worse; for the benefices, high and low, were distributed as patronage to make provision for persons who could not decently be promoted in England. The principle on which the vacant places in the hierarchy were supplied is immortalised in the bitter scorn of Dean Swift. The English Government, he said, nominated highly proper persons; but the reverend gentlemen were waylaid by the highwaymen on Hounslow Heath, who cut their throats, stole their papers, and came over and were inducted in their places. When the Church could hold no more, there were the Irish revenues to fall back upon. Wretched Ireland was compelled to place upon its pension list every scandalous blackguard who, in unmentionable or unproducible ways, had laid the Court or Cabinet of St. James's under obligation.

Thus, hard as it might have seemed to ruin so fair a prospect, the English Government succeeded in doing it. The Protestant immigrants were driven back upon the Celts by this ingenious variety of ill-usage, and made common cause with them against a tyranny which had grown intolerable to both. In spite of the Government, their mere presence in Ireland had produced astonishing improvement. They had ruled, so far as their power extended, justly and wisely. They maintained unbroken order while England was convulsed with rebellion. The population increased three-fold in ninety years. The selling value of the land rose in places twenty and thirty fold. Ireland in 1782 was still in essentials a Protestant country. Grattan's volunteers were Protestants. Even the United Irishmen of 1798 were most of them Protestants; but they had been driven into revolt by England's unendurable folly; and, cut off as they were from the source of their strength, their ascendency inevitably declined. The era of agitation recommenced. The Celts raised their heads again. Their

relative numbers multiplied; they became once more the dominant race of the island. The Anglo-Irish aristocracy, established hardly, became a thing of the past, and the history of the last half century has been of a reversion, step by step, by the Celtic and Catholic population of the powers which had wrested property from them for ever. The country has fallen back into the condition in which William found it, and the fantasies of the old Irish monarchy have resumed the aspirations which they displayed in the Irish Parliament of James.

England deserves what has come upon her, yet the two islands must remain where Nature placed them. They are tied together like an ill-matched pair between whom no divorce is possible. Must they continue a thorn in each other's side to all eternity? Are the two races of the same blood to dispute to the worst of their power whether they will ever work together?

I propose to prove, that by making one great effort, by conceding everything which the Irish have to ask, we shall disarm their enmity and convert them of a sudden into friends. It may be said that concessions ought not to be made under menaces, and that we ought to grant what we think right, and not what they will extort. But I am not talking of abstract rights. I am speaking of practical politics. I know well that if we grant what they demand, they will not be satisfied. They will press their claims further. But I know well also that if we refuse, we shall have to grant them later. The Arab, who has carried off your mare, knows that if you pursue him, or make an offer, they will assemble to be covered into a trap. It is uncertain that the interests of the two races are inseparably united. The American never be independent of England, nor is it likely that a fuller measure of what is called freedom will make Irishmen acquiesce more graciously in their forced connection with us.

The Irishman has many faults: he has one pre-eminent virtue. If the master of the best pack of foxhounds in England were to go to the kennel and say, 'My dear hounds, you have been kept in slavery—the truest part of your nature has been destroyed for want of your natural rights—you have been taken out when you wished to stay at home—you have not been consulted either about your victuals or your lodging—you have been sent after foxes when you would have preferred hare—you have been treated as if you were mere dogs rather than as rational and responsible beings: I am going to alter that—I shall put before you what is right, but I shall leave you to take your own way if you prefer it, and you shall each of you vote every morning exactly what you like to do'—if the master were to act thus, the fate of that pack and of the flocks of sheep in the neighborhood would not be difficult to predict. It was an Irishman who, when some one said 'one man was as good as another,' exclaimed, 'Ay, and better too!' He understands himself, if no one else understands him. He is the worst of haters, but the truest and most loyal of followers. In the past he was devoted to his chiefs; in the present he is ready to wage war for anyone who will loyally claim it. Give him a master, and he will stand by him unto death; but it must be a master who knows what he is after and means to command. The wildest village boy that ever flung up his cap for O'Connell or Rossa has but to be caught, laid under exercise, and dressed in policeman's uniform, to be true as steel.

J. A. F.

THE FREE-GRANT LANDS OF CANADA.

By Charles Marshall.

IT was my pleasant fortune to be invited by Mr. Sandfield Macdonald, the Premier of Ontario, to join him, with several members of the Government, upon a tour of inspection through the Muskoka district, a wide region of lakes and streams and woods in the northern part of the province of Ontario. The object of the Government was to see the condition of the roads and bridges lately constructed under their order, to observe the suitability of the country for immigration, and to make themselves acquainted with the condition and wishes of the settlers. I had long been wanting to improve my knowledge of the kind of life led in the backwoods, and to see for myself the kind of land given away without payment to the settler. Abundant opportunity was afforded us.

From Toronto we proceeded by two routes by the Great Northern Railway to Bell Ewart, a small town of frame houses springing up with a fine prospect on the shore of the beautiful Lake Simcoe. Here we found a steamer ready. A night's rest at the railway hotel enabled us to begin our journey through the dense woods, with hopes of early arrival at the mighty waters which were to bear us swiftly away. The railroad is to be carried on at once to Gravenhurst, the door of the Muskoka district, and will probably, without any question, be pushed forth to Lake Nipissing, to tap the line of rail to the west across the continent to Port Arthur and to the Pacific. In the meantime the Muskoka district appears destined to be the great resort of summer settlers for the far North-West, and for the Atlantic trade, with the province of Ontario, and with the New England States of the American Union. However, we are concerned at present with narrower prospects.

A large steamer took us, with a number of settlers and immigrants, and their multifarious wares and baggages, across Lake Simcoe. On the farther side a miniature screw steamer waited to take us on over the narrow, winding, lovely Lake Couchiching. This little vessel, after the excellent fashion prevailing here, and more or less throughout Canada, was named with an Indian word, *Wenonah* (the First-Born). Other steamers we afterwards met were the *Wanbano* and the *Ozama*. On this Lake Couchiching—the Lake of Many Winds—we stopped at a new-born town, Orillia. The townships close by were named Rama, Mara, Vespra, and Oro. Beautiful names like these everywhere abound: and the country is worthy of them.

It is a pleasant indication of a natural appreciation of the graceful in this transplanted English race, that numerous and significant names are being everywhere chosen throughout the Dominion, and are even displacing old names of a vulgar sound. A certain spot on Lake Ontario, the Beautiful—could not prosper while it was styled York, or contemptuously Little York—named anew Toronto, the Meeting-place of the Tribes, it has advanced to dignity, and importance, and wealth, with a rapidity scarcely rivalled in the whole American continent. There are not wanting people who say that Kingston, if better named, might have sunk to an unimportance corresponding to that of our old Saxon Kingston on the banks of the Thames. I have been told

of a secret city which, on being [illegible] Victoria—Victoria by a vote of three votes to two in favour of the former name. The city of Victoria boasted a population, probably more rabbity than human, of twenty souls, and was also blessed by its astonished and horrified inhabitants with a newly erected and the Parliament House, Hôtel de Ville, and Opera House all in one establishment.

From Washago on Lake Couchiching to Gravenhurst the route passes for fourteen miles through a singularly picturesque tract of savage scenery. Precipitous broken banks, crowned with dense pine and birch, rise on every side, abrupt masses of granite block the way. The rough bridle-track plunges now into the hill slopes to avoid some rocky bay, now over the stream at the bottom, and then toils painfully up the ascent to escape. Within view we frequently pass some clear lake as yet unexplored, reflecting the true Wilderness sky. The name of the [illegible] at their example of the [illegible] of Indian words it [illegible] the Land of Clear Skies. Every lake [illegible] the most picturesque [illegible] of [illegible] beauty, but [illegible] has ever come here in search of the picturesque.

I [illegible] the Minister of Crown Lands would be [illegible] that an intelligent settler has been known to [illegible] his way along the road with [illegible] and guns, and return [illegible] provisions. But the [illegible] was wrong. Provided by the [illegible] to all lovers of pure air [illegible], to test the courage of [illegible], and prepare him for the [illegible].

[illegible] A [illegible] from the [illegible] of the [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

'I hope you people about here do not neglect your religion, though you are in the wilds. You read the Holy Scriptures, I trust?'

'I do,' was the reply. 'I read the Holy Scriptures—and the *Globe*!'

Our procession made a sufficiently characteristic appearance. We used the ordinary carrying conveyances of the route. First came a roughly-made waggonette, bearing several members of the Government, an English clergyman, and one or two guests. Then a stage with cross seats, as grand as may be seen at Epping on popular English holidays. This carried some M.P.P.'s, several railway directors, and the rest of our party. Next followed a 'buggy' that had once known the life and fashion of some large town, and the family of many infants, probably, whom it carried. Then a road-waggon of the simplest construction, of unplaned planks. On one of the cross-benches in this sat a fine-looking elderly man with a young wife and a lovely child, people of education, proceeding to a piece of uncleared land on which a log-hut was being put up for them. They were by no means unhopeful of their future; their progress-made past were not such as to lead to extravagant anticipations of success; but they were evidently people of character and resolution. Others followed, of all kinds, in all sorts of vehicles, which, without going to tragedy on the roads, were heavily laden with boxes and packages of every shape, size, and colour. All these were brought up next year. At the end of our visit the majority of these people were passing through the town every day.

At the end of Lake Nipissing a narrow strait of water divides the lake from Trout Lake. Here we stopped, and the horses were fed. Trout were caught in the lake, and Beaver Island, which lies across the strait, was pointed out as the pathway of silver across the dark waters. Near the landing-stage a mass of blazing pine logs revealed the deep shadows of the surrounding woods, and flecked the waters below with red and gold. The news of our visit had preceded our arrival. A group of thirty or forty rough men welcomed the Attorney-General with ringing cheers. A second bonfire lit up the village itself. In a short time a supper, with ales and wines, was prepared for fifty or sixty persons. The reeve presided, and patriotic, humorous, explanatory, and prophetic speeches were made up to two o'clock in the morning. The people wanted roads, railways, and a separated township, and were willing to tax themselves to assist in getting what they wanted. They spoke good sense, in good English, with a Scotch accent if with any; they showed some pride in recounting what they had done within the past five years, and a great confidence in the future importance of their respective city.

In the morning we could see that a most romantic spot had been chosen as the site of the little town. The narrow, but deep, and very lovely Mississagua river winds round the place, with a set of falls in full view, and another at a short distance. Of these two grist-mills were in busy operation. At a bend in the stream, situated a quarter of a mile off, were the saw-mills. These, like the grist-mills, and indeed all the buildings on the bay-ground, are with a great variety of outline, presented many a view extremely picturesque. All around were the pines in the wood, and beside us was the bright bay. There were a couple of stores, and all were busily engaged in preparations. A triumphal arch, apparently, was to be erected there, and, as I discovered, at a subsequent visit upon Tuesday, the artisan here had his allotted series in the busy day. Shops are opened.

Presbyterian, Methodist, and Episcopal churches are already formed. The Northern Light has a circulation of 1,000 a week. The hotels, Victoria, the Royal, and the Dominion, are open and crowded at present, as numerous parties are constantly arriving to look upon the shore, while their accommodation is being increased. The Government agent here had disposed of 1,000 acres of land within the last two months.

Muskoka is but one of a series of lakes affording a natural communication through the finest district in Canada, for I should scarcely pass one sheet of water, of irregular shape, but with islands large and small, with hilly, well-wooded shores. And yet perhaps Lake St. Joseph, still more north, may boast even greater beauty. This region is destined one day to be visited by a number of tourists as Lake George and Lake Champlain now are in New England, or our own small lakes in England. We bathed in each lake and baked from canoes or new homes built by the settlers. A considerable proportion of the land in the district for sale is now taken up. In a few years all the country will be settled up to Lake Nipissing, where the Pacific railway crosses.

The greater part of the valuable land there is not disposed of by private persons. In some cases it was sold at 50 cents per acre. Now it is often held that the most valuable lots were no worse than the parts of the old country from which they were taken. Until the settlers have cleared a farm on the land for themselves and erected a house, they are not allowed to sell. The law would have worked better if it had required a certain number of acres to be cleared for each family, before, and not after the issuing of a title. In the most rocky parts, too, a few acres could be cleared at first with much less trouble than the settlers would put to their location ticket by spring into the bush, and find them in the fall in excellent condition. We frequently met with cattle, marked and belled, and always plump and healthy.

Bears are now very rarely to be met. Moose and elk are occasionally started. Partridge, duck, and various small game are common. The lakes and streams afford an extraordinary abundance of fine trout, bass, white-fish, and what is here called herring.

We constantly met with parties of two to half a dozen men making their way with guns through the woods with the view of choosing settlements. Sometimes one or two of these would be commissioned to select lots for three or four friends at home, who intended to join with them. Some were Canadians, others "Old Country folk," they called them, in a rough way in the woods, or were making their way at nightfall to a settler's house, or a shanty tavern.

I had the honor of suggesting a name for a steamer that may possibly ply to and fro on the lakes in the future. At present but the waters of St. Joseph are such within about two miles of the head waters of Lake Rosseau, a small portage alone forming the division. Some thirty men were at work cutting this through and embanking the canal entirely with stone. We encountered here one night on a wooded knoll overlooking the two lakes. I took a canoe with the axe, and felled, but with many a wasted stroke, two trees. It was a pleasant experience to stand back after the last great blow, and see the tall tree sway and totter for an instant, and then with a rushing crash fall. It was more difficult to split the trunk all asunder and cut it into lengths with one's pocket-knife.

Here our canvas tents formed a very decent fly of protection. Here we broiled our fish and pork, and cooked our tea. A recent settler praised our appearance of the first potatoes grown on Lake St. Joseph,

they turned out from our pan great flaky snowy balls of unequalled deliciousness. Another settler brought out from his pocket a specimen ear of Indian corn, a foot long and excellently ripened.

We ate suppers hearty enough to have given us all nightmare in any place less free and wild than this. Then members of the Government sang patriotic songs with dignity, and various backwoodsmen and navvies, attracted to our camp, sang songs sentimental and comic. The stars were long out when we crept into our tents, rolled up ourselves in buffalo robes, and fell to sleep.

In the middle of the night our quiet was disturbed by a wild cry of alarm. I started up, and found the place at my side vacant. At the tent door loomed the spectral figure of the Attorney-General, dark against the glowing light of the camp fire, with extended arms and wild gestures. The cry of 'Fire" died on his lips. 'I thought the house was in flames,' he said penitently, and quietly crept back.

In the morning a great plank was procured. In open black letters I inscribed upon it the name newly decided on for the place. The plank was nailed to a pine before the assembled party. Then, in the name of her Majesty Queen Victoria, and of the Dominion of Canada, the Rev. Mr. Herring solemnly christened the spot Port Sandfield. We added our acclamations.

We visited a large number of the houses of the settlers, up to as far north as Parry Sound on the Georgian Bay, and talked with the people. In no single instance did we find anyone disheartened or farming ill. No doubt their life was hard and laborious, and somewhat solitary. But they had all apparently come to like it. Every man knew his neighbours, and received help from them, giving his own assistance in turn. We met at different points the son of a Devonshire clergyman, and the nephew of a lord mayor of London; each contented, and resolved to stay. We found also a number of Londoners who had been assisted out by the Rev. Mr. Herring, and who were overjoyed at the unexpected sight of the face of an old friend. Without any exception such settlers from the old country expressed their satisfaction at the change in their condition, and declined the thought of returning. I do not question that, on the whole, they were getting on as well as the Canadians from the old provinces.

Now that roads and steamboats are opening communication through the country, the course of raising a new home in the backwoods is by no means so arduous an undertaking as it may appear to our imaginations in England.

The first thing to be done is the selection of a piece of land. The Government agent for the district will always assist intelligently with his advice. Some old settler or hotel-keeper can always be found for a dollar or a dollar and a half a day to go out with a new comer and show him the country and the most eligible plots.

The allotment decided on, and secured at the agent's office, the settler must find a lodging till his own house is up. But this is no difficult matter: all the people are neighbourly, and will gladly offer what accommodation they have, for a small remuneration, for the short time the new comer remains houseless.

Not far from the roadway, and if possible near some stream or lake, the settler fixes upon the site for his dwelling. Then he strips to his shirt sleeves, and falls to vigorously with his axe. At first two men should work together, for the saving of labour and for company's sake. If the settler has no friend or sturdy son with him, he can buy or borrow help close by.

It is a pleasant sight to see a good axeman at work. He stands erect, with well-planted feet, with throat bare, and probably with bare arms, and lifts his axe aloft against the towering majesty of the forest tree. The Canadian axe is small and very thick, and looks a ridiculous weapon against its great opponent. The handle is very long, and bent in shape. The man swings the axe high above his head; his right hand, stepping down the long handle, guides the stroke. The weight of the falling blow, with little muscular effort, drives the axe-edge deep. After some practice not a stroke is lost. The woodsman wields with the easy rhythm of the alternating blows. A great notch, a foot across, grows on either side the tree. The forest giant totters. The men pause and look up; then fall the axe again; then step back. The direction in which the tree must fall is always determined by any irregularity in its growth, or eccentricity in its position. It is a solemn moment when it comes crashing down, shaking the earth and severing the fibres of its tall trunk through the wood. The branches are lopped off by a few blows, the trunk is divided into logs for the saw.

When enough logs are ready, a 'bee' is held, and the neighbours flock to assist in raising the new dwelling. The 'bee' is popular, it affords a pleasant variety and excitement to the backwoods life, it arouses to the social preparation, it makes acquaintance, consolidates friendship, and the forming of new associations. Hence, every man who owns one is expecting to have a bee himself for getting in his wheat or raising a barn, or building a second house. The law in the backwoods is the fee, the priest, the lawyer, the doctor, the whole community, of the whole community.

Several members of our Muskoka party assisted for a short time at one of these gatherings. A finer score of men than were there met together it would be difficult anywhere to find. Most of them were young, but the new settler himself, and several of the others, were well past the prime of life. They all worked with a will, whistling or singing, with bits of talk and a frequent joke. At a neighbour's house, lent for the occasion, a long table was spread with pork and beans, excellent bread, and strong tea, for the noonday meal. It is a general custom, well honoured in the observance, not to offer ale or strong drinks on these occasions. The expense would be too great for many an immigrant; and besides the people meet together for hard work.

I tried to use an axe upon the new house, but rather to the amusement of the men by my awkwardness than to their assistance. The Attorney-General, however, was pronounced by them with admiration 'an oil hand.' The great logs are laid on the beaten earth in a square, perhaps of forty feet by forty. By deep notches the corners are pinned together. Some one position of the surface are removed. The next tier of selected tree-trunks is placed on, and so pointed as to make the ends of the side logs fit between those of the front and back. The bark outside is left on and aids the picturesqueness of the building. The middle throughout is smoothed level. The interstices are filled in with small branches and with clay. The doorways and windows are cut out after the whole wall is raised. All this can be done in one day. The ungrooved, but roughly hollowed logs fitted one in the other, can be put on by two men afterwards.

Sometimes the log-house is built of two stories, or at least with a loft. It is solid and comfortable, wind-proof and rain-proof, and will

last many years. The mortised corners are often smoothed plain; the bark is sometimes cut away in a pattern round the windows. Some of these log dwellings suggest a model type for a gentleman's country residence.

There is one absolute essential which the settler must procure, and with that he may move in at once to his new home. He must have a stove for cooking, and for warmth through the long winter. This may cost him perhaps twenty dollars. Of course it is better if he can take with him also bed, boxes, chairs, a gun, and a few books. And if he has a family with him, he should take pork, flour, and tea to last him till the next summer, or money enough to buy these. Forty or fifty pounds will carry a man with a small family pretty comfortably through his first winter and a year, the time of his chief difficulty.

But a lusty young man with a taste for roughing it need not hesitate to commence in the bush without a cent in his pocket. He can get work enough on the day of his arrival to pay for his food. He can put a settler in clearing his plot on condition of receiving a dollar and a quarter. In the growing little towns he can always earn some spare money: if put to a push he can get a dollar or a dollar and a quarter (4*s.* or 5*s.*) a day at some lumbering work. We found such men who had come penniless, and were now living well.

The roof-tree up, the man proceeds at once with what help he can to clear two or three acres. The first timber he can sell, pay a certain Government dues, log roads, bridges, and the like. The first crop—wheat, barley, beans, or potatoes will be an extraordinary one, unless he is born with a caul. Of grain he will get forty or fifty bushels to the acre, in spite of the wretched burnt ground with stumps. Then he will lay this down in grass, and proceed to clear three or four acres more. The good wife should have her cows, and pigs, and multitudinous poultry. The settler has no need to seek a market. The lumbering shanties will buy of him at double prices everything eatable he can offer. The rising industrial centres also increase the demand.

In three or four years the log-house becomes too small for the settler's increasing family and growing importance. He builds a new one of squared timbers, and uses the old place for cattle or horses.

In five years more a new change is necessary. The wilderness has become a cultivated settlement. The stumps are rotted, and pulled out. Save for the snake-fence his farm looks like a piece of Old England. He has built great barns, for these cost nothing but the labour. His cattle and sheep are well housed; but he is always wanting more room. Once more he sets to work building; but by this time a town has grown up near him, and he can obtain any kind of labour he desires. If his tastes are pretentious, he decides on a stone residence, with a handsome portico; but, more probably, he will build an elegant frame-house, with pretty balconies and a wide verandah.

These are the steps of progress to be seen all through Canada. The man of industry and intelligence is certain to secure independence and a great position for himself and his family. He will have hardships on the way, no doubt. One well-to-do farmer told me of a time when he, at his family, arrowroots, were reduced to a diet of Indian-meal sodden with molasses. Another man, whose farm is now surrounded with frame-houses and villas, told me how, on one of his return once from market with a big ten-pot, when, through the darkness of the night, he searched about on his own farm

for hours for his charity in vain, and at length sat on the ground with his head inside the post for shelter. He started at the last when passed a woman on horseback with at the sight of a human creature, and at last he was carried away by the settlement from growing deaf and dumb. The only time I met an old man he was sitting alone under a tree to market in the winter on the south and was in a hurry to get further

'It was a good horse, a man and child on the sleigh, and the sleigh was a buffalo robe, I guess.'

'I suppose you did not go out,' I answered.

'Why not, I wonder? You could get to Angus, from Barrie, only in one day. But the people think themselves quite young enough to wait.'

I found that one of the chief of the township had begun life as a sailor.

In some parts of the township of Tecumseth, in the county of Simcoe, the settlers are well aware of the great value of the land, and the fact that it is rapidly increasing in value. A man who has been there for a few years, and has cleared a few acres, and has a house and barn, will not sell his farm for less than $2,000. The land is very good, and the soil is very rich. The land is very good, and the soil is very rich. The land is very good, and the soil is very rich.

At the time of the visit of the Prince of Wales to Canada, in 1860, the township of Tecumseth was visited by the Prince of Wales, and the Prince of Wales was very much pleased with the land and the soil. The Prince of Wales was very much pleased with the land and the soil. The Prince of Wales was very much pleased with the land and the soil.

'What is the average of that wheat you have got?' I asked.

'It is half-falling grain,' replied the boy after a moment's pause.

On the whole there does not appear the least doubt that tens of thousands of our hard-working people at home would find their position greatly improved on these free-grant settlements. It was our general conviction that new comers just out from the old country did quite as well here as Canadians from the settled districts. If a man is healthy and strong, and means to work, he has nothing to fear here, and everything to hope.

The regulations of the Government grant are very simple. To an unmarried man or to a married man is the quantity of land granted, but he is permitted to purchase an additional hundred acres at the nominal rate of 2 cents or 2s per acre. The head of a family is allowed two hundred acres, with an additional hundred acres for every child over seventeen years of age. He has also the privilege of purchasing granted grants at the rate of 2 cents per acre. The land is also to be given free of all charges, but a fee, at the rate of 2 cents per acre, is to be paid to the Government. It is to be understood that the settler must reside on the property for at least three years, and that he must cultivate a certain number of acres. He is also required, at the end of the first year, to erect a house of not less than 16 feet by 20 feet, and to have cleared at least 15 acres of the land. He is then at liberty to sell it or let it. The regulations are framed with the view of encouraging the settlers, and not of hindering them.

The first part of the new road is very good. After twenty miles we came to the village of Angus, where there is a saw-mill.

The next road up to the head of Lake Simcoe is being surveyed.

Nine townships in County Victoria and four in North Peterborough are open for settlement. These are in Ontario. Similar districts are already open, and others are being rapidly prepared, in the lower province of Quebec.

In both provinces the Governments are engaged in surveying and building new roads. Railway companies are finding it to their interest to run lines of the new narrow gauge to open up traffic in the new country. Then, west of Lake Superior, stretches an enormous tract of rich prairie and woodland, destined to be the home of new and powerful States.

Immigration to Canada, which for some years past has been rapidly increasing, is likely soon to attain extraordinary dimensions.

THE SCHOOLMASTER ABROAD.

By Dr M P. Lyon, of the Hoo

I

WHILST strenuous efforts are being made in all quarters at home for the improvement of our national education, it may be well to present briefly a sketch of what has already been done in other parts of the world which must prove devoid of interest or utility.

We offer, in the first place, a few hints from Holland, where the system of national education has met with the general approbation of all those who have had an opportunity of looking into the matter.

Years ago, before the present laws were promulgated, M Cousin wrote a somewhat exaggerated panegyric on the system followed in Holland. Mr Matthew Arnold has written largely on the law on Primary Instruction; Mr Kay on his visit to Holland in connexion with the foreign enquiries, the Dutch Government have written on the subject. Mr Horace Bleackley, during the time he was British Consul at Amsterdam and Hague, wrote with the assistance of the Dutch authorities a lengthy paper on Middle Class Education, which was published in the Parliamentary Blue Book of 1868; and in that volume, too, an excellent translation of the law on Primary Instruction is to be found from the pen of the Hon Horace Twiss, late Secretary to the British Legation

A few months later Mr Fitch (Taylorian, Oxford), was in Holland, and his valuable and detailed reports from the Continental Inspectors, and a good deal of information from personal inspection of the various schools by the Secretary for the Science and Art Department, have been published by the Stationery Office

Visits to Holland, too, were paid by Mr. James Conrgis, the Hon. Secretary of the National Education League at Birmingham, and by Mr Rutson, and a great deal of information, particularly on middle class instruction, was imparted by Baron Mackay, of the Hague, during the discussion of the National Education Bills in the British Parliament

Something, then, is known of the matter on which we intend writing more fully, without repeating what has already been stated by competent authorities. Our design is rather to give an account of the whole system as it works, and to condense as much as possible in so doing the results of our many years' labour in the field

The law on Primary Instruction was promulgated in 1857 The principles on which it is based are the following: In every commune in the kingdom provision for primary instruction must be maintained at the public expense If the commune is too poor to bear the expenditure, it is contributed by the government and by the province to which it belongs in equal shares

No religious instruction is allowable at public schools during school hours, but between school hours, or at other times, the buildings are to be opened to the ministers of all sects for the benefit of children whose parents may desire to let them enjoy religious instruction

An article of the law forbids the schoolmaster himself ever to make use of any terms or to promulgate any doctrines likely to hurt the religious feelings of any of the pupils entrusted to his care

At the head of each school stands a master duly certificated, and the law prescribes the number of qualified assistants he is to have in ratio

to the number of his pupils. All the teachers are appointed by the commune, subject to the control of the district inspector, who presides and regulates the competitive examinations of the head masters, in the presence of the local boards. At the expiration of a term of forty years' service, and at the age of sixty, the schoolmasters are entitled to a Government pension, to the amount of two-thirds of their pay. They can only be discharged with the concurrence of the district inspector.

The same rules apply to the assistants. The amount of salary is fixed by the commune, subject, however, to the approbation of the higher authorities, of whom we shall have to speak anon. The minimum amount of salary fixed by law for a head master or mistress is in round figures 40*l*., for an assistant, 20*l*. Besides the pay, the head master has a house and garden, or a pecuniary indemnification. There are but very few schools named where the salaries are not higher than the minimum, and their number is steadily decreasing.

The law, too, decrees that at every public school there shall be at least, besides the head master, a pupil teacher if there are 25 children at school, an assistant if there are 50 pupils, and so on for every 50 pupils another teacher.

Besides the three R's, the rudiments of history, geography, natural history, and music (singing) must be taught at all public schools.

The law, too, allows elementary instruction to be given under the denomination of extended primary instruction in modern languages, mathematics, agriculture, drawing, gymnastics, and the like branches.

It may be considered as a serious defect that girls' masters and female schools are not rendered obligatory by the law. There are communes which have their schools by means of these very necessary branches of instruction, and often cause much trouble in that respect to the higher authorities.

Private schools may be opened by all *qualified* head masters or mistresses, whose assistants must likewise be certificated. At these establishments religious instruction may be given or not, as the director of the school pleases. He is, too, quite free as to the number of assistants he employs; but his school must be always open to the authorities, who have a right to insist on its containing the requisite space for the pupils, on its being properly ventilated, &c. The district inspector can condemn the building, and close the school, if defective in these respects; but, of course, subject to an appeal to the higher authorities; and this is the case, too, with all public schools.

The private schoolmaster enjoys entire liberty with regard to the branches of instruction at his own establishment. He is not compelled by law to teach any one of them, and the consequence very naturally is that many of these schools are greatly inferior to the public ones, not only with regard to the number of masters employed, but also as to the amount of instruction imparted.

The communes may, if they please, grant subsidies to private schools, but only subject to the proviso that no religious instruction be given, and on other conditions they may think proper to impose.

The population of the kingdom amounts in round numbers to about 37,000,000, and there were, according to the Government Report on January 1, 1869, 2,590 public schools for primary instruction, 3,625 private schools, and 125 private schools in receipt of subsidies.

The statistics of the last ten years have proved that the number of scholastic establishments is steadily on the increase, and that the complaints of the sectarians that public

education is making the private schools utterly [illegible]

The [illegible] raise schools [illegible] as I have [illegible] but [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

3,000 inhabitants the town council appoints the members. Where there are fewer inhabitants, the burgomaster and his assessors form the local board. The members visit the schools, settle the order of the lessons with the head master, examine the classes at stated periods, see to the wants of the establishment with regard to books, maps, &c., and send in a yearly report to the town council and the district inspector on the state of all the schools entrusted to their care. They form, too, a sort of council, to whom the municipal authorities apply for advice on all educational matters, such as raising the salaries, increasing the number of masters, improving the buildings, and so forth. They are likewise bound to give all information required by the inspector of the province.[1] The district inspector has a right to attend the meetings of the local board, and give his opinion on all matters of debate.

2 *The District Inspector*.—This functionary is appointed by the King. The post is considered an honorary one, and the district inspector has no pay at all, and nothing but a trifling sum, perhaps £5 a year, for travelling and maintenance allowances. He is appointed for a term of six years, but may be reappointed at the expiration of that time, or removed previously, at the pleasure of the Crown. The position is influential, and generally sought after by young lawyers or literary men in the district who wish to form connections. The district inspector has to visit some twenty or more communes, to inspect the schools, to preside at the local masters' meetings, to correspond with the municipal authorities on school matters, &c., all to be noted in his yearly report to his chief, the provincial inspector, and the States of the province. His opinion is taken, too, on all public and private school buildings; and he can require, subject to an appeal in higher quarters, the dismissal or suspension of any schoolmaster who has misbehaved. It is his special duty to control the proceedings of the local authorities, and to see to the due observance of all articles of the law. Besides these duties, he has, in his turn, to be a member of the board of examiners for granting certificates to masters, which meets twice a year and is presided over by the provincial inspector.

It is beyond a doubt that it would be advisable to make salaried officers of the district inspectors, who could devote their whole time to their office. They are generally recommended to the Minister by the provincial inspector for appointment, and very often great difficulty is experienced in finding a suitable person for the office. Here and there a university professor has accepted the appointment, or some other man eminently fitted for its requirements; and where this is the case, the state of the district always improves in a remarkable manner. In the smaller communes great tact is required on the part of the district inspector to overcome sectarian prejudice, and the very general desire to spend as little money as possible.

3 *The Provincial Inspector* is appointed by the Crown, and is a salaried officer. He represents the Government in his province, and corresponds on all matters of importance directly with the Minister of the Interior, his chief. The Minister and the States of the province take his opinion on all educational matters, and his advice may

[1] There are [illegible] school [illegible] for [illegible] on [illegible] matters [illegible] has [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

be asked by all other authorities on educational questions. His correspondence with the State is central, as this body has to confirm the appointment of all masters, to decide on money grants to the communes, on the pensions to be awarded to schoolmasters, &c. The State, too, can order schools to be built, or additional masters appointed, if the communes have failed to act up to the law, and its reports, &c., on these and other educational matters are with but few exceptions referred to the inspector, whose opinion is almost always followed.

Every year a certain sum is placed at the inspector's disposal by the Government, to be applied, at his discretion, for the training of teachers in the province; and his accounts are, of course, subject to the control of the audit chamber.

The money grants are applied in the following manner.

There are three Government training schools for masters, where boys are admitted at the age of fourteen and remain till eighteen, when they must pass the examination as assistant teachers or leave the school. There are also classes attached to two of these schools for assistant training as head masters, who pass their examination at the age of twenty-two.

In the normal classes are established, either entirely supported by Government or partly aided, and by the municipality the boys are attended by masters and professors, who meet together, but not at different hours, generally in the evening in order to allow the pupil and assistant teachers to attend their schools in the day time.

Inspectors of these normal classes consist of the head masters of the schools in the town under municipal control, one of whom is appointed by the inspector. The masters have a salary granted to them for the evening lessons, ranging, according to the work they do, from 40*l.* to 60*l.*

In the village classes are formed for pupil and assistant teachers and the lessons are generally given twice a week, for three or four hours consecutively, on half-holidays, in order to enable the pupils to come together from the neighbouring villages. Three or four schoolmasters unite (under approbation of the provincial inspector) to give the lessons, for which they, too, get some trifling remuneration at the expiration of the year, besides a small sum for books, charts, and instruments.

The system works very well indeed. It not only enables the pupil teachers to find the requisite guidance in their studies, but it likewise encourages the head masters in village schools to go on studying themselves, and not to remain behind their times.

Due attention to these schools is but one of the many duties imposed on the provincial inspector. He has besides to visit all the communes of his province in some cases two hundred in number—and it is no small part of his task to reconcile contending parties and put in his veto when obstinate municipal authorities decide on anything wrong, or will not understand the law.

A most important part of his duties is to direct and preside at the half-yearly examinations for certificating school masters and mistresses.

The board consists of the inspector and four of the district inspectors, who are present as assessors as they can better respond to aid them in their task. In the larger provinces as many as three hundred or more candidates are examined in the various branches every half-year. The successful candidates are granted

a Head Master's Diploma. Acquirements: a perfect knowledge

of their native language, and something of its literature. Arithmetic, comprising equations. History, universal, and of Holland more in detail. Geography, physical, mathematical, and political. Natural history and physics. Pedagogy and music.

b. Assistants. The same branches, but to a less extent.

c Candidates are granted separate certificates for English, French, and German, from and into which languages they must be able to translate correctly and to speak them fluently; for mathematics, geometry and algebra, for agriculture, gymnastics, drawing, and for female handiwork.

Certificates, too, are given for any separate branch of instruction to '*huisonderwijzers*,' that is to say, to private masters, who have only a right to give lessons in the branch of instruction specified in their certificates. Anyone giving private or public instruction without being duly certificated is subject to fine or imprisonment, or to both on repeating the offence.

In April and October 1870 the number of candidates examined was —

H[illegible]	[illegible]
H[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]
A[illegible]	
[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]

[illegible] the private [illegible] [illegible] the examination [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] Wewill begin by giving [illegible]

[illegible] erected since the introduction of the law in 1870 are [illegible] well adapted to their purpose. A school for four or five hundred children, with a very good [illegible] for the head master, [illegible] at the Hague or Rotterdam [illegible]

[illegible]

For five hundred children in a large town, at a cost of [illegible] rate of [illegible] Where the parents [illegible]

[illegible] and [illegible] over [illegible] per annum. [illegible] the [illegible] two [illegible] of [illegible] large [illegible] which [illegible] drawn [illegible] [illegible] with [illegible] acquaintance with history, geography, natural history, and drawing. In a good many towns and smaller places, too, the boys are [illegible] and put through a course of gymnastics, whilst the girls are taught [illegible] work. We have above stated that these branches are not being compulsorily taught by law, in many cases great difficulties have to be overcome in getting them introduced. Latterly some of the inspectors have induced the municipal authorities to employ female assistants in the lower classes, for which they are eminently adapted in fact much better than men; and as they can likewise teach the girls needlework, wherever they have been appointed they have proved of great benefit to the school.

The boys and girls are taught together in the same classes, but in separate benches, and the [illegible] are [illegible] by [illegible] [illegible] of air of four cubic metres. The [illegible] of the [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

The Jewish part of the community have openly and repeatedly expressed their assent to the Article. They do not object to the word 'Christian' virtues, and send almost all of their children to the public schools.

The Roman Catholics, however, and the Pietist Protestant sects, have got up a cry against these institutions. No *Christian* virtues, according to their decree, can be taught at a school which they brand as 'irreligious' because no dogma is allowed to be inculcated. They assert it to be mere hypocrisy to retain the word in the article of the law, and to banish the spirit from the school. The Roman Catholics are particularly bitter and vehement in their attacks on the non-denominational school, but have hitherto met with no success, though they have, curiously enough, found numerous allies among their bitterest antagonists in other respects, the Pietist Protestants.

The result has been that school legislation has become in Holland rather a political than a religious or a moral question. The whole of the Liberal party are firm defenders of the present system of non-denominational public schools. The Conservatives, always latterly in a decided minority in the Chambers, sided with the Pietists and the Roman Catholics and other extreme religious parties in order to obtain a temporary victory.

We return to our school. Prayer or no prayer, the children are received and dismissed, and quietly taught, together. The teacher stands at the head of the room, with a cane in his hand, to cast it from time to time over the shoulders of those who are inattentive or naughty. Corporal punishment is never known, and any teacher who gave way to passion or violence would be severely censured by the inspector. Obstinate or idle pupils are 'cornered,' given extra tasks, or kept at school during playtime. Incorrigible offenders are sent away from school—with the concurrence of the local authorities. The school hours are generally from 9 to 12 and from 2 to 4, except on Saturdays, which are half-holidays.

There are, too, evening schools, intended for scholars who have passed through the highest class and wish to go on acquiring knowledge—and other schools belonging to middle-class instruction, of which an account will be given in a following paper.

The evening schools are for the most part scantily attended. Employment may be found for most boys or girls above twelve years of age, and the parents cannot (hitherto) universally be brought to understand that 'knowledge is power'—and, what is of more use to them, money. To a great many schools now libraries are attached, which work most usefully. They are amply provided with all sorts of books containing useful and entertaining knowledge, and popular scientific works of a higher order. The volumes are lent to the former or present pupils of the schools for a week or a fortnight, as a sort of reward or encouragement for good conduct, and the children are always delighted with the distinction conferred, and not only learn to read the stories with pleasure, but impart in many cases what they have learnt to their more ignorant parents or friends. In some places the children even pay a farthing a week for the loan of a volume, and the proceeds are employed for repairs and bindings. The school library is one of the cheapest and best working institutions imaginable.

The school-hours comprise all lessons given in singing, gymnastics, military drill, drawing, and needlework, and they are so divided that amusement and mental exer-

tion alternate. Thus a lesson in grammar or arithmetic is followed by a singing lesson, and though the Dutch are not what is called a musical nation, it is really astonishing to hear how correctly the children are singing and to watch the delight as soon as the music books are taken out of the desks. Several popular songs have words composed for them, and Dutch words have been adapted to a great many of the popular airs as well known in Germany. The result is that a taste for vocal music is being gradually developed among the lower classes, and singing-birds are not so scarce as they used to be.

Another characteristic of the Dutch school is the protection given to what is called the "free," or privately supported schools. Nobody is compelled, but parents are encouraged to send their children to schools where they will be taught their own religion. By degrees these schools are, as it were, drawn within the pale of the law, and the children are examined in them by the inspectors, and must reach a certain standard before they can obtain an exemption certificate. Many of the schools are, as a matter of fact, conducted in a very liberal spirit, and the children are taught to read the Bible in the authorised version, and to learn the Catechism of their own Church; but the Government will not allow any religious teaching to be given during the hours of school attendance, and the Bible and Catechism must be learnt out of school hours.

The masters and mistresses assemble once a month in the different districts, presided over by the district inspector, and from time to time visited by the provincial inspector. A small sum is annually granted by Government for the library, and the members discuss freely at their meetings all educational questions of the day, as well as the different systems or methods followed by themselves, and the interests of their pupil teachers and assistants who are preparing for examination.

Of these examinations it is now time to speak more at length.

We have already stated of what members the board of examiners is composed. The method observed, with slight variations in the different provinces, is as follows: The examination for head masters lasts two days, the candidates are placed all together at a table, with one or two members of the board and an assistant examiner, and the work begins.

FIRST DAY.

9	9½ a.m.	Writing.
9½	10½	Dictation, [illegible] Writing a letter to the Burgomaster [illegible] Writing a letter to a parent [illegible]
10½ – 1 p.m.		Arithmetic. Practice, Proportion, Interest, Discount, Fellowship, Barter, Fractions, Decimals, Extraction of Square Root.
2	3	Arithmetic.
3	4	Music.

SECOND DAY.

9	9½ a.m.	Practical Geometry, [illegible] Architecture.
9½	10½	The Netherlands, Physical Geography, Political Geography, Commerce, Industry, Agriculture, Natural History, Natural Philosophy, Chemistry, Astronomy, Meteorology, Physiology, Hygiene.
10½	11½ a.m.	Arithmetic.
11½	12½ p.m.	Algebra.
12½	1½	Dinner.
1½	2½	Natural Philosophy, Chemistry, Astronomy, Meteorology, Physiology, Hygiene.
2½	3½	Natural History, Natural Philosophy, Chemistry, Astronomy, Meteorology, Physiology, Hygiene.
3½	4½	Music.

After each of the examinations the members of the board and their assistants confer as to the merits of the candidates, and the

inspector inserts the results on his list. All the written work passes through his hands and through those of *two* other members of the board before judgment is given. The names of the candidates are not asked, they are only *numbered* until the result of the examination is made known. They are then called into the room again, their names are taken down, and the certificate granted or refused, as the case may be. When refused, the reasons are stated at length by the inspector; the written work, with all its faults marked, is shown to the candidate; and he is invited, as soon as all the examinations are over, to apply to the district inspector for further particulars and for advice how to continue his studies in future.

The examinations of the assistants and for the foreign languages, &c., are conducted in the same manner, and the public has free access to them. Only at the examinations of the female teachers, otherwise on exactly the same footing, no strangers are admitted.

For the certificates of head-masters ten guineas are paid about [illegible], assistants pay half that sum; and 5*s.* are paid for branch certificates. These small sums go to the Government, that bears the whole expense of the examinations. In the seven Provinces they cost the country in this way [illegible] annually.

The sum total of the [illegible] expenses for primary instruction was [illegible] guilders, about 42[illegible], of the [illegible] expenses [illegible] less than 4[illegible] guilders, or [illegible]. Half of the [illegible] were [illegible]. Nearly [illegible] [illegible], besides [illegible], [illegible]. The [illegible] primary [illegible] about [illegible] the [illegible] [illegible].

In [illegible] the [illegible] paid by the Government went for about one-third in subsidies, about 16,000*l.* was spent on the training classes; the other expenses annually recurring are the salaries of the inspectors and other officials, pensions, examinations, &c.

The costs of the private schools cannot be calculated with anything like precision, as, of course, this is a matter solely regarding the founders of these establishments, and no indiscreet queries are put on that score.

These private schools are of various descriptions. Firstly, free schools, established by different religious sects. They are, as a rule, with regard to the Roman Catholic schools, fine buildings, and the less said about the instruction given the better. They are entirely in the hands of the priests, who often oblige the parents, against their will, to remove their children from the public schools and to send them to their establishments. Everything at these schools is made subservient to the interests of the Church, and the children are taught reading and writing in a mechanical method, but with little development of their intelligence.

The Protestant sectarian schools are scarcely ever so well endowed as the Roman Catholic establishments. The want of funds in many instances causes a want of teaching power. The buildings are, in some cases far from satisfactory. A great deal of time is lost in psalm singing and in general explanation of the Scriptures, far above the comprehension of the pupils, and, like the Roman Catholic schools, they inculcate a great deal of intolerance and very little learning.

A third sort of private schools is of a higher description: these are commercial or learning schools, with more or less of a sectarian tint, according to the views of the head-master. They are naturally only established by him as the means of getting a decent livelihood, or, in the case of some fashionable board-

ing schools, particularly for young ladies, of making a fortune. They are frequented by scholars of the wealthier class, and are generally defective in some respect or other. For instance, too much time is devoted to the master or mistress's favourite branch of instruction, or to whatever may happen to be the fashion of the day, whilst other branches of education are neglected. Thus in most girls' schools the pupils will be found far advanced in foreign languages, but backward in their mother tongue, bad arithmeticians, very imperfectly acquainted with geography, knowing little or nothing of natural history, but wasting a great part of their time on fine-drawing and embroidery.

Private schoolmasters and mistresses are in general too much dependent on the whims and fancies of their patrons to keep on the right path they would gladly follow out of their own free will. There are thus but very few really good private schools in Holland, and these are not without an exception remedy material.

The want of higher instruction to which I have alluded at the opening of this article made itself very painfully felt a few years ago; it has been remedied by the law on the 1st class primary instruction, promulgated in 1857.

As we have previously stated, the educational establishments of every province in Holland and the colonies are entrusted to the Inspectors, who are charged with the superintendence of the primary schools, and have to report to the Minister of the Interior once a year on the state of education in their respective provinces. Besides these reports, which are published, they have to send in private reports to the Minister, in which they point out such matters as require improvement, and which are not intended for the public eye.

We have to make a few hints to guide us with regard to some subjects to which experience has taught us particular attention ought to be paid at public schools.

The larger the school the better it is likely to turn out in every respect. There is greater emulation among the teachers themselves, as well as among the pupils; and there is, of course, some saving in expenditure. Fuel and lighting will cost comparatively less at a large than at a small school, the same number of charts, maps, &c., are requisite for the smaller as for the larger establishment, and all building repairs will be comparatively reduced. This is the case, too, with physical and musical instruments, models for drawing classes, and so forth.

Another very great advantage is the better employment of the teaching power. Very few masters indeed are to be found, particularly among the clever ones, who have not a decided and marked predilection for one or another branch of instruction, either literary or mathematical, and in large schools an assistant or head master can be most advantageously employed in the work he prefers. This is impossible in small schools, and, of course, to the detriment of the instruction.

As a rule, the head master of a public school ought to be left free in the appointment of his assistants. He is then answerable for them in a much higher degree than otherwise, and will take more interest in their doings. In Holland, the district inspector, the burgomaster, and assessors of the commune, with the head master, consult together on the choice of candidates, and a report is sent with three names to the town council, who appoint. In the case of ten the head master is allowed to have his own way, and the control of the district inspector and the other authorities merely counteracts undue or unjustifiable favouritism.

The subdivision of labour at the school ought likewise to be left entirely to the head master, and all complaints about the pupils or the school addressed exclusively to him. Local boards, which arrogate too much authority to themselves, will do well to remember the trite saying that 'too many cooks spoil the broth.'

Prizes are generally to be condemned. In large schools it is almost impossible to act with perfect fairness. The quick and clever boy carries off the prize, which a less talented but more painstaking pupil has better deserved. In nine cases out of ten this will be found to be the case, and the children themselves are invariably quick in finding out where an injustice has been committed.

The expense, too, of prizes in large schools is very considerable indeed. A far better system is that of printed testimonials, given at a public examination to all scholars who have deserved them, for good conduct and regular attendance at school. Both parents and children attach great value to these testimonials, and the fear of not obtaining one produces good effects on the worst set. Even those of the lowest capacity know they may secure the certificate, and do not feel hopelessly excluded, as in the case of costly prizes awarded to the cleverest pupils.

We conclude with a few remarks on the state of elementary schools in general, with regard to primary instruction. The Government has established the system, as we have already stated, of only granting certificates to schools which are partly supported by the school-money paid by the pupils. It was a question mooted some years ago to the expediency of the system, which compelled the poor to pay for their own education. It was a very wise step at the time, and has had a good effect in two respects. Firstly, where needy communes wanted a subsidy, it is very clear that the greater number of the inhabitants belonged to the indigent classes, and could ill afford to pay for their children's education; and even the lowest rate of school-money, eightpence a month, drove a good many children from the school. A clause in the law especially provides, however, that the local authorities must exempt all indigent parents from paying the school-money; and where those authorities themselves belonged to the opposition, they were and are niggardly in these exemptions, and will employ all sorts of subterfuges in order to keep down or reduce the number of pupils, and thus to save the expenses of an additional teacher at the school. There was, too, in many cases great difficulty in not allowing an exorbitant amount of school-money to be levied, which would have entirely ruined some of the public schools.

On the other hand, where the Liberals in the town council are in the majority, and school-money must be raised in order to obtain a subsidy, a most trifling rate is levied, and many who could well afford it are exempted from payment. The intentions of Government are thus eluded on both sides, and the clamour against the public school has not diminished.

One great defect in the law, in our opinion, is the very little influence it exercises on the private schools. They are open, as we have stated, to all local Government authorities; if, however, the masters are duly certificated, and their schools be but tolerably decent, there ends all control. They may teach as much or as little as they please, they may have as many or as few assistants as they choose. In many of these schools, perhaps, a hundred and fifty children are taught by only one master and a pupil-

teacher, fifteen or sixteen years of age and they may employ obsolete and worthless school books, always to be had cheaper than more modern publications.

The lower classes are the chief sufferers from the severe restrictions. Cheap sectarian schools are, scarcely with a single exception, of the very worst description. Of the private schools for the higher classes we have already spoken. The good ones are invariably and necessarily expensive, and one of their greatest defects is, that as soon as a school has acquired a reputation a number of teachers accrue; the teaching power is seldom augmented in the requisite degree, and in a few years the instruction and the surveillance of the pupils are anything but satisfactory. The only existing bridle on these establishments is the concurrence with the public school. The sectarians among the wealthier classes know the value of a good education for their children, and many of them who begin by patronising the private, end by sending their children to the public non-denominational school.

Twelve years have now elapsed since the present law on primary instruction was introduced, and there need be no hesitation in saying that its effects have even exceeded what its most ardent promoters expected, and that beyond all question the public non-denominational instruction has proved one of the greatest benefits ever conferred upon Holland.

In a following paper we propose giving a sketch of Middle Class or Secondary Instruction in that country.

THE LOSS OF H.M.S. *CAPTAIN*.

THE foundering of H.M.S. *Captain*, off Cape Finisterre, on the night of September 6–7 last, is one of those appalling calamities which would inevitably be felt as a national misfortune from the magnitude of the interests involved, the awful loss of life, and the sensational suddenness of the catastrophe, even if the *Captain* had been a passenger ship. Here, a great inventor, who has devoted the best years of his life to developing the maritime power of our seagirt isle; a gallant captain and crew zealous in their country's service, the finest fighting machine in the British Navy,—all go to the bottom together, along with a sum in money of 4 or 5 sterling literally thrown into the sea. Of Captain Cowper Coles we will not now speak at length: whether he has perished in the hour of victory for his turret-system, or whether he has in his own person paid the penalty of failure, are questions which will be eagerly debated for some time to come. We leave the settlement of these points to the verdict of public opinion, assisted by further experience, it is sufficient now to insist that he had all the true features of inventive genius—energy, originality, fertility of resource, and (often the other hand) he appeared irresistibly impracticable—in a hurry to get too fast. Have not these, too, been traits in the character of all those who have led the world to learn to shed the light of their intellect in advance of their fellow-men?

Burgoyne, the son of the veteran Field Marshal, was a man of another mould, essentially a sailor, of whom it may be said, as of the great Admiral Sir Thomas Trowbridge, who foundered in the *Invincible* 74, in 1811, on her return from the East Indies, that 'he commanded more men-of-war in his ship than any other of his time:' decorated with the Victoria Cross, zealous, and popular with both officers and men, it is felt by the Navy that he has not left his equal behind him.

We worship success in these days, and there are those who would depreciate Captain Burgoyne by urging that he lost his ship by 'want of seamanship,' in carrying too much sail. In reply to this allegation we have the emphatic evidence of Admiral Sir A. Milne, at the Court-Martial, to his character as a sailor and an officer, if such warrant were required; but to the Navy, such a charge as applied to Burgoyne is simply absurd. That his thorough knowledge of seamanship and his confidence in his own resources may have made him overbold, is probable, but this is a fault we could gladly pardon in a sailor; and we may quote the saying attributed to Nelson as applicable to his case, that 'no captain was worth anything who had never lost a ship.' We wish to do justice to Burgoyne's character, for he was the type of what a naval officer should be. We were at Portsmouth the day the *Captain* was commissioned, and we will describe him as we then saw him, for the last time. Only thirty-seven years of age, active, intelligent, and fond of the service; of about the middle height; his firm, slightly weather-beaten features beaming with that cheery smile which was all his own, and which so endeared him to all who knew him. In the words of Cowper Coles to the author, he was 'one of those who lead, but who do not drive their men.' One example will show how truly he understood his profession, and was enabled to perform that most difficult task of combining the *master* in unity with the *father*. When only

twenty-four years old, as a young commander, he was appointed by the Admiralty to the *Triton*, an 84-gun ship, fitting out as flag-ship for the Pacific station. It is customary in the Navy for the principal officers in an admiral's staff to be selected by the admiral, but there seems to have been a mistake between the Admiral and the Admiralty—the former had wished a certain officer to be appointed while the latter did not concur in his choice, and the result was that Burgoyne was appointed commander of the *Triton* against the Admiral's wishes. He had no money, and when both the Admiral and his flag-captain told Burgoyne that he was too young, and they requested him not to do any duty until the matter could be adjusted, or, in other words, until he should have been superseded by an officer of the Admiralty's selection, Burgoyne respectfully replied that he had been appointed by the ruling powers of the Navy, and that he considered it to be answerable to do his duty.

His request could not be opposed, and he immediately set to work, watched with no friendly eye by those senior to him, successful where he, at the same time as many more senior, failed, and he remained commander of the *Triton* while she was afloat. That he was attached to his ship as much as any Jack afloat was how could it be otherwise, when he had mastered the details of his profession, and the Navy was to him all in all, and that of which men will have gone with it.

We propose to deal fully with the causes of the loss of the *Captain*, but before we give a short sketch of the most terrible of these calamities which it has been our lot to have had to chronicle at sea, and of which the last and bravest is at the ocean grave. It would be impossible to give anything like a complete history of the wrecks and disasters at sea even in recent years, in the *Wreck Register* for 1869 alone we have to deplore the total loss of no less than 656 ships; but to form a just appreciation of the natural loss which has occurred in the foundering of the *Captain*, we must make some allusion to the many losses of ships at sea, having especial regard to the cases of foundering as distinct from wrecks.

'Foundered with all hands!'—this it is which causes us to shudder in our cozy chimney-corner. The woe felt in many a home lately as the loss of the *City of Boston* became gradually more and more of a certainty; yet, terrible as it is, fearful as the shock it gives us, there is a want of reality on which to fasten; the minutiæ are wanting, there is neither time, place, nor circumstance, in no sense is there a sacred spot, the grave is indeed 'vast and wandering,' and there is compensation to the bereaved in hoping on against hope, until at length they are surprised into finding how far they have acquiesced in their loss. This part of our subject being so evidently in point with the loss of the *Captain*, we propose to deal with more fully, but we proceed now to consider other cases of losses at sea. The most common phase of disaster at sea is shipwreck on the wild and stormy steep. The story in such a case has lost much of its inexpressible horror, but it has gained in reality; the incidents almost start to before us, some at least of those who were saved, the tale has a narrator, the facts are brought out with a clearness that dwells on the memory, and which instinctively draws forth a more complete response. Passengers have been lost with losses by wreck in the Royal Navy alone, but even better lighted, good surveys and charts, improved navigation, and the use of steam, have all tended to decrease these fearful casualties of late years, and we

have no space for more than a bare reference to the years 1810 and 1811, which are memorable for the fearful wrecks of the four line-of-battle ships *Montagu*, *Hero*, *St. George*, and *Defence*, besides two frigates and many small craft, in the Baltic. With wrecks we may rank losses through collisions. In such instances there is the feeling that the disaster occurred through directly preventible causes: in other cases the sailor bows before the fury of the elements as being 'the act of God,' as the charter-party expresses it; here he fails by the hand of man, and he feels, with David, a natural preference for the former. We wish we could feel that we were barren of illustrations in collisions, but unlike wrecks and other losses at sea, our examples seem to accumulate in modern times, the *World Register* for last year reporting 90 total losses from this cause alone. Icebergs, fire, explosion, have each claimed their share of victims on the deep; but perhaps, after all, the most melancholy individual cases of 'lost at sea' are those of men washed off the deck by a sea, blown off a topsail yard, or, still worse, who fall overboard by an accidental loss of footing, unnoticed, while the ship calmly pursues her way, literally

> Leaving [illegible]
> Sinking [illegible] great
> With [illegible] and the flood [illegible]

The loss of the *Royal George* at Spithead in 1782 is unique of its kind, and the circumstances connected with it are too well known to need repetition. This fearful catastrophe will dwell for ever in the memory of Englishmen, both owing to its sensational nature, and as having been celebrated by Cowper's *Lines on the Loss*. We do not now allude to losses in action, but foundering in battle forms certainly one of the many perils of the deep, and our future naval wars promise from the action of rams and torpedoes to be far more fertile than hitherto in this complete form of loss. From the sinking of the Italian iron-plated frigate *Ré d'Italia* in the Austro-Italian action off Lissa in 1866 by the *Ferdinand Max*, it would seem as if our modern Leviathans were much like the armoured knights of old—not very difficult to overthrow, and incapable of rising again, although all but impervious to the ordinary weapons wielded against them.

Such are after all but a few of the causes of loss at sea: we revert now to the cases of foundering.

Foundering was in ancient times, or to go back only a hundred years, quite a common occurrence: even men-of-war were then badly built and indifferently found.

In a long war, from the want of ports of refit, damages in action, and insufficient stores, ships often went to sea in what we should now consider to be an unseaworthy state, and frequent losses were the natural result of these conditions. Of recent years, in ocean voyages at least, losses from this cause have been far less numerous. The loss of the *London* passenger steamer in the Bay of Biscay in 1865 was a startling exception; and it is worthy of remark that steam and iron have brought certain new elements of danger with them which were unknown fifty years ago. Then, the difficulty was to keep ships from leaking; now the ships are tight enough, but in many cases they have little buoyancy, and they are lost from the penetration of water through the hatchways or ports. In the Royal Navy we have of late years lost but few ships from any of these causes until the fatal case of the *Captain* occurred to rouse us from our fancied security. It is true that in the last twenty years four brigs, the *Nerbudda*, *Sappho*, *Hero*,

and *Captain*, have foundered; but they were all well known to be overmasted, and it was shrewdly surmised that they had capsized. In the case of the *Hero* this supposition was placed beyond a doubt from the fortunate survival of a few of her crew. It is natural that as steamers came in, the art of bringing a ship-of-war have become somewhat lost, resulting in the above disasters. Since the loss of the *Captain* on the coast of Japan ten years ago, no ship of the Royal Navy has foundered until the terrible event of which we are now writing. Such is the present state of the question, but if we go back nearly a hundred years we shall find the case very different. The years 1780 and 1782 were as disastrous for losses to the Navy by foundering as the years 1870-71 were for shipwrecks. These latter terrible occurrences were caused by the most tremendous hurricanes in the West Indies. It is probable that from the reasons mentioned above, the want of a scientific appreciation of the laws of storms, how so thoroughly understood through the labours of Reid, Piddington, and others, enabled to circumvent the tracks and action of their victims, but the damage done by them to the British fleet is beyond all doubt. In 1780 Schomberg's Naval History gives a list of 4 frigates and 2 ships lost with all hands, besides 9 line-of-battle ships, 3 frigates, and 2 ships which returned with loss of masts and other damages, all due to one hurricane on October 10 and the following days. It was then no uncommon thing for a ship to be thrown on her beam-ends to get to the after-waists and unmasted into port, and the old writer on seamanship, Darcy Lever, actually gives minute instructions as to the proper way of rigging the ship-pumps, as if it were an ordinary occurrence. We wish that we had space for an interesting account of the 'miraculous preservation' of H.M. frigate *Ardent* in the hurricane of 1780, which shows how she was ultimately saved from foundering after being for hours on her beam ends. Let us contrast this with the capsizing of the *Captain*: in the former case there was scope for seamanship and energy even after the ship had been actually overset, in the latter but a bare five minutes existed from the first moment of danger till the noble vessel had totally disappeared beneath the seething waves. This is one of the penalties which we are forced to pay in these days for the use of iron instead of wood in building our ships.

The year 1782 was a still more fatal one to the British Navy. In August of that year Rear-Admiral Graves, with most of the prizes taken in Rodney's action and a large convoy, sailed from Havannah on his passage to England.

On September 16 the fleet was overtaken by a violent gale from the [illegible] which lasted for two days, during which time the ships were dispersed in all directions. [illegible] the ship was totally dismasted, and [illegible] the ship was [illegible] with [illegible] ships were [illegible] ships [illegible] the [illegible] ships [illegible] a few vessels were [illegible] ships [illegible] saved by [illegible] which were [illegible] ships [illegible] by [illegible] ships [illegible] the [illegible] ships [illegible] ships [illegible] ships

'with the loss of mizen-mast and in a most leaky condition,' the only man-of-war left to report the result of this most dreadful hurricane.

It is some compensation to be able to add that portions of the crew of the three first-named ships were saved, the fate of the *Duke de Paris* and *Centaur* being only too certainly conjectured to have been 'foundered with all hands;' although, indeed, there is a curious story about a seaman named Wilson, who was picked up by a Danish ship floating on a piece of wreck, who stated that he had belonged to the *Duke de Paris*; but he could not give a very intelligible account of her loss, except that she had foundered, and that, overcome with terror, he had clung to his frail raft, having seen the *Centaur* go down the day previously.

The *Resistance* and most of the squadron were caught in a sudden shift of wind, whilst lying to under their mainsails, and thrown on their beam ends, which, no doubt, accelerated the catastrophe. Since this fatal hurricane, the tradition of which has descended to our own times, the dangerous practice has been entirely given up, but it appears to have been a common custom in the Navy of those days. The fate of the Trafalgar prizes will naturally occur to us as having been unfortunately associated with Rodney's escape, but, in truth, their loss was far more due to the severity of the action itself than to any excessive bad weather which succeeded it. The loss of a Russian line-of-battle ship in the Baltic during the war of 1854-56 has never been thoroughly explained, but she is reported to have foundered from having had her lee lower deck ports open. If this statement of her few survivors is a correct one, it was a singular illustration of a practical application of the instability of low freeboard ships under canvas.

We can only allude to one more instance of foundering in the loss of the *Blenheim* and *Java* on their return home from the East Indies in 1807. The *Blenheim*, 74, was the flag-ship of the distinguished Admiral Sir Thomas Trowbridge; the causes of her foundering are no mystery—she was broken backed: her beams and riders showed that she was falling to pieces, and her crew could barely keep her afloat as she lay at anchor. The *Java* was an old Dutch prize frigate, scarcely more seaworthy. Probably no inferior sailor to Trowbridge would have attempted to put to sea with such unseaworthy craft, and he perished with all hands in the vain endeavour to bring them home. We have already compared Burgoyne to Sir Thomas Trowbridge; in energy, in zeal, in professional ability, they had many points of resemblance, besides the similarity of their fate. The last that was seen of the *Blenheim* and *Java* was by the *Harrier* sloop, which reported them as both having the signal of distress flying in a heavy gale of wind off the coast of Madagascar, and closing each other. It is generally supposed that, in the attempt to render assistance, one ship ran foul of the other, and that the collision accelerated their mutual destruction.

We have perhaps dwelt too long on this historical retrospect, and we will now return to the *Captain*.

The *Captain*, as is well known, was Captain Cowper Coles's model sea-going turret ship, the mature product of his genius, named after Nelson's flag-ship at St Vincent. She was, like her prototype, a ship-rigged ocean cruiser, with large sail power, of 4,272 tons burden, 320 feet long and 53 feet broad, with engines of 900 horse-power, and a complement of 500 men. Her armament consisted of four 25 ton guns, two in each turret, and two 6½ ton guns unprotected by armour. It will thus be seen that she was a most formidable vessel, carrying four of the heaviest guns ever put into a ship.

Her tonnage was more than double that of Nelson's flag-ship the *Vic-*

fore, she was 1,200 tons larger than our biggest sailing three-deckers, and 500 tons more than our heaviest screw ones. The great increase in tonnage has been the natural result of the necessity for making our modern men-of-war to carry a large armament, and at the same time possess the qualities of speed and steadiness which are requisite in a sea-going ship. Relatively to the Navy, Mr. Reed, and those who agreed with him, were right in their views, although almost a quarter of a century has elapsed since they first commenced their work. The fact remains that she was what we should have been thought extraordinary twenty or even ten years ago. She was of course, built of iron, with double bottom, water-tight compartments, and all the most recent improvements, for armour plating was then in its infancy, and the wood backing of the targets, which made of her sides, proved so valuable when plating came to be used. As the ship was designed to be a sea-going fighting machine of the highest type, fitted to carry a large armament, and to be a good sea boat, according to Admiral Sir Thomas Symonds, and in the opinion of many naval officers, she was the finest ship of her class in the world.

But whatever the merits of the ship, whether she was powerful, or, to some extent, unique, or whether she was a failure, like the Great Eastern, with which she has the great misfortune to be constantly compared, it was necessary that the Government should take some steps to prevent the recurrence of the state of things which had existed between the Admiralty and the Controller of the Navy. The fact was such that the Admiralty could not work with the Controller, the responsible head of the Department that was charged with the construction of the ships, and to whom the contract for the engines and armament of the Captain was entrusted. Instead of the ship being carried out under the eye of the Controller, and with the full responsibility resting on him, the Admiralty, in the case of the Captain, had taken the matter into their own hands, and had given the contract for the engines and armament to Messrs. Laird, of Birkenhead, the contract for the hull was very unwisely given to Messrs. Watts, of Millwall, and in the end it was found that every thing went wrong, the work was delayed and the cost doubled, and the ship was carried out. It appears that not only were Messrs. Laird to be responsible for the due performance of their contract, but that they were made to assume the principal weight of responsibility for the form and peculiar nature of the ship. Thus they were placed in a very unusual position, for the Contract Department, although in inveterate hostility, had to certify to all the essential points of the work. They disapproved of the low freeboard; they had but a very lukewarm appreciation of the turret system and Mr. Reed, the then Chief Constructor of the Navy, to whom that in every instance in which they were to have any power vested to 'approve' of any details in her construction, they granted them by writing the stock phrase, 'not objected to.' It thus appears that the Construction Department, having been overruled, were determined to have no responsibility for the ship, but it may well be doubted whether, as the servants of the Admiralty and the Navy, they had the right to take up this position, or whether, having this view of their duties, it would not have been the better course for the Admiralty to have removed them from any participation of the Navy would not thus have been saved a humiliating spectacle, and a loss of several valuable lives. The position was, indeed, an awkward one, demanding great firmness at the hands of those of the least amiable weakness of character, and we regret that the head of a great department scarcely stood themselves equal to the occasion. Admiral Sir R. S. Robertson, as Controller, and Mr. Reed as Chief Constructor, of the Navy, had been for the last five years entrusted with the construction of our ships of war, and in two successive Government notes to Parliament they have successfully maintained that a fleet consisting of the finest ships in the world. Mr. Reed has undoubtedly inventive and extraordinary practical talent, and

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It is some compensation to be able to add that portions of the crew of the three first-named ships were saved, the fate of the *Belle de Paris* and *Orestes* being only too certainly to be construed to have been 'foundered with all hands;' although, indeed, there is a curious story about a seaman named Wilson, who was picked up by a Danish ship floating on a piece of wreck, who stated that he had belonged to the *Belle de Paris*; but he could not give a very intelligible account of her loss, except that she had foundered and that, overcome with terror, he had clung to his frail raft, having seen the *Orestes* go down the day previously.

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fore, she was 1,200 tons larger than our biggest sailing three-deckers, and 500 tons more than our heaviest screw liners. The great increase in tonnage has been the natural result of the necessity for arming our modern men-of-war to carry such guns, and in such numbers, as to make them formidable. The 'Captain' was to be comparatively a small vessel, not so large as the [illegible], although almost as heavily armed as most of these latter, the fact remains that she was what would have been thought an enormous ship twenty or even ten years ago. She was, of course, built of iron, with double bottom, water-tight compartments, and all the most recent improvements, for armour plating was not then thought of. Nothing was known of the terrific power of the turret, with shot of 600 lbs. weight, striking with a velocity of 1,500 feet per second. Nor was the Admiralty prepared to believe that the Monitor type, 'safe to keep at sea in any weather,' according to Admiral Sir Thomas Symonds, in 1842, could ever have been the result of a misconception of naval requirements.

In the early days of the century, the Admiralty could not, to any extent, control the growth of the mercantile marine, which was developed by the great necessities of the time to proportions never before dreamed of. It was not until the great war was over that the Admiralty began to feel the effects of the rapid increase in the size of merchant vessels, and the Admiralty of that day was not strong enough to check the progress. It was left to Mr. Lindley, of Limehouse, to launch the first iron steamer, the 'Aaron Manby,' 120 feet long, 110 tons burthen, and 60 horse power, in 1821. It was not until 1837 that the Admiralty ventured to build a vessel of iron, the 'Rattler,' 176 feet long, 888 tons burthen, and 200 horse power, which was launched in 1839. Even then the Admiralty were not prepared to build a vessel of iron for sea service, and the 'Rattler' was built of wood, and iron plates were afterwards added. Admiral Sir Thomas Symonds, in 1842, reported that the Admiralty had not yet come to a determination as to the best mode of building iron vessels for sea service.

Up to 1850 the Admiralty, though they were compelled to adopt the screw propeller, were opposed to the principle of iron ships, and it was not until the great Exhibition of that year that the Admiralty began to feel the effects of the rapid increase in the size of merchant vessels, and the Admiralty of that day was not strong enough to check the progress. It was left to Mr. Lindley, of Limehouse, to launch the first iron steamer, the 'Aaron Manby,' 120 feet long, 110 tons burthen, and 60 horse power, in 1821. It was not until 1837 that the Admiralty ventured to build a vessel of iron, the 'Rattler,' 176 feet long, 888 tons burthen, and 200 horse power, which was launched in 1839. Even then the Admiralty were not prepared to build a vessel of iron for sea service, and the 'Rattler' was built of wood, and iron plates were afterwards added. Admiral Sir Thomas Symonds, in 1842, reported that the Admiralty had not yet come to a determination as to the best mode of building iron vessels for sea service.

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in his able hands every error is seen, and the experience so gained turned to good account. He has recently resigned his office, and it has been found difficult to replace him. We admire his talents, and we feel that it was in every respect unfortunate that, when most required, they were not at the service of the country. Mr. Reed would have been the very man, in connection with Coles, to have turned out a model fighting ship, but it is the misfortune of the latter that this was not to be: whatever the cause, Mr. Reed, who has always, by his own statement, been an advocate of turret ships, has in public appeared as their most consistent opponent, having constantly been engaged in controversy on this point with Captain Coles, which he himself speaks of as having been 'unnecessarily embittered.' Before the *Captain* had been laid down, therefore, the quarrel between Mr. Reed and Captain Coles had become chronic, and it was erroneously supposed that the former was entirely opposed to the turret system. What really was the case was that Mr Reed was always in opposition to Captain Coles: the cause we do not care to seek, but the fact is beyond dispute, as clearly appears by the chapter on Turret Ships in Mr Reed's recent work, *Our Iron-clad Ships*. We have seen, then, that Mr Reed, who was the moving spirit of the Construction Department, was strongly opposed to anything emanating from Captain Coles; the *Captain* found no favour in the Constructor's eyes, and in a spirit of rivalry that noble turret ship the *Monarch* was pushed forward as soon as possible after her. Whilst the area of sail of the *Captain* was fixed to be larger than that of our former ships of similar size, that of the *Monarch* and *Hercules* was increased in the same ratio, at the same time a considerable reduction was commenced. Such was the general attitude of the Construction Department when the *Captain* was ordered to be built, and we cannot doubt that the interests of the public were sacrificed to a private quarrel.

Let us now see how the *Captain* came to be constructed, and who is responsible for her. The *Captain* was built, as the Court-Martial finding on the occasion of her loss truly stated, 'in deference to public opinion;' but still the ship was of course ordered, and the design approved, by the Admiralty. Which Admiralty? is the next question. It seems that in 1866, before leaving office, the Duke of Somerset had given a written promise to Captain Coles that he should have a ship built embodying his views of the correct form of turret ship. Shortly after this the Duke of Somerset left office, and the question for the Conservative Admiralty was, as to whether the Duke's promise should be adhered to. They decided in the affirmative, and the Construction Department being in opposition, contracts were called for, and Messrs. Laird's accepted.

Now we come to the point, as to what was this ship to which such good seamen as Admirals Milne, Dacres, and Sir John Hay committed themselves? On this subject we are promised some interesting revelations by Mr Childers,[1] but if we are not much deceived, the first idea of the *Captain* approved by the Conservative Board of Admiralty was a low freeboard ship, without poop or forecastle, and with only jury rig. So far all was satisfactory; but the fact had gone forth that Coles was to have 'carte blanche;' and in process of time, as the ship advanced, it was decided to give her a poop and forecastle, and the jury rig was exchanged for a spread

[1] Mr Childers addressed Mr Reed on the subject, and on December 21 after the ... was launched. We ... perceive that it adds any element of ... to the case, as far as it goes.

of canvas which would have done credit to a Yankee clipper. The Construction Department, as we have seen, took no active part in reporting on these changes, and weight after weight was added to the ship, to the improvement of her fighting character at the expense of her sea-going qualities. Larger masts, bigger turrets to contain heavier guns, a stronger hurricane deck to resist their concussion, and a broader one to enable the greater spread of canvas to be worked, were among a few of the additions made to the burden which the ship was originally intended to carry. At length she was launched, and it was not astonishing that the estimated displacement of the *Captain* was exceeded by more than 500 tons, and that in consequence her freeboard, or the height of her sides above the water, was materially less than it would have been. This was a serious modification, materially compromising the stability of the ship, as we shall presently show, but it appeared to be no part of the Constructor's Department to point this out, and Mr. Reed was content to dwell on the failure of bigger masts and heavier turrets, but made no mention of the new work in vain for any warning of her fate. In Mr. Reed's evidence at the Court Martial he was great upon the subject of the weights which have been added to the ship, and they are [illegible] to the [illegible] that was originally [illegible] but he was silent upon the [illegible] Mr. Reed [illegible] real danger, but [illegible] the loss of the ship [illegible] was the want of stability [illegible] freeboard and it is true that Mr. Reed had written a paper *On the Stability of Masted Ships under Canvas*, pointing this out. This paper is now famous, it was read by Mr. Reed at the Institution for Naval Architects on April 4, 1868, and the theory therein promulgated was the want of stability in a monitor with a freeboard of three feet six inches, at an inclination of more than eight or ten degrees. It is reproduced in an appendix to Mr. Reed's work *Our Iron-clad Ships*; but although the instability of the *Captain* would logically follow from the theory advanced, it does not seem that Mr. Reed intended it to apply to her. To explain the theory scientifically would require a reproduction of Mr. Reed's paper, but the argument is based on the necessity for a ship to generate buoyancy on the immersed body of the ship she displaces. In a low freeboard ship the stability increases but slightly after the deck is in the water, and soon reaches a maximum, somewhat rarely but not always. It was contended that the *Captain* in heeling over to an angle of 14° would approximate to the point of her maximum stability. To return to the [illegible] on July 29 last, experiments were made at Portsmouth by the Constructor's Department for the purpose of ascertaining how these conditions were met in her case, and they showed that at fourteen degrees the edge of the deck was [illegible] the water, that at [illegible] degrees [illegible] and that all [illegible] was gone [illegible] Moreover, as her [illegible] at that [illegible] is quite [illegible] had been [illegible] Monarch on [illegible] 24, but they had been [illegible] as we have seen, in July. As the Construction Department [illegible] of the rest of their experiments as soon as stated, we may suppose that they concluded

with their previous ideas on the subject of the stability of the *Captain*. Yet to naval officers at least the information thus obtained would appear to have been of the most important description. How it came that this important knowledge as to the ship's want of stability was treated so lightly we cannot say, but it certainly was not 'appreciated,' to use the language of the Court-Martial sentence. Mr. Barnaby, the present head of the Council of Construction, told the Court-Martial that he could not imagine it to be of practical importance, 'in the face of those officers who had tried the ship at sea;' on the other hand Captain Commerell at the Court-Martial, in view of the paper representing the result of these experiments, exclaimed that with that diagram before him 'he would not have dared to keep the *Captain* under sail a single night.' It would seem from these conflicting opinions that there was a misunderstanding between the sailors and the scientific people. The experiments were tried and worked out by the Construction Department, after extraordinary delay it is true; but the results once arrived at, of the highest importance from the sailor's point of view, were unfortunately not communicated to those entrusted with the practical trial of the ship. There is one man who could or who should have been enabled to explain this, but he did not appear before the Court-Martial, and his absence has been severely commented on. We allude to Admiral Sir R. S. Robinson, the Controller of the Navy, who as a sailor should have appreciated this information, and as the head of the ship-building branch of the Admiralty must have had it in his possession. That any sailor could imagine that a ship should be so abnormally steady at sea as never to attain an inclination of twenty-one degrees surpasses our comprehension, although it is said that Captain Coles's confidence even went to that extreme point of temerity. Mr. Reed, indeed, boldly alleged that it would have been useless to have given any warning, for that any suggestion of that sort from the Admiralty would only have been met by increased rashness in carrying sail, in order to prove the Admiralty in the wrong: but his view on this subject may be dismissed as a proof of his misapprehension of the ideas of duty and responsibility instilled in the education of a naval officer, and it is a gratuitous insult to Captain Burgoyne's memory to suppose that he would have treated an official suggestion with contempt. We have not the slightest doubt but that, had the results of these experiments, so tardily worked out on August 22, been communicated immediately to Admiral Milne and Captain Burgoyne, with a caution as to carrying sail, the *Captain* would not have been lost to the Navy. The instability of the *Captain* therefore was known where it was not appreciated, and not known where it would have been appreciated. She was tried at the measured mile, where she realised rather more than her contract speed of fourteen knots; she was commissioned and sent to sea, first with the *Monarch* and then with the fleet. When cruising with the fleet on May 29 she encountered and weathered a smart gale of wind; then the confidence in her was complete: Admiral Symonds reported favourably of her; Admiral Robinson had nothing to say against her; her officers and men had confidence in the ship; and even Mr Reed, who had then left the Admiralty, appeared from his published letters, especially the one in the *Times* of August 8, inclined to take credit for himself and the Admiralty for her success. Mr. Reed says:

[illegible] to the assumption that the [illegible] Captain [illegible] Navy [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

usual. At 5 30 the Admiral went on board his own ship, and the topsails of the fleet were shortly afterwards double-reefed by signal. Before the Admiral left the *Captain* he had ordered the steam to be raised, and the funnel to be got up. Those who know what an Admiral's inspection is, and how 'all hands' on board a ship inspected are kept at work to try their efficiency, will understand that the *Captain's* officers and crew had had a hard day of it on the 6th of September: we mention this, as it may probably account for early 'night orders' on the part of Captain Burgoyne, and a reluctance to disturb the watch to reef again by the officer of the first or 8 to 12 watch. We shall never now know who this officer was, as the survivors could not tell us, but it is certain that during his watch the breeze freshened considerably, and one squall in particular was so heavy as to induce nearly every other ship to reef. At 11 45 the *Captain* was still under her double-reefed topsails, and fore-top staysail, and then, or shortly afterwards, Captain Burgoyne was himself on deck. The rest is soon told. While the middle watch was being mustered, at a quarter or twenty minutes past twelve, a heavy squall struck the ship, and she at once heeled over, notwithstanding prompt orders to let fly sheets and halyards, till she was at last on her beam ends, and had turned bottom up, and in less than five minutes afterwards she had sunk, having only about a dozen men struggling in the angry sea, endeavouring to reach some of the boats which had been hurriedly cleared away. The harrowing story of the wreck is too well known to repeat, though certain points were not then ascertained. Their utmost to save their captain and comrades, regardless of their own lives, but must pass by without a tribute the sublime heroism of poor Burgoyne at that awful moment, as we picture him with difficulty clinging to the bottom of the pinnace in a stormy sea, yet still cool and collected, giving orders to the men in the launch to 'hold on to their oars,' and materially assisting their ultimate safety, while comparatively regardless of his own fate. Mr. May, the gunner, and his seventeen men were soon driven before the gale on to the coast of Spain, where they landed safely in a few hours.

It is remarkable, as showing the suddenness of the catastrophe, as well as the confidence felt by all on board in the safety of the vessel, that the whole of the watch below had gone to their hammocks, although it was only twenty minutes past twelve, and they had not been technically relieved, while the seventeen men saved belonged to the starboard or middle watch. Mr. May, the only officer saved, had been aroused by the uneasiness of the ship some time before, and fortunately for himself, his sense of duty had led him to get up and look to the security of the guns in the turrets, and he escaped through the ventilating hole as the ship went over. The *Captain* sank in the midst of the fleet, yet there was none to save, and she was not missed until the next morning, when the ships, which had been somewhat scattered by the tempest, were counted, and instead of eleven sail only ten could be found. There was little alarm at first, but the ships were dispersed to look for the absent one, and before long pieces of her hurricane deck, of her boats, and other debris were picked up; and then, as the true state of the case began to be apparent, the attempt to obtain some account of what had become of her was resumed with redoubled energy, and continued for many days, until a ray of light shone as the few saved were discovered by some passing vessel on the shore. The stock

in England when the terrible news reached home was immense, and the naval world was astonished beyond measure at realising the possibility of a ship of 4,272 tons capsizing. For days the newspapers, crowded as they were with war news, were deluged with letters from ship builders and distinguished naval officers on the loss of the *Captain*, and the reasons given to account for it were frequently more original and ingenious than practical. The carrying too much sail, the double bottom, the top weight of the turrets, the hurricane deck acting as a sail, the round bottom, the absence of a keel, the high centre of gravity, and general want of stability, all in turn came in for their share of discussion, but even before the Court Martial had met, there was considerable agreement among those authorities as to the cause of her loss, which the Admiralty evidently thought it desirable to test publicly by the Court Martial it had decided on holding to enquire into the disaster.

The Court Martial assembled at [illegible] on the 4th of October, under the presidency of Admiral Sir [illegible], in which, after the [illegible] Court, the Navy had every reason to feel [illegible] that the case had been [illegible] by the Court Martial [illegible] to the country.

[illegible]

amount of stability. The Court further found that [illegible] to Mr. James May [illegible] and the surviving officers and crew, for their loss, and honourably acquitted them of all blame, and the said Mr James May and the officers and men are fully acquitted accordingly. [illegible] separating from the squadron and the course in which she was last seen on the 6th of September, as expressed in the [illegible] and the other parts of the evidence of the several witnesses, and the opinion of the Court, that the loss of the ship was caused by her being hove down by the force of the wind while under the sail specified in the [illegible] and that the [illegible] was not to be attributed to any want of stability in the ship, or to any improper [illegible]

We have dealt freely with the evidence given before the Court-Martial, and we have no wish to [illegible] Officers to [illegible] we will only say that [illegible] the Court, as far as possible, to the facts of the case.

[illegible] Sir J. [illegible] Hall, the President [illegible] Court-Martial, [illegible] Navy, [illegible] Admiral Hope, [illegible] 12 [illegible] Admiral [illegible] Admiral [illegible] Admiral [illegible]

tunately righted. We have already contrasted cases such as this with that of the *Captain's* sudden disappearance: the latter can in all its completeness only be accounted for by her turrets having fallen out bodily as she turned bottom up. The *Captain* has gone to the bottom in about one hundred and fifty fathoms water, and there she will remain for ever, although there have not been wanting suggestions as to the possibility of raising her. We fear that this hope may be dismissed as chimerical. Modern mechanical science has indeed done much, as in the case of the Atlantic cable, in raising what was thought to be utterly lost, from the vasty deep: on the other hand the *Avenger*, sunk four years ago close to our shores in twenty-six fathoms water, has been allowed to remain in her ocean bed without an endeavour to get her up, and the practical difficulty of getting any light for the divers to work by at depths of more than twenty-five fathoms has, we believe, hitherto proved insuperable.

Some statistics as to the loss of life in the *Captain*, and the consequent destitution which the *Captain's* Relief Fund is endeavouring to mitigate, may not prove uninteresting. Hitherto great waste and lavish outlay of the future, the greatest exertions had been made by officers to belong to the crack ships. The First Lord of the Admiralty and Lord Northbrook lost a brother, the Marquis of Huntly lost a brother, and many other good families were represented among her officers. In all 472 were lost, 115 of whom have left widows, the mothers of 193 fatherless children. Besides these material deprivations, it has been ascertained that about 125 fathers, mothers, or relatives of the seamen lost would owe their subsistence to their exertions.

The state of destitution in many of our seaports, by the death of so many bread-winners, has been represented as terrible, and the object of the 'Relief Fund' will be as far as possible to remedy the distress by continuing the payments which would naturally have been made by the seamen to their relatives. The system of allotment of half-pay during service practised in the Navy renders this a comparatively easy task, and is not liable to abuse. The Admiralty have come forward with a year's pay from the Greenwich Hospital funds for the widows; but those who are acquainted with the crimps and harpies which infest our seaports will regret that this well-meant boon was so hurriedly bestowed in a lump sum, giving an opportunity for waste and misapplication of the bounty. The Relief Fund may, however, be depended upon to relieve the distress with discriminating impartiality. We believe that it is in contemplation to assist the families of officers; and we know that Captain Cowper Coles has left a wife and nine young children who were dependent on his talents, and it would be a disgrace to the country were they inadequately provided for. We cannot believe that a country which has raised a sum of more than a quarter of a million for the sick and wounded caused by a war in which we have no part, will fail in the obvious duty of providing for her own children. To our seamen we owe it that we are secure in our island home.

We have only space for a few remarks on the great naval question which the loss of the *Captain* has again raised, as to the advantage of having sea-going turret ships in our Navy. The turret is now admitted to be the most formidable engine for coast defence. In these vessels, not built for sea-going purposes, the armed freeboard can be trimmed with the small mark which a low ship offers

to an enemy's shot, and we have already many of this class of vessel afloat or building in our navy. Afloat we have the *Royal Sovereign* and *Prince Albert*, the *Colossus* (built for the Victorian Government), and the *Abyssinia* and *Magdala* for the Indian Government; besides these we have building the *Glatton*, *Temeraire*, *Devastation*, and *Fury*, most formidable vessels, intended to carry 12 inches of armour-plating, and 35-ton guns. Contracted for this year are the *Hercules*, *Captain*, *Orion*, and *Hydra*, which are of a similar character, although we have had no information of an accurate nature about them. It will thus be seen that we have afloat or building thirteen coast-defence turret ships belonging to the British Empire, and the turret principle may be considered as adopted by this country. As sea-going turret ships we have the *Monarch*, *Scorpion*, and *Wivern*; the two latter are well known as the 'Confederate Rams,' bought by our Government during the American war, they are under 3 knots, and weak ships with low freeboard, and they can scarcely be considered to be seaworthy. As an ocean cruiser we are therefore reduced to Mr. Reed's ship, the *Monarch*, the ship selected to carry Mr Pearsall's remains to America when she was accompanied by the United States' ship *Juniata*, and we cannot do better than to give an extract from the report of Captain Maxwell, of the *Juniata*, to the Secretary of the Navy, to show what opinion the report is dated January 24, 1870, and Captain Maxwell came to as far as we understand circumstances, during the voyage, she has proved herself a capital seaboat, and capable of making good steaming and the weather to be unexceptionable. Altogether I consider the *Monarch* a most fortunate and selection of a naval vessel of war for ocean service in the world.' This is no faint praise, and it has been fully endorsed by the reports of our own officers. The only objection raised by Captain Coles to the *Monarch* was that her freeboard was unnecessarily high, and that in consequence she was too conspicuous a target, and the armour plating was distributed over too great a space: owing to these causes, to obtain the same protection and armament as the *Captain*, she was obliged to be nearly 1,000 tons larger. The question as between the *Captain* and *Monarch* had been narrowed to that of low v. high freeboard; and it would now seem as if Coles was mistaken, and that the fourteen feet side of the *Monarch* was not unnecessarily high. Taking the *Monarch*, then, as our standard sea-going turret ship, although we should be glad to see her sail power reduced, and some minor alterations made in her, what advantages does she possess over our broadside ironclads? In the first place the *Monarch* alone in the fleet carries 35-ton guns, the heaviest guns which it has been found practicable to place in any of our broadside ships being in the *Hercules*, which carries 18-ton guns, and this only after an immense amount of ingenuity has been expended to enable the heavy guns so placed to be worked at all, while the turntable and turret of the *Monarch* 35-ton guns have worked with the greatest ease. Again, the *Monarch*'s guns are placed in a central position in the ship, and at that place removed from the wash of the waves, and can be fought in all weathers when any broadside ship's ports would be closed, the arcs of her guns are no more but that of the stern-chasers and bow-chasers, and they can be fought on either side of the ship. The system of arming in the turret has considerable advantages over the broadside in the former

the captain of the gun is able by a momentary exposure to get a full view of his adversary; in the latter he stands at twelve or fifteen feet from the port, which is already blocked up by the gun, and his only chance of aim lies in obtaining a flying glimpse of his opponent as the rolling of the ship brings his view on with her; this is to be done in the smoke and din of battle: and when we add that the turret principle enables the sights to be larger and farther apart than the broadside gun, we shall see that in the aiming part alone we have almost overwhelming advantages for the *Monarch*. Another important point is that the turret with its two guns has to cover given a naturally concentrated fire, whilst it is the great endeavour to provide by an elaborate arrangement in broadside ships. Again, the turret has an advantage in extreme smallness of port necessary, as the turret and gun are trained together, and the gun are respectively protected.

We have not now before us the data for comparing the extent of [illegible] but it is generally admitted that the turret [illegible] the broadside [illegible] of the *M*[illegible] is [illegible] than that of any [illegible] ship.

We have [illegible] for the [illegible] we [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

shot and unable to revolve. This is a question which we thought had been answered in the negative by the experiment of the 12-ton guns of the *Hercules* against the *Lord Clyde*, but Mr Reed does not consider this trial as conclusive, on account of no shot having in the operation struck the most vulnerable place. As this is a question which touches the whole value of the turret system both for sea and coast service, and as we have seen that we are to be the possessors of sixteen turret vessels, it would appear that if there is any doubt on this point it would be advisable to cause other experiments to be made with the view of setting the matter finally at rest. Taking all the observations together, with the exception of the last, we cannot say but that they will have much weight in counterbalancing the numerous advantages of the turret ship as a fighting machine, and I have seen that in the *Monarch* we have already a thoroughly good sea boat on the turret principle.

We have not been able to 'Race,' as is great of our ships. For many years to come the best we can do is to race with turret ships, and there is no reason why a turret ship should not be a powerful one. The turret ships without masts, with all weight low and small wind resistance, seem to be the ships prepared for coast service, for smashing purposes we should have a somewhat similar vessel, but with higher freeboard and masts, the former to be certainly not less than 10 feet, and the latter only to spread an amount of canvas equivalent to that allowed to our ocean packets.

We are anxious that the lessons of the *Captain's* loss should be learnt aright, and as we read them they are as follow.

Our first lesson is not to attempt to race in a ship. This is a material thing. Ships built for speed under steam are so loaded with guns and masts as to turn out heavy, sluggish craft, and whether in a man-of-war, an ambulance, or a cavalry scout, as many things are considered absolutely necessary, that the principal requirements of efficiency are sacrificed in the hope of attaining an ideal perfection. In the low freeboard turret ship [illegible] we overloaded her, we overmasted her, we overstocked her at the expense of her stability, and the world was free from our having lost [illegible] essential requisites to a [illegible] vessel, hardy and seaworthy. We have learnt that low freeboard turret ships for coast service must be seaworthy, that their masts must be short, and that their spread of canvas shall be at or near the centre of gravity in our lowest ships has been raised more to preserve steadiness that their stability has been seriously compromised.

E. R. F.

ANNALS OF A BORDER COUNTY.

'HEREFORDSHIRE: sheeld and speere,' sings an old rhyming topographer; but these are certainly not the terms in which we should now depict the smiling cider county. The spears have been long ago turned into pruning-hooks, and the swords into plough-shares; and as for the shields, we can only find them now *defuncta bella*, and fraught with heraldic blazonry on tombs, or in the windows of church and ancient manor house. Grass-grown camps and a host of ruined castles alone attest the struggles of which this border land for many centuries was the scene. The peasantry are singularly meek and amenable to law, possessing few Celtic characteristics, and no warlike traditions or ballads whatever. Indeed, were it not for the 'torti crines et colorati vultus' which attracted the notice of Tacitus, as they still do that of the tourist, we could hardly believe that they are the descendants of the fierce Silures whom neither arms nor arts could tame, and who compelled the Romans to accept the Severn as the western boundary of their empire.

As might be expected in a hilly country like Herefordshire, the camps, both Roman and British, are very numerous. Not one of the many points of vantage but seems to have been occupied for military purposes, and we may add that these ancient sites deserve to be visited as much by the tourist in search of the picturesque as by the antiquary. Nowhere elsewhere can such magnificent prospects be obtained as from the summit of the Herefordshire Beacon, a British camp of unusual magnitude on the Worcestershire border, and from Oldbury Hill, near Woolhope, where the Romans had an important station. It is worth noticing that the name of their most eminent leader, Ostorius, has been preserved in Oyster hill,[1] near Hereford: while in Caradoc, an entrenchment in the parish of Sellack, there is a memorial of his opponent Caractacus.

But semi-civilised Britain seems to have been an easier prey to the Saxon invader than barbarous Britain had been to the Roman. For the Saxon conquest of England was not the result of a single overwhelming raid planned and carried out by a warlike and united nation, but rather of a series of unconcerted descents made by independent tribes at intervals extending over several centuries.[2] By degrees the interior was annexed, each chieftain seizing on the territory which bordered upon his own. The land thus occupied became an extensive Saxon state, and was known as Myrcna land—'the land of the borderers' Latinised into Mercia, and still preserved in our language by the term Marches. In this gradual manner the Saxons pushed their way inland from the sea-coast, and, before the sixth century had closed, they had crossed the Severn and established some sort of military station at Hereford (the ford of the army), and perhaps made a royal residence at Kingsland on the northern side of the Wye. The tribe which occupied Herefordshire were the Hecanas; and to their chieftain or ealdorman, Merewald, fourth son of the Pagan king Penda, they owed their conversion to Christianity at the close of the seventh

[1] An Oyster camp near Verulamium (St. Albans) bears the same name. Taylor's *Words and Places*, second edit. p. 314.

[2] Their conquest was probably as early as the time of Agricola. Poste, *Britannic Researches*, p. 30.

century. In token of his zeal for the new faith he founded the church of Llanfair-yn-y-Cwmwd, or the Church of the Nuns, which, either in compliment to Leofrun, a noble lady and kinswoman of Merewalh, or by simple corruption and transposition, has become Llanfair Waterdine.

But the most remarkable work of the Saxon king is the Wat's Dyke, which, beginning on the estuary of the river Dee, was at first continued by Offa, king of Mercia, southward to the neighbourhood of Hereford. Nowhere is it entire, though in Llanfair-yn-y-Cwmwd there were still some remains, which I began to examine under the impression that I was tracing the ancient Offa's Ditch. How Offa strove to increase his kingdom by means of that of his more powerful neighbour Elbert, how he failed to do so by force of arms, and how he sought to effect it, [illegible] by marriage-law, and other [illegible] is well known. Wat's Dyke was probably a work which was undertaken by mutual agreement between the two kings, and was intended to define their respective boundaries. [illegible] Offa's Dyke, [illegible] Hereford [illegible] Offa's Ditch. [illegible] Offa [illegible] kingdom by means of [illegible] Elbert [illegible] by force of arms, [illegible] by marriage-law, [illegible] Wat's Dyke [illegible] by mutual agreement

Norman Conquest, including within the county the debatable district of Archenfield,[1] where the Celtic population still remained powerful.

The Bishop and the Cathedral Church possessed rather more than one-tenth of the whole acreage, viz. 300 hides, and to the ecclesiastical property within the county must be added the lands belonging to two alien priories in Normandy, Cormeilles and Lyra (the latter had a cell among the forests on the eastern side of the county, and its name still survives in Lyre Ocle), and the extensive possessions of the abbeys of Gloucester and Worcester, and the Priory of St. Guthlac at Hereford.

Of the lay tenants in capite the most powerful were the Lacies, whose widespread domains are indicated by the localities called after their name in different parts of the county. Stoke Lacy, Mansel Lacy, Holm Lacy, and the mountain district of Ewyas Lacy, the heavy regis non curat, formed part of the possessions of the house, which is now represented by the Devonshires and Sondamores. Among other names of note in the Domesday list are those of Mudgros whose eventual heiress married a Mortimer, Gernon, the founder of a family which gave its name to Garnons, now the seat of Sir Henry Cotterell, D'Abetot, whose descendants of gentle degree still lingered at Bromyard till the eighteenth century; Turstin, the undaunted ancestor of the Lingens of Langen, and lastly, Mortimer, Lord of Wigmore, the history of whose house for three eventful centuries is in fact almost the history of Herefordshire.

A large proportion of the county was at the period wood and waste, the latter term being applied not merely to lands which had never undergone cultivation, but also to such as from depopulation and the miseries of war had been permitted to relapse into a wild condition. Agriculture was confined to the immediate neighbourhood of towns like Hereford and Leominster; here and there the hillsides were used as runs for flocks—the sloping pastures of Sholdon even taking their name from their use (Scnspe-dun, i.e. Sheep-hill); but both baron and peasant chiefly depended upon the herds of swine which found their food in the extensive woods, and furnished bacon for what was appropriately termed the *larder*.

We can scarcely estimate the amount of forest land by what has survived the lapse of time, the demands of war, and the progress of agriculture; but if we analyse the local names which Domesday Book supplies, we find that a large majority are compounds of wood, coed, den, and hope (all suggestive of forest), or of fen, moor and mere, which equally indicate that the land was left in its natural state unreclaimed and unenclosed.

Nor are there wanting other evidences. The traditions connected with Wormesley (the dragon's field) and Worm-low (the dragon's grave) have not died out; but till lately there might be seen on the eastern end of Moreton church the picture of a scaly monster with gaping mouth and outstretched wings, who, it was averred, once slew with his pestiferous breath all that ventured to gainsay. Modern sceptics prefer to think that it was no mighty saurian which in defiance of the laws of Darwinism had escaped the extinction of his species, but the resentment of the fatal miasma which rose from the swamp formed

[1] The limits of this district on the western side of the Wye, between Hereford and Ross, marked by a series of earthworks, within its limits are Llanwarne, Llanrothal, Llangarron, Llan-gain, Llan-dewy-Ystradenny, and many other names bearing parochial witness to the early settlement of the Welsh, or sacred ground (Llan) system.

by the junction of the Portdine, the Lugg, and the Wye and it appeared when the stagnant waters had been diverted by the practical piety of the monks. But if dragons became rare, the forests still teemed with wild animals, as we learn from Wolfhey and Wormelow, Pirley, Brampton Bryan, and Stoke Edith manor-rolls. The Domesday Survey throws some light on the matter, stating that in the Welsh districts round Wormelow, Osborn Fitz-Richard 'was accustomed to take to himself whatever pleased him,' and even as late as 1280 John de Verdun had licence to hunt wolves there.

But field sports and feats of arms did not engage the whole attention of the Norman Barons. They were, in contradistinction to their Saxon predecessors, a castle-building race. To them, indeed, we owe nearly all the fortresses which, built to repress the incursions of the Welsh, extend from Monmouth to Kington in an irregular chain. Nothing can be more interesting than to follow the line of defence, which leads through a wild and lovely country, studded on both sides by forts, and in some parts accessible only to the pedestrian.

But we must forego the excursion, however enticing, and refer the reader to the volume which Mr Robinson has lately published and which will be found an interesting and trustworthy guide. The priory was also at one time in possession of considerable property in Castle-frome, Wigmore Abbey and Leominster Priory.

The former used to grant to the Mortimers who resided at the latter-born first in close proximity to their castle, but afterwards permitted them to remove a little farther northwards, because 'the site was too narrow and rough, the ascent to the church disagreeable, and the language of their neighbours very vulgar and coarse.' In later times it would seem that their efforts after purity were either relaxed or unnecessary. The charges against the last abbot include the crimes of simony, perjury, and heresy, besides the more venial offence of having granted to Croom Abbey, 'without the assent of the Lord Prince,' the right to have crossbowmen and to go whither he listeth at any time to fysshyng and huntyng in the kynges forestes, parkes, and chases.' The possessions of the Abbey were very great, and among the relics were a diamond valued at a hundred marks, and a piece of the true Cross. In relics of this kind, however, Leominster Priory, a Benedictine house connected with the greater monastery of Reading, was preeminent. The reliquary comprised a portion of the linen that was wrapped around the body of Our Lord, of the sponge used at His crucifixion, of the rod of Moses, one of the stones with which Stephen was stoned, and a piece of the bush 'burnyng and nowther consumed by the Mayd.' The cincture of saints brought indeed to have attached to the interest of Leominster, for besides the Abbey, it could also boast of the Holy Mid, who, as the tale was, lived only by an apple-a-day, and was enclosed within a grate of iron, into which, when the Prior said mass, the third part of the Host went, by miracle as it seemed, from the altar into the maiden's mouth. Some unfortunate mistake, however, caused the door of her room to be accidentally opened, when 'straightways the dogs fought for those that were under the bed,' and the maid (who was no maid) confessed that with the connivance of the Prior she drew to herself

[1] *The Church of Herefordshire, its Story and Antiquities.* By the Rev. Canon J. Robinson, M.A. Longmans, Longmans.

the Host by means of a long hair from her own head, and attached to the sacred element.

The Augustine canons had a cell at Wormsley, and some of the most lovely woodland scenery in the county and the situation of Aconbury, in the secluded Garron Valley,[1] was no less happily chosen by the Cistercians. Acornbury, Farmwood, Cusswell, and Kentchurch were less important establishments, but not without associations of special interest.

Throughout the transition period from Romanism to Anglicanism, Herefordshire, in spite of its great distance, Richard Baxter seems to have maintained that neutral tint in religion of which was common to the greater part of England. Harley Bishop of Hereford, who had given it his name to the State Church of Henry VIII, was it is true, deposed by Mary, but chiefly on the ground that he was a married man, a process which neither Protestant nor Elizabeth greatly shared. Bishops Fox and Scory were essentially moderate men, opposed alike to Romanism and Puritanism, and thus in the great struggle between King and Parliament, which was as much religious as political, the feeling of the county was, as it might be expected to be, strongly royalist. Harley and Westphaling were almost the only names of note upon the side of the Parliament, while Scudamore, Coningsby Croft, Largum, and Pye all lent their active and powerful support to the cause of Charles.

Two incidents in the war—one rather a sad—must not be passed over unnoticed. The gallant defence of Brampton Brian Castle by Brilliana, the wife of Sir Robert Harley, ranks beside the heroic deeds of the Countess of Derby and Lady Bankes, and is just the sort of story which Scott would have told with the skill that is born of vivid appreciation. But Lady Harley's own letters,[2] often affecting in their homely pathos, have painted the daily life of the beleaguered household in a few graphic touches. In them we have before our eyes the Puritan mistress, weak in body but strongly assured of the justice of her cause, and prizing Mr Pierson, ever ready with an apposite text or exhortation, and the family doctor, cool, practical, and always cheerful; and last but not least, old Hackett, with his sense of the responsibility of his post tempered by the consciousness that he had seen what real war was in the German campaigns. It is a proof to know that the brave heroine was finally rescued. She lived to see her enemies routed and dispersed, and died before they returned a few months later to sack and burn the castle and take her children prisoners. It was a barbarous deed and one that every scholar must deplore, for within the walls was a noble library, a former Harleian collection, which thus was lost for ever to the historian and archæologist.

A different scene was enacted on the other side of the county. Goodrich Castle, the picturesque ruins of which are familiar to the tourist of the Wye, was defended at this time by a deep moat on the landward side and by a resolute garrison under the command of Sir H. Lingen. Colonel Kyrle, a

[1] The Cistercian houses of the county have not been so strongly marked as those of other districts by the picturesque. The Nant Bar Water and the Garron Valley, as it is known, and Bar Water itself appear as Red Deer, Monk Brook, Monk Meadow, and Monk Hill on the Ordnance Survey maps, and by more recent writers have been treated with scant courtesy.

[2] Printed by the Camden Society in 1854, with an interesting preface by the Rev. T. Lewis.

Roundhead uncle of the loyal Man
. Rous, could make no impression
on it, and even Colonel Birch,
[illegible] Cromwell's
[illegible] West, [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible]
[illegible]

we shall say a few words hereafter. His heiress brought Hampton Court to her husband, Sir Charles Hanbury Williams, less known as a Whig politician than as a political satirist. We can hardly believe what Horace Walpole tells us, that his pen 'inflicted deeper wounds in three months on Lord Bath than a series of Opposition aided by Bolingbroke for several years could inflict on Sir Robert.' To us his writings seem to be less satires than squibs—bright, buzzing nuisances, meant rather for immediate fighting than for the real business of war. Perhaps his most telling hit was made upon an Irishman who had married the Duchess of Manchester; but it was more facetious than fair to say of her compatriots:

> Never a one of them ever sense,
> But every one of them knows
> How to make a fortune.

At Sir Charles's death it is believed by his own hand, in 1759, Hampton Court became the property of his son-in-law, Lord Essex. It was sold in 1839 to Mr Ariowsmith (son of the Inventor), who, as the story goes, surprised the auctioneer and bystanders first by the shabbiness of his appearance and then by outbidding everyone and offering to pay the purchase-money in cash, coin, or Bank stock.

The only house within the county which can vie with Hampton Court in interest is Horn Lacy, the seat of the Scudamores for sixteen generations, and now of their remote descendant Sir Edwyn Stanhope. An abbey of Premonstratensian canons was founded there by William Fitz-Warin, but this gave place to a mansion-house built in the latter part of the reign of Henry VIII. by his trusty squire John Scudamore, whose great-grandson, Sir James, knighted for his valour at the siege of Calais, has been immortalised by Spenser in the fourth book of the *Faery Queen*. His son, not less eminent for his piety than for his learning, was raised to the Irish peerage by Charles I., and served the state as ambassador to France. He is chiefly remembered in the county by his timely restoration of Abbey Dore Church, his munificence, and the encouragement he gave to orcharding and agriculture. The second viscount erected most of the present building in the reign of William III. It is imposing from its size rather than attractive in its features. The gardens are still kept up in the Dutch fashion then prevalent, and we can imagine Pope, who was a frequent visitor in later times, sauntering through the pleached alleys and trim parterres, as he meditated how best to sing the praises of the 'Man of Ross,' or whet another shaft against the county god, the Timon of his bitter satire. Perhaps the praise and blame were alike extravagant, but the former has outlived the latter in spite of the proverb to the contrary. The name of John Kyrle is a household word among us, but who remembers the Duke of Chandos and 'the comfortless and tasteless ostentation' of Canons?

'The oldest house of the Esculdatours of Herefordshire was at a place called Penchurche in the Edge of the Domesmonachorum called Ewias Harold.' Kentchurch, to which Leland here refers, is still in the hands of the Scudamores, and in the older part of the building may be seen some secret passages in the walls by which Owen Glendwr, the father-in-law of Sir John Scudamore, is said to have eluded his pursuers.

Rotherwas, the seat of the Bodenhams, 'was held so delightful a place that the proverb was current, as anciently of Corinth,

> 'Every one may not come at Rotherwas.'

But perhaps the explanation of the saying is to be found in the fact which Blount also mentions, that in his time it was 'all mortgaged

and going to Ruyne through the misfortunes of the Family,' which made many forgotten sacrifices for the cause of the Stuarts. Gosbrich Court and Canon Frome are well worth visiting; the one for its unrivalled collection of ancient armour, the other for its most interesting series of portraits in connection with the Hopton family. Most of the other mansions within the county are modern and uninteresting. Stoke Edith is a large red-brick house built by the Foleys, the heirs of the Lord Lieutenant's residence, and decorated by the Earl of Shrewsbury. Hereford Castle is a fine example of Stuart, as Shobdon of Norman architecture to which improvements and less glaring alterations were made in the seventeenth century. Dineley's sketches, reproduced in facsimile in the very curious volume lately published by the Camden Society, show us what the county has lost through the spirit of improvement rife since his time. But we still have in Croft or Clifford Court an almost perfect example of the domestic architecture of the Tudor era, and in Brampton Court, the moated grange of the Dacres family, are specimens of native oak such as the degenerate age could not produce. Attached to each house is a dismantled chapel, and the former has a series of panel paintings representing the Sibyls, of considerable interest. But the local style was not confined to dwelling houses. It had its full development in the Market-hall or Butter Cross of each little town, a building which in most instances has suffered largely from the Philistinism of the custodians. At Leominster, it is true, the taste and energy of Mr Arkwright have counteracted the barbarism of the authorities, and the original entrance has been restored in another quarter of the town, with seemly care and fidelity. But at Hereford, John Abel's work has not met with a similar fate. Its dainty pinnacles, open tracery, and rich carving, which was removed only a few years ago. We can only hope our wish to see the pieces replaced may be realized. [illegible]

[illegible]

as their motto, 'They wandered about in sheepskins and goatskins, being destitute, afflicted, tormented' (Heb xi. 37).

Church architecture throughout Herefordshire can hardly be said to have a distinctive character. In the north and west of the county, wild and thinly inhabited districts, we meet with many small plain Norman or Early English churches, with wooden bell-turrets or low square towers, rising only to the ridge of the nave roof. Occasionally the doorways are enriched with rude sculptures, as at Brinsop, Aston and Stretton Sugwas, but the massiveness of the timber and the absence of decoration are the most striking features. We have, however, in the little church of Kilpeck a gem of Norman art which can hardly be surpassed elsewhere. Standing close beneath the shadow of their ancient castle, it doubtless served as a chapel for the Lords of Kilpeck, and probably owed much of its beauty to their patronage and to the loving hands of the Benedictine monks who lived hard by. On the circular arched doorway the quaint fancies of a Gothic mind have been lavished with astonishing profusion, and the tympanum, and the chevron terminating in a monster's head at each of three bays, is as perfect now as it is pure in design.

The churches of Moccas, St Isidine, and Letterny present many interesting Norman features, and the font at Eardisley, with its curious carvings, has long been a puzzle to the antiquary and the archæologist. We must content ourselves with a bare mention of Leominster Abbey Church, the beautiful remains of Ross, the magnificent Cathedral of Hereford, Shobdon, and Castle Frome, and the varied beauties of Abbey Dore. Ideal churches are common enough in Italy and Norway, but we know of very few English examples out of Herefordshire, where some six or seven still remain. Of these, the belfry at Pembridge is perhaps the most peculiar. It is built almost wholly of enormous baulks of timber, in the form of an irregular octagon at the base; above this are two square stages connected together and with the lower storey by steep tiled roofs, the whole terminating in a pyramidal wooden cap. The date of this curious structure appears to be the middle of the fourteenth century, almost coeval with the present church, in the construction of which there is nothing to indicate poverty, the chief obstacle to church completion in these days. In nearly every church that has been named, we might almost say in all the more ancient churches throughout the county, may be found, concealed perhaps amidst dust and lumber, the monumental effigies of forgotten heroes, Barleys, Devereuxes, Verdons, Mortimers, Talbots, De la Beres, and Bohuns. Brasses are rare, for the monument carved out of stone or marble has proved *ære perennius*, as presenting less temptation to the thief and, we must add, to the collector.

In looking through the list of worthies of Herefordshire we can hardly fail to notice the absence of all conspicuous names except those of warriors and statesmen. The history of the border land accounts in part for the abundance of the former, but would also lead us to expect a proportionate number of poets to celebrate their deeds of prowess. Strange to say the minstrels of the western border are at the utmost only two in number. Philip, a Herefordshire man in all but birth, who was inspired by 'Love' to sing its praises, and Mrs Elizabeth Barrett Browning, whose writings contain scarcely one allusion to her native county. Stewart Heavens, whose services of life is pithily summed up in the

family motto, 'Vincula da linguæ, vitæ lingua dabit,' was rather a wit than a poet, though he has the high honour of having been the literary father of Ben Jonson; and as to the rhymes which owe their origin to Robert Southamore and Sir Herbert Croft, they can hardly claim to be considered poetry. Indeed, literature generally has not had many votaries in the county. Roger of Hereford is said to have been a distinguished astronomical writer in the reign of Henry II. Hakluyt, the Narrator of the Voyages, came of a good old family long seated at Eaton near Leominster, and Guillim, the Herald, belonged to the diocese, if not to the county also. But Ewias seems to have been so hard pressed to make up a respectable list of writers that, in humorous despair, he has inscribed in it the names of the two gentlemen Davies and Gethen the former, he tells us, 'had some little poetry excuse for it into poetry, as I find from the epigrams with which his works present us.'

[illegible]

In later times the list has [illegible]. The [illegible] was [illegible] Hereford, [illegible] Henry More, the [illegible] Platonist, [illegible] Bishop [illegible] Hall, [illegible] Bishop [illegible] Bishop [illegible] Bishop

Leominster churchyard in 1773, was an actor of some repute, and was also largely instrumental in restoring Shakespeare's monument. But the chief boast of Herefordshire must be the Kemble family. Izaak Walton tells us that one of the name was martyred in the reign of Queen Mary, and on his way to the stake smoked a pipe of tobacco with marvellous equanimity, and that hence the term a 'Kemble pipe' was long used to signify the last that was smoked before a company dispersed. Whether Roger Kemble, sometime manager of the Kington theatre, claimed descent from the martyred smoker we know not, but if so, we might refer to this ancestor the grave dignity of his celebrated children—Sarah Siddons and her two brothers, John and Stephen Kemble.

But to enter the larger stage of life and in its best scenes that we must seek for the most eminent among the worthies of Herefordshire. They were not plutocrats even of a type like the very rarest of Britain and Mortimer, Harley and Devereux carry back our thoughts to the most eventful periods of our country's history, and it would be impossible even to sketch briefly the lives of such great statesmen [illegible]

We must, however, [illegible] world upon a worthy [illegible] in the history [illegible] Thomas Coningsby was a [illegible] Herefordshire family [illegible] the beginning of [illegible] and returned Parliament [illegible] for Leominster [illegible] representative of the same [illegible] thirty-seven years, and [illegible] Wenlock was [illegible] to pass [illegible] than to [illegible] Whitehall [illegible] day [illegible] Bath. [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] a Lord Justice and associated him with Lord Sydney and Sir Charles Porter in the government of Ireland. In this position he showed much aptitude for finance, but unfortunately self-aggrandisement formed a prominent feature in his administration. Prior, of whom Coningsby had made an enemy and Harley a friend, lashed the former in some doggrel lines which were sung through the public streets, and branded him with such titles as 'Nero, tyrant, petty king,' &c. Still, arbitrary and extortionate as his conduct had been, he was mainly instrumental in concluding the Treaty of Limerick, and for his skill in so doing was created in 1692 Lord Coningsby of Clanbrassil. In Queen Anne's reign he took little part in public affairs, but on the accession of the House of Hanover he opposed with great bitterness his county neighbour and rival Harley, Earl of Oxford, insisting that he should be impeached together with Bolingbroke for intrigues in the past reign. Lord Oxford was sent to the Tower, not much [illegible] by the triumph of his foe, [illegible] when told that Lord Coningsby had said he would have his head, he replied, "I am sorry that I cannot return the compliment, for I would not have his at a [illegible] Coningsby [illegible] to be [illegible] He was [illegible] and Paymaster of the Forces in 1716, and in 1719 was raised to the English peerage by the title of Earl Coningsby. His [illegible] style of [illegible] was [illegible] to the [illegible] [illegible] of the Upper House [illegible] that [illegible] [illegible] was [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

Prelate could be likened, except to the Prophet Balaam, who was reproved by his own ass.' 'As the noble lord,' replied Atterbury, 'hath discovered a similitude in our manners, I am well content to be compared to the Prophet Balaam; but I am at a loss how to make out the other part of the parallel. I am sure that I have been reproved by no one but by his lordship.' Coningsby's private life was embittered by constant warfare with his neighbours. He had purchased the manors of Leominster and Marden, formerly Crown property, and claimed to exercise therein all the rights and privileges of a king. Anstel, the herald, was employed in collecting evidences to substantiate this claim, but the records thus accumulated, though invaluable to the historian, were worse than useless to the claimant. He became the victim of a monomania on the subject, and at length was committed to the Tower for the violent language he used to the Lord Chancellor in reference to his suit. Lord Coningsby never recovered from this disappointment. He died in 1729 without male issue, and with him the name and the ancient estates which had been Hampton Court for three centuries terminated. Another notable man was the first Lord Coningsby. George Cornewall, who defended the Jacobite cause at Preston in 1715, and whose brother, Velters, and Kinnersley, was the son of a rich country gentleman whose ancestors had long resided in the county. He was early [illegible] passed through [illegible] a private to a [illegible] in a [illegible] upon him in 1761, [illegible] to be husband [illegible] Walpole. [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

tion, staring with bald faces and stupid bovine gaze at the infrequent passer-by. Here, sheltered from the fierce south-western gales, nestles an orchard with its rows of mossy apple-trees bending beneath the weight of their ruddy crop; there a hopyard hangs from pole to pole its graceful festoons of rich green foliage, breaking the bright monotony of the golden fields of corn. There is indeed another side to the picture, which we would gladly leave in shadow. The cottages, so quaint and charming externally, are often squalid enough within. The wind blows through the broken watthing and the ill-glazed casements; the rain drips from the saturated thatch; the mud floor resists the influence of soap, but retains the water with provoking persistency. The clean hearth, the burnished pots and pans, the tall clock, the sleeping table—in a word, all the Lares and Penates whose presence imparts to the humblest place the sanctity of a home, are wanting. Low wages (partly paid in drink) and a superabundance of cider combine with the natural indifference of landlords and their agents to perpetuate this sad state of things, and the peasantry, to the manner born, lack or seem to lose the energy to rise above it. Two hundred and fifty years ago, Rowland Vaughan, an enterprising pioneer in the art of irrigation, complained, as men still complain, of the apathetic nature of the rural population around him. 'There lies within a mile and a half from my house (in the Golden Valley) every way five hundred poore habitations. As wantes erre to be hunt after wormes, the ground being delvable, so these riches lye intombed by other meanes, and neglect their possessors lye on by oppressing the neighbourhood.' Education has of late years effected some amelioration, and the new blood which has come into the county has not only brought with it capital and enterprise, but has given, by personal example, a stimulus to landlords, tenants, and peasantry alike.

Agricultural societies are aiding the work in no small degree, and though 'Leominster ore,' the name once given to the fleece of the Ryelands sheep, is a forgotten source of wealth, yet Hereford cattle have the highest place in the butcher's estimation, and farmers have learnt to regard the manufacture of meat as the most remunerative branch of their business. This will inevitably lead to better buildings, well-drained pastures, and more skilful servants, and thus in time, perhaps, to higher wages and more decent dwellings. It would certainly be difficult even now to find within the county a first-class farmer who 'salted down an old cow in the autumn, which, with flitches of fat bacon, supplied the family with meat until the spring,' but the advantages of turnip-feeding and sheep-feeding and artificial manures are not yet sufficiently known, and there is an evil tendency in some districts to discountenance high farming, because it interferes with the undue preservation of game.

Herefordshire profits largely by the tardy attention which has been given to the food supplies which may be drawn from our rivers. Happily, legislation has not been guided by old Fuller's belief, that in the Wye salmon are never out of season.

Salmon are scarce now, we fear, even at Christmas, but we can scarcely hope that the measures taken to preserve and encourage the fish will bring back the good old times when 'a Herefordshire servant would surfeit on

[1] *Quarterly Review*, No. CCVI. p. 393.

fresh salmon as oft as a North-Hampton-shire man on fatt venison.'

Hops are cultivated extensively in the eastern and north-western parts of the county, but the 'auxiliary poles' upon which the poet Phillips describes them 'ascending spiral,' are giving place to a sort of trellis-work of wood and iron wire, which makes the yards look like complicated aviaries of vast extent. Herefordshire hops do not command the same high prices as those of Kent and Surrey, nor is brewing carried on very largely in the county. 'Weobley ale' is no longer a proverb, the supply having ceased, perhaps, when the Reform Bill extinguished the demands of that rotten and thirsty borough, in which cider now reigns omnipotent.

It may be thought that we have said too little in praise of the production with which the name of Herefordshire is most closely connected. Cider certainly claims to possess two merits which must not be altogether ignored, viz. those of favouring both longevity and fecundity. Heath cites some instances of large families which had come under his notice well worth the attention of those who need take setting in the county.

Mr. W[illegible] had by [illegible]
Mrs. [illegible] had by [illegible]
Mr. J[illegible] had by [illegible] wife, [illegible] who was 70 years old [illegible]
[illegible] all [illegible]

That the drink promotes longevity is a well-ascertained fact. Mr. Marshall in his 'Rural Economy of the West of England' has proved by Mr. Nichols not to have been performed in the presence of James I. (who was never in Herefordshire), but the connection between cider and old age is the theme of many a local writer, and inspired the Vicar of Dilwyn, two centuries ago, with some quaint rhymes:

Hearke, Syder, that strong son of wood,
In fruit to bee[illegible] and [illegible] good;
Death slowly at thy [illegible] invade,
A draught of thee [illegible] the scythe and spade
[illegible]
[illegible]
The crooked [illegible] would permitt
With her own Mate to make her frolick fitt.
She would have tasted, and the good old cause
Of her Poverty had passed her Jawes.

From what has been already said it may be readily inferred that Herefordshire has never been anything but an agricultural county. Camden indeed says that in his time Ross was famous for its smiths, and scoriæ are still to be found in the fields on most sides of the town, which is acquiring a reputation for the manufacture of agricultural implements. A 'Ross cappe' was thought a fitting present in the sixteenth century for a countess to give to her son, and for a short period the manufacture of woollens was pursued at Hereford. But two great obstacles ever prevented much commercial progress being made, these were the distance from great markets and the condition of the roads. Arthur Harley, younger brother of the first Earl of Oxford, was the first to improve the latter by the introduction of the turnpike system into the county, but before his time its ways were no more ways of pleasantness

[illegible] Weavers and Worsted [illegible] 1616. The latter were the very [illegible] Weavers must [illegible] If these Weavers had [illegible] Hearo the [illegible] these [illegible] as they [illegible] would have taken the cider [illegible] Weavers and Masterless

[illegible] from the frequent occurrence of the name 'Vineyard' in [illegible] gardens were extensively [illegible] grown and [illegible] recorded [illegible] ; resident at Ledbury at the close of the [illegible] century, made both red and white wine from fruit of his own growth.

than were its paths those of peace. The clay loam which prevails throughout Herefordshire, a moist climate, and the constant alternation of hill and dale, are of course unfavourable alike to the construction and maintenance of good roads. Oxen had often to be employed in order to drag hapless coaches out of the deep ruts with which the highways abounded, and there is something suggestive in the repeated injunctions given by Serjeant Hoskyns in writing to his housekeeper 'to provide a good coach with four horses to meet him at Ross (only fifteen miles from his home), and above all to study the coach way; where to break hedges and how to avoid deep and dangerous ways.' Even at the commencement of the present century a writer says that the roads were such as one might expect to meet with in the marshes of Holland or among the mountains of Switzerland, and it was gravely debated not many years ago whether it would not cost as little to make the highway between Kington and Leominster navigable as to make it hard. Matters have improved of late years, and on the abolition of the turnpike trust in 1870 the roads in the Hereford district were surrendered to the county in admirable condition. We trust that some of our readers may be tempted to follow them through the varied scenery of the border county, and explore for themselves those scenes of beauty and interest to which we have done but scanty justice.

A complete history of the county still remains to be written. Materials are ample, thanks to the zealous labours of a series of collectors, commencing with Silas Taylor and Thomas Blount in the seventeenth century, and terminating with the late Mr. R. B. Phillipps, whose MSS., deposited at Belmont monastery, are rendered accessible by the liberality of their courteous custodians. The Rev. John Lodge, sometime Vicar of Hosbury, issued in 1793 some 'Introductory Sketches towards a Topographical History of Herefordshire;' and the Rev. John Duncomb, under the auspices of the Duke of Norfolk, published two volumes of a Parochial History, which, so far as it goes, is not without merit. To the works of Messrs. Havergal and Robinson—the one on the Cathedral and the other on the Castles—we would also refer; and we may add that the latter gentleman has more than half promised to carry down his researches to a later period, and give us a history of the Manor Houses of the County.

Our own opinion is that a complete history can only be fitly executed by adopting the principle of the age and entrusting it to an able editor who will receive and supervise the various contributions of those who take an active interest in the matter. C. J. R.

University of Michigan

THE TEMPTATION OF THE REVEREND STEPHEN HOLDFAST.

By Dionysius Diamond, M.D.

IN TWO PARTS.—PART II.

I

'VESTRY of St Lazarus Holdfast,' said a dapper little clerk, coming up to Mr Limpet, the junior counsel who had been retained for the Vestry. Mr Limpet was an Evangelical busybody. Though a man of strict piety (hence the retainer), he liked the world, and he liked even better to hear what was doing in the world. As he looked at you through his gold spectacles you saw that he was in a state of chronic curiosity.

The noble Hall—rich with legal trophies—was crowded, and there was some difficulty in arresting the steps of Serjeant Puddle and Sir Geoffrey Mallet, Q.C. Mallet's name is still widely remembered—no man of higher intellectual endowments, or of more classical perfectness of speech, has of recent years adorned the English Bar. But he was armed with a lavish liberality of action, and his description of his own friends often called in question an excessive generosity rather than parsimony.

'I can't come,' he said to Limpet, when the junior approached him. 'I am in the very middle of my speech in Brown v. Buggins, and I've just shot Macky out of talk about "eternal justice." Eternal justice to be argued!' said the great leader, with a stamp on the floor, and a terrifying pause. Limpet, who literally shivered. 'No man,' he continued, as he resumed his leisurely pace, 'should be put on the bench who hasn't practised at the bar. A heavy bar practice does not blunt a man's conscience, as you sometimes suppose, but it shows him in the most convincing way how unanimously difficult it is to do justice in this world, what a ravelled web the whole business is, and how very apt you are to come to grief when you leave the beaten path and trust to divine illumination—doubling the confusion, intensifying the wrong. Give up eternal justice, my friend, if you are wise, and stick to the Judicature Act!—Yes, I'm just coming,' he said to a clerk who hurried up to announce that Brown v. Buggins was called; and then, turning to Limpet, he added, 'Who have you with you? Puddle, is it? Well, you're quite safe to pull through, if you can only get him to hold his d——d tongue.'

With which piece of advice (it was all the Vestry got for the fee they sent him) the senior departed, and left Limpet to ferret out Puddle from a dingy bar, where he was stating a dilatory plea to a puisne judge (who had already mentally rejected it). Puddle was not exactly the sort of leader whom Limpet admired for, to do the junior justice, he was scrupulously clean. I have no doubt that if, twenty years ago, you passed much of your time in Westminster Hall you must have known Puddle by sight. He was a loud, violent, blustering, incoherent sort of mortal, who had entered a gentlemanly profession in the hope that it would make him a gentleman. The expectation was not realised.

Then the two got into a cab and drove across to the Synod Hall, which Holdfast and his counsel had already reached.

II

The General Council of the Calvinistic Synod met in a building that was not improperly devoted to

the purposes of controversy — a church. It was one of the old churches which had belonged to the Establishment in the days of its supremacy, and the speakers were in the habit of appealing to the scenes which it had witnessed and the testimonies to which it had listened - very curious scenes and very singular testimonies. Here in the old days persecution had been extolled and intolerance justified— here in the later time the sins of the fathers had been visited upon the children, and the Church which had invoked the secular arm to put its enemies to silence had been silenced in turn

The President, or Moderator (as he is called), occupied a seat in the centre of the assemblage - a chair in position and style to that which is occupied by the Speaker of the House of Commons The body of the hall was filled by members, the galleries were appropriated to the public (which was characteristically feminine), and to the divinity students of the United Church, who were sometimes rather noisy in their manifestations of welcome or dislike The 'Highs' sat on the right hand of the Moderator, the 'Drys' on his left The former, who in the Synod and Assembly the Union of the Churches) were in overpowering force, represented the extreme orthodoxy of the body, its narrowness, its exclusiveness, its fierce earnestness, its implacable devotion to the Calvinistic formularies Dr Gregory sat at its head He was the trusted leader under whose generalship the party had achieved so many of the victories which are more damaging than defeats His fine, classical, clear-cut old face was the face of a scholar, of a gentleman, and of a fanatic We have portraits of Grand Inquisitors from which Dr Gregory might have sat—portraits of the grave old ascetic faces lighted up the sombre background which immortalise the courtly arrogance and implacable severity of the mediæval priest. Dr. Gregory certainly would not have winced when the fire was applied to the end of an obstinate heretic - to do him justice, he would not have winced had it been applied to his own. Most lovers of the fine arts admired this refined and thoroughbred ecclesiastic. They admired him as they admired a fine and well-preserved fossil. It belongs to a different world, we know; but then, what a capital specimen it is! The leader was a scholar and a gentleman, but those who sat on the benches beside him and behind him betrayed few signs of culture or refinement. There were pleasant old gentlemen among them pleasant, shaggy, honest-faced gentlemen, with the bloom of the country upon their cheeks, and the air of the country about their clean-starched linen and carefully-brushed black coats but these modestly occupied the back benches, and listened in silence to the eloquence of their chiefs Dr. Gregory was supported on the right hand (as the reporters say) by Dr. Batterwell and Mr Brass, on the left by Dr. Downie and Professor Drabstick. The occupants of this front bench, however, were constantly moving about (as if they were not sufficiently conspicuous) and keeping up a fussy conversation with the clerks and the Moderator himself whose grotesque sense of dignity was not superior, one might observe, to an occasional yawn The members of the 'Left' were not sufficient to fill the benches allotted to them, and they looked chilly, depressed, and conscious of defeat Yet on the half-dozen benches immediately opposite the table were congregated a body of the clergy, critics, and orators who would have graced any assembly in the world The general feeling of depression did not appear to have affected the leaders—the face [illegible] of Dr. Gentleman had suffered no abridgment, and the Dean's mirth-pro-

voking laugh shook the Hall, and penetrated to the lobbies.

Holdfast and the counsel on either side were fairly seated at the bar when the Clerk rose and intimated that the case of The Vestry of St. Lazarus *v.* Holdfast would now be proceeded with.

'Let the libel be read,' said the Moderator, and it was read accordingly.

THE LIBEL.

WHEREAS the Orthodox Standards of the Christian Faith were duly approven by the General Council of the Protestant Calvinistic Church in 1645, and ratified by the Lords of Parliament in 1649, yet true it is and of verity that you, the said Stephen Holdfast, have contravened and contradicted the doctrine and teaching of the Standards duly approven and ratified as aforesaid, in respect that

(1) In Article One of said Standards it is set forth and declared as follows: '*It pleased God, the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, of his infinite mercy, of his own free will, and love, to elect, and predestinate some of mankind, and of fallen, sinful, and lost estate, to salvation, through a Redeemer, and to work faith in them, and to bring them unto good works.*'

But you, the said Stephen Holdfast, maintain and have maintained on divers occasions that God did not create or ordain any thing throughout the world, or any thing therein, whether in heaven, or in the space of the air

(2) In Article Two of said Standards it is set forth and declared as follows: '*By the decree of God, for the manifestation of his glory, some men and angels are predestinated unto everlasting life, and others foreordained to everlasting death.*'

But you, the said Stephen Holdfast, maintain and have maintained on divers occasions that good works, by whomsoever performed, are not acceptable to God.

(3) In Article Five of said Standards it is declared and set forth as follows: '*All persons publishing opinions contrary to the principles of Christianity, whether concerning faith, worship, or conversation, may be lawfully proceeded against by the civil magistrate, who hath to this end, and it is his duty, to take order that the truth of God be preserved pure and entire, and that all blasphemies, errors and heresies be suppressed.*'

But you, the said Stephen Holdfast, maintain and have maintained on divers occasions that the civil magistrate cannot lawfully take order that heresy be suppressed, and that he hath no authority to proceed against persons who are known to entertain opinions contrary to the principles of Christianity and the Standards of the Church, and that when he does so he is guilty of persecution and inquisition.

(4) In Article Ten of said Standards it is set forth and declared as follows: '*And we declare that the elect, and they only, are effectually called, according to the purpose of God, by his Spirit working in due season, through the Word and Ordinances, their hearts of stone, and giving them hearts of flesh; renewing their wills, and by his almighty power determining them to that which is good, and effectually drawing them to Jesus Christ; yet so as they come most freely, being made willing by his grace.*'

But you, the said Stephen Holdfast maintain and have maintained on divers occasions that it did not please God to pass by and to ordain to shame, wrath, and punishment with the exemption of the elect

(5) In Article Twelve of said Standards it is set forth and declared as follows: '*Faith in Jesus Christ, and saving graces of the Spirit, are not the natural growth of any person, but the gift of God, and the effects of his mighty power, and creating act, they are freely given, and wrought by the Holy Ghost, after the manner of the new birth, in all those for whom Christ hath purchased salvation; who, in the state of unregeneracy, are dead in trespasses, hating God, and serving divers lusts and pleasures.*'

be the, ever and [illegible] their lives according to the light of nature, and the law of that religion they do profess; and to assert and maintain that they may be very pernicious and to be detested:'

But you, the said Stephen Holdfast, maintain and have maintained on divers occasions that in Christ all infants are saved, and that to assert and maintain the contrary is very pernicious and to be detested

(6) In Article Seventeen of said Standards it is set forth and declared as follows: '*The punishments of sin in the world to come are everlasting separation from the comfortable presence of God, and most grievous torments in soul and body, without intermission, in hell-fire for ever.*'

But you, the said Stephen Holdfast, maintain and have maintained on divers occasions that the punishments of non-elect persons in the world to come are not everlasting, and that the words 'shall suffer grievous torments in soul and body, without intermission, in hell-fire for ever' (which comfortable doctrine is most explicitly and fully expounded in Holy Scripture and the said Standards) is a damnable doctrine, or words to that effect

All which being instructed by competent evidence, or admitted by the judicial confession of you, the said Stephen Holdfast, There ought you, the said Stephen Holdfast, should be deposed from the office of the holy ministry, and prohibited and discharged from exercising the same or any part thereof in all time coming under pain of the highest censures of the Church

The discussion on what is called the relevancy of the libel was opened by Mr Erskine, who appeared for Holdfast, and who argued with great ingenuity that the passages selected from the sermons did not contravene the Standards. To the memory of my dear friend, Alexander Erskine, I must be permitted to dedicate a simple word of regret. A universal favourite—his pleasant and genial manner being the natural expression of a character singularly pure, unselfish, and warm-hearted; essentially a *good* man—a man animated by simple conscientiousness, steady rectitude, and a brave but unobtrusive determination to do what he held to be right in all places and under all discouragements, a man of fine natural abilities, peculiarly fitted to excel at the bar, for his intellect was rapid and inventive (mastering the most intricate case with surprising ease and readiness), and he spoke with a clearness, picturesqueness, and point, that have grown rare in our courts of law—he died before he was forty, at the very head of his profession. His speech this day was one of his finest efforts—witty, argumentative, subtle, incisive, pathetic

The Church-lawyers (of whom there were nearly a dozen in the Synod) maintained that the indictment was relevant, and Mr. Thistle Down proposed a motion to that effect An eruptive, irascible member used to declare that a speech from Mr Thistle Down was an insult to the Synod. The airy impertinence and easy swagger of a man of the world who had been kind enough to become a man of God, was more than the corrupt human temper could stand. Mr. Thistle Down undoubtedly felt that he was condescending when he mixed with the poor ministers and hoary elders of an impoverished Church, and these in their turn could not help showing by their manner that they were quite aware that he had ten thousand a-year, and religion and its Author were indebted to him for attending their meetings

The Opposition, although they contended that the indictment was ill-drawn, did not see their way to divide the House, holding that the matter belonged to the Law rather

than to the Gospel, and that the opinion of the legal members must be allowed to settle the point.

Then Holdfast rose.

[illegible]

Mr. Holdfast said: It is with a feeling of much depression that I rise to address the Synod, and I am well aware I should have acted more prudently had I left my defence in the hands of my legal friend. But the time has come as it seems to me, when it is incumbent that I should disclose, in the plainest and most explicit language, the motives which have induced me to remain in the Church in which my forefathers lived and died, and in which I was bred. That I have ceased to hold certain of the doctrines which the Church at one time taught, I am ready, with the utmost frankness, to own; and it will be for this assembly, by their vote to-night, to declare whether such history of opinion among her clergy is, or is not, admissible.

Let me say at once that, to the best of my understanding, I am truly attached to the essential doctrines of the Christian faith. To me, belief in the eternal power and goodness of God, in the belief that that eternal power and goodness was incarnated in the person of our Redeemer Jesus Christ, and in the belief of God's power to rescue us from evil, both in the present time and the next—are as real as they can be to any of you. The difficulty has been to specify in detail the particular doctrines regarding which I am said to entertain opinions more or less inconsistent with the explanations contained in the Articles. The question, therefore, the only question, therefore, which I propose to discuss with this venerable assembly are these: In what sense and to what extent is the Church committed to the explanations of the Standards? To what extent and in what sense am I myself committed?

The theologians of a keenly speculative age threw their convictions about dogma into a written creed. These were the barest convictions of the age. That I am willing to admit. But since the creed was penned, well-nigh three hundred years have passed, three hundred years of wonderful change in the moral, spiritual, and material world. Is the national Church the Church of the dead or of the living? Of the living, surely, and while we may regard with interest, may with veneration, the religious manifestoes which our ancestors issued, and which answered the particular emergency and served the immediate purpose, can you reasonably ask us to do more—unless indeed our own convictions assent? And if they do not assent, what then? Are we to relinquish our connection with your great missionary institute, and look upon it as an historical curiosity only—a monument to the dead?

I signed the Standards. I subscribed the Confession. I was neither doctor nor theologian. I was a plain sailor, ignorant of the technicalities of philosophy and theology, when I quitted the service of the Sovereign and entered the service of the Church. I only asked to be allowed to do some work, however humble, in what seemed to me the cause of God and goodness. Alas! and yet why should I lament the change? The time arrived when I learned, as all of us must learn, that there is something greater than good works. Yes, Truth is greater than good works. Far be it from me, most venerable fathers and brethren, to assert that I have found the Truth; but I can honestly say that since the day when I discovered that the search after Truth is man's noblest prerogative in this world, since the day when in her severe majesty she surprised me at my evangelistic work, I have sought her diligently.

I signed the Standards—I subscribed the Confession. It is possible that had I examined them seriously, I could not have done so with an entirely clear conscience. But even had I been conscience-free to sign them, then is it to be maintained that I thereby declared my intention to believe them always—thereby devoted my intellect and my reason to spiritual stagnation and life-long incapacity? You tell me that I might have quitted the Church (cries of Hear, hear): but with my views such an act would have been one not merely of cowardice, but of treachery. It would have been a confession that in my opinion the Church's position was no longer tenable. But I did not consider it untenable. It would have been an admission, moreover, that in my judgment a Church cannot be *reformed* by its own members and office-bearers. I know that there are good men who hold that it is sacrilege to lay hands upon a single timber of the ark, however rotten. Only two courses are possible—acquiescence or desertion. You may believe, and remain, or you may cease to believe, and then duty requires you to go. But to my mind, Moderator, the obligations of a Churchman to the Church are similar in nature to the obligations of a citizen to the State. When loyal citizens become of opinion that the State should be reconstructed, they do not hesitate to say so, on the contrary, they use every exertion to secure the reform which they consider desirable. Such men in so acting are not guilty of disloyalty, rather would they be guilty of disloyalty did they not do so. The State, because skill and patience and time and tact are required to achieve reform. I have sworn to maintain the Church as these have sworn to maintain the monarchy. They are not guilty of 'treason' because they labour to bring the forms of the constitution into harmony with the necessities of the people—we are not guilty of 'perjury' because we labour to bring the dogmas of the Church into harmony with the convictions of the age. The capacity for doctrinal development is essential to the existence of every Christian society; and the men who framed your Standards constantly recognised the fact. 'We see not all things yet,' said one of the noblest of their number; 'but we trust the Lord hath yet more light to break forth from His Holy Word.'

That, then, is my contention. You must declare to-night whether the ministers of this Church are free Christian thinkers, or the bond-slaves of an age which was confessedly more ignorant, more superstitious, more intolerant and unreasonable than our own. Yet why should I say so? For if you will but accept that definition of the liberty of the conscience which your own Confession contains, you must dismiss me or demand from your bar. 'God alone,' it declares, 'is Lord of the conscience, and hath left it free from the doctrines and commandments of men which are in anything contrary to His Word, or beside it, in matters of faith or worship. So that to believe such doctrines and to obey such commandments out of conscience is to betray true liberty of conscience; and the requiring of an implicit faith, and an absolute and blind obedience, is to destroy liberty of conscience and reason also.'

There was a suppressed murmur of assent from those who sat on the left of the Moderator when Holdfast sat down.

Mr. Serjeant Pudlle followed. Of his speech what writer, acquainted with the English tongue only, can present intelligible report? It was an Irish stew, or rather a Scotch hash. Only one thing needs be recorded. 'No honest

man,' said the Serjeant, 'could entertain any doubt about the relation in which the clergy stood to the Standards of their Church. Did the reverend defendant remember the vows which he had taken at his ordination? He (Serjeant Puddle) would be glad to refresh his memory.' And then the Serjeant read: '*Do you sincerely receive and believe the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments as the Word of God, and as containing all things necessary to salvation? Will you be diligent in reading the Holy Scriptures?*' and so on.

The Dean: It occurs to me, Mr. Serjeant, there is another question on which you have not touched. Do you happen to be acquainted with the Act of Parliament which prescribes the terms of admission to the Standards?

The Serjeant had been invested with a fresh supply of eyebrows.

The Dean: I see you are aware that it requires a declaration 'that it is not lawful for any person to attempt to alter the said Constitution.' Now are we not at liberty to estimate the Church much more highly than they did in 1662? Do they not in point of fact require assent to a revised and improved Act of Uniformity?

The Serjeant did not see that there was any difference between the two. He admitted that at the last review there was.

The Dean: I am always understood that the contract between the Church and State had been practically altered and modified by the disappearance of the Convocation. But I beg pardon for interrupting you, pray continue your argument.

Then the Serjeant in a high state of perspiration and rather uncertain about his nominatives) resumed his speech; but before he had finished, Holdfast had left. A mere pencil-scrap from Doctor Desmond had been handed to him: 'Andrew is sinking fast. Come at once.'

III

Parties having, by a legal fiction, been 'removed from the bar,' the Synod proceeded to deliberate upon their decision.

Doctor Butterwell moved that the Synod find that the Reverend Stephen Holdfast had been guilty of heretical doctrine and teaching. Nature made Doctor Butterwell a comic actor; but he was unfortunately educated for the ministry. The humourist in him, however, was stronger than the divine, and even when addressing the Almighty he never forgot the footlights. His church was quite as entertaining as the theatre, and better lighted.

The motion was briefly seconded by Mr Brass. To Mr Brass, Nature had not been generous. She had given him neither wit, nor interest, nor imagination, nor common sense, nor had given him a loud voice only, but he made the most of it. He would speak on every conceivable subject, although he had no right to be heard on any. And he compelled attention as the huge tarpaulin compels attention. There is in their nakedness, or malice, or merriment in the nude with the material instrument discovered, there is nothing but weird, yet is it impossible to drown that terrible laugh. It was no use trying to silence Brass, the more he was silenced the louder he blew.

When the Dean moved the previous question, seconded by Dr Grenfell, it was carried, a verdict of Not Guilty be returned. The Liberals inveighed against the folly of their friend with the practised tactics of experienced debaters—trying to win to the last, though they knew that success was

hopeless. The Dean, indeed, did not hesitate to indicate with considerable plainness his objections to the Standard:

'The official confession of a national Church,' he said, 'ought to be composed in what are called by artists the neutral tints. It should reflect the ripe intelligence of a Christian people. The subtleties of casuists, the fanaticism of partisans, should be excluded from its pages. How did the compilers of the Standard comply with these conditions? They did not comply with them—it was impossible that they could. The Calvinistic formularies were not put together during a period of peace; they were put together when the nation was in the throes of a great religious conflict. The Standard was penned upon the battlefield. It is the eloquent but heated manifesto of a victorious faction. It develops a particular theory of Christianity with unmerciful and intolerant satisfaction. (Hear, hear, and Oh, oh.) It was framed, moreover, at a time when there was a passion for system. The theologians of the age undertook to explain everything; they would not believe that there were any Divine truths in the world which it was impossible to resolve. Thus we have in the Standard, not alone the central truths of Christianity, but all manner of logical and metaphysical speculations. Nor is this the worst. It was framed at a time when the saints were the rulers of the earth, when the magistrate was the servant of the Church, when a secular monarchy was being abolished, and the *Civitas Dei* was being established. So it undertakes to rule the lay as well as the religious life, the State no less than the Church, the king no less than the priest. Such political economy is hardly adapted to the conditions of modern society.' (Cheers and hisses.) Not yet are the difficulties ended. A creed which was compiled three centuries ago grows obsolete, even in language. To read it is to read an old author, or an author with whose tongue we are imperfectly acquainted. We cannot enter into the niceties of his meaning; nor can we follow the train of his thought. Our means of communicating with him are imperfect, not merely from the change of language, but from the progress of opinion. We stand on a different platform. His philosophy is not our philosophy: his science has been undermined by the science of a more advanced age; his theories of government, if now reduced to practice, would herald revolution! 'In fine,' said the Dean, 'the systematising intellect of Calvin has directly or indirectly shaped all the Churches of the Reformation. On ours, perhaps, the forms of that imperious logic have been most distinctly impressed. Would rather that it had been inspired by the liberal soul of Luther, or the tolerant genius of Melancthon.'

Some cheering from the students' gallery, and cries of 'Oh, oh,' from the benches behind Doctor Gregory, assisted the Dean as he resumed his seat.

The discussion might profitably have terminated here, but one of the advanced party on the back benches, the Reverend Abel Hawthorn, rose, and in singularly deliberate and impressive tones delivered a speech of such cynical audacity that the members almost forgot to interrupt him.

'It is not unnatural,' the speaker began, 'that the doctors of a Church should try, on occasion, to crystallise their theological convictions into a creed or a confession. To the student of religious opinion these monuments of its progress must always be interesting. If, like an old battle-flag, a creed could be hung away on the wall when it had become too tattered for further

ase (Oh, oh), no great harm would ensue; but, unfortunately, this cannot be done. Obsolete confessions are fortified by subscription and propped up by penalties! We are required to declare that theological propositions framed two centuries, or four centuries, or a dozen centuries ago, are propositions in which we entirely believe. A virulent vitality is thus given to the prejudices of certain ages and schools. With what result? With worse than no result; for what thoughtful man can deny that that clerical oath which we call subscription is at once worthless and mischievous? Worthless—as all oaths are more or less worthless. Oaths do not touch the dishonest. A dishonest unbeliever will assent without a blush that he sincerely believes your standard of faith. Such a man passes unharmed through the portals of the sanctuary. But the conscientious, the timid, the sensitive, and the over-scrupulous are entangled, and their best men have been driven (as you well know from former years) with us, most frequently because they are our best and truest. (Murmurs.) On what ground, to use Mr. Westcott's own words, can you defend a mischievous practice? Your Protestantism has not even the merit of being consistent with the early history of Protestantism. But I do not care to dwell upon these theoretical anomalies—the practical demoralization in which subscription causes is the serious matter. Its direct tendency is to create an ignorant and dishonest clergy. How can it be otherwise? When you enforce subscription by spiritual penalties, you encourage, reward, How can a man with a sword hanging over his head by a single hair undertake an honest investigation? But, putting your standard of orthodoxy out of the question, does not subscription destroy even the sincere convictions of the clergy of any value in the estimation of the laity? A premium is given to induce us to shut our eyes, to close our ears, to drug and stupefy our reason. What worth can be attached even to the *sincere conclusions* of men so injuriously and unequally weighted? We cannot see truly if we would; the mist of self-interest rises between us and the truth; a resolute and well-nigh heroic effort is needed before we can rise to the platform on which the lay enquirer, who has not ascertained his right to reason and to judge, stands with no effort whatever. He is a free man—we are slaves, and yet, Moderator, I cannot wonder that those of us who have given hostages to fortune should not be urgent to obtain emancipation on the only available terms."

The impression produced by this singular speech was so marked that at length the leader of the majority took courage. Baxter Gregory had not intended, he said, upon this painful occasion to address the House. But the views which they had just heard from their misguided young friend

Hawthorn was a man of forty-five—demanded an immediate reply. Mr. Hawthorn had spoken lightly of the Protestant Standards of the Church. Standards which he (Baxter Gregory) and all who regarded with profound attachment and unalterable loyalty the Articles, and, above all, the Word (Hear, hear) believed were contending, not against flesh and blood, but with the principalities and powers of evil (Hear, hear). He did not mean to be personal, but he had no hesitation in stating that the speech to which they had just listened had been directly instigated by the Great Enemy of Evangelical Truth. He recognized the same agency in the speech of the Dean. Also in the speech of Baxter Greenfellow. They had here and had broken their

ordination vows, and perjured themselves before God. It would hereafter be the duty of the Church to deal with them as well as with Mr. Holdfast. He could speak much more strongly, but he had no desire to hurt any man's feelings. He would only repeat, in conclusion, that though he didn't pretend to be prophetic, it was evident to him that the work which these individuals had begun and carried on so far had been begun and carried on under the sinister influence of the Great Enemy of the Church—that Enemy who had always set himself in opposition to the truth as it was in Jesus, and to the work of conversion—he meant Satan himself. (Much cheering.)

When Doctor Gregory sat down strangers were ordered to withdraw, the doors were locked, and the roll was called. There voted:

[illegible]	220
[illegible]	85
Majority [illegible]	135

Doctor Downie then moved, that in respect the Reverend Stephen Holdfast has been found guilty of heretical doctrine and teaching, the Synod depose the said Stephen Holdfast from the office of the holy ministry.

The motion was duly seconded by Professor Drumstick.

Doctor Downie and Professor Drumstick had one point in common. Each was a specimen in his way of the rank growths which spring from the ecclesiastical soil—the parasites who live by feeding upon the corruptions of the religious life. The round, jolly, monkish monk who entered the monastery because it supplied the best quarters, the best living, and the best drink going, has his successors in the modern world. But otherwise the pair were curiously unlike. Drumstick was sour, narrow, fanatical, imperfectly educated—the type of parson in a third-rate Dissenting chapel. On these grounds he had been made a professor by the University patrons, who had always shown a godly zeal to discourage profane learning, and to substitute the rhetoric of the pulpit for the secular accomplishments and carnal graces of the academy. Downie, on the other hand, was unctuous and oily, a man who never openly quarrelled with anybody, and who thought it prudent, as a general principle, that the Church should keep on civil terms with the World—if not with the Flesh and the Devil. His nature was essentially feminine, and the devout women loved him as they loved their lapdogs. He physicked the ailments of their souls as their favourite physician (not Doctor Diamond) physicked the ailments of their bodies. He felt the pulse of passion tenderly yet discreetly, gave them plenty of spiritual syrup, and invariably advised them to take as much or as little religious exercise as they liked best. Downie succeeded, and such a man deserved to succeed—where he did.

Their speeches on this occasion were eminently characteristic. Downie nearly wept over his 'unhappy brother,' whereas Drumstick was stern as a Covenanting Whig signing the death-warrant of a prelatist, or as an old Hebrew prophet hewing the idolater in pieces before the Lord.

One last gallant effort was made by the Liberal party to save their friend, but it was of course unsuccessful.

'Is the panel at the bar?' the Moderator asked.

There was no reply.

'Let him be duly cried.' And thrice, at each door of the Hall, the Reverend Stephen Holdfast was called upon to appear.

Then the Clerk informed the Moderator that the Reverend Stephen Holdfast had been duly cited, but that he had failed to answer the citation.

'The Synod will now engage in solemn prayer to Almighty God,' said the Moderator, rising from his chair. The whole assembly rose. Then Doctor Gregory, being called upon, stood, his eyes closed, his hands raised, and said:

'Holy in Heaven, O Lord, Thou art with us. Thy Church upon earth is not yet complete. We have still in our society one who is at war against Thy Holy Word, and has incurred Thy just displeasure. It is in Thy cause, O Lord, that we have done this thing—do Thou bless and sanctify Thy servants. Oh, I implore Thee, have mercy, let not Thine anger rest here for ever. Let him not go down into the pit. Let him not be numbered with those whom Thou hast devoted to the everlasting torments and bitter pains of hell. Have mercy upon him, O God, have mercy upon him. And to Thy holy name be praise, and honour, and glory, world without end. Amen.'

Somehow the impressive prayer uttered by this witness to Heaven was not cheering. It was obvious that the speaker had no expectation that his intercession, in behalf of Heddfast at least, would be attended to.

Then, amid an impressive hush and stillness, the Moderator, lifting his face to heaven, as the gray light of morning streamed through the eastern window over the debate and the tense, excited faces, began to pray:

'Stephen Heddfast, in the name of our King and Head, the Church of Christ, we excommunicate from the fellowship of the faithful.' And then he paused, and the Synod waited in prayer for the Moderator to proceed to read the formula of deposition.

'The Synod of ——, by their vote, depose the said Stephen Heddfast, like as they hereby do, in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, the alone King and Head of the Church, and by virtue of the power and authority committed by Him unto them, actually depose the said Stephen Heddfast from the ministry, prohibiting and discharging him to exercise the same, or any part thereof, in time coming, under pain of the highest censures of the Church.'

A short address from the Moderator followed, and the Synod was then dissolved with the usual formalities. And finally, before parting, the members sang, as their fathers in the old time before them had sung, from a period beyond the memory of man, the well-known verses from the 122nd Psalm:

Pray that Jerusalem may have
Peace and felicity.
Let them that love thee and thy peace
Have still prosperity.

Thus for my friends' and brethren's sake
We will now wish in thee
All peace and happiness
Prosperity to be.

IV

When Heddfast next met his friend he learned that Andrew Steedman—friend, trusty servant and friend—was rapidly sinking. For many weeks, or rather months, Andrew had been wasting away, some fierce internal trouble had consumed his strength. Now he was but the shadow of his former self, and the dear, simple, kindly, honest face had grown pale and thin. Yet he remained to the last cheerful and confident and full of hope. Death never would prove too strong for the tried Christian, and both he and his master (to the night they parted) flattered themselves to believe that the ravage of an incurable malady might for ever be stayed. And how many unanswered prayers go up every day and night to heaven! 'O God, if I now—let only within—Thy hand,' we exclaim through our blinding tears, and yet

the Lord does not listen. It is from the young that these prayers mostly proceed. Age is wiser- it knows that no prayers, no entreaties will turn Destiny aside from the path which she has marked out, and so submits, and bows its head silently

The old family servant was a very fine type of character; but except in one or two big houses, he is now rarely met with. To this almost extinct race Andrew Steedman belonged. He had lived from boyhood in the service of the Holdfasts, and had thoroughly identified himself with them He was their most accurate chronicler. He had taught the lads to ride and to shoot, had seen them leave the family nest, and go out into the world. He had seen some of them wed, others he had seen buried, and younger generations had come in their respectable way, and grown up around his knees Thus he had passed into the Holdfast life, and had become one of themselves He never thought of himself apart from them – never fancied that a day could come which would see them divided He had received nothing more than the bare ruinments of education at the parish school but he had raised himself by diligent observation and affectionate interest to be a true gentleman and friend Until Stephen began to grow to manhood he had never wandered far from the little market-town to which the Holdfasts belonged as tenants, but as he became that way knew Andrew well He loved fun and [illegible] But it was indeed a beautiful soul that was lodged in that somewhat homely form, and those trees, upright, generous, sincere, and manly, and natural as new trees are, that Andrew were calculated to impress the least observant passer-by He was true as [illegible] to [illegible] and by a [illegible] tive incorruptible honesty. He suffered sharp pain for months without saying a word to any living soul, working on to the end without weak murmur or repining, silently, honestly, courageously. This silent suffering was impressive, reminding one at times of the pathetic reticence of some sweet patient animal. The brown eye might be troubled, but no other token of distress was permitted

Doctor Diamond met Holdfast at the bedroom door. 'The end is near at hand,' he said 'He will hardly last till the morning. Good night'

Of that last meeting I am not going to write. That it was very sad, very tender, and very manly, I can well believe When Stephen was first told that his servant *must* die, the pain he experienced was about as keen as any that he had ever felt in this world But by this time the blow had spent its first crushing force, and they were able to say 'Farewell' like men who trusted God

Through the short summer night Holdfast watched by the bedside of the dying man, who had fallen into a heavy sleep The events of the past day had been entirely swept away from the mind by this fresh trouble, and the memory journeyed back unconsciously to far-away days when Andrew had been host of entertainment. Recollections of wild winter boating among the wild fowl, of long pleasant summer days upon the moors, of the first sea-trout landed with [illegible] and of the first grouse knocked over under the guidance so long ago that it almost heard like a dream'—of cheerful greetings when the holiday time had come, and the old house found him waiting for them at the gate, of long talks as they drove home together beneath the stars with the [illegible] curtain of [illegible] that [illegible] northern sky [illegible] these, and

...ches of a different kind—traces of a character as truly as it is literally simple, as utterly unreal, as unnatural as it is manifestly real, and yet as true in its facts to human life as it is. I came back upon him as he was standing erect on the bed as the birds in the trees around the square began to twitter in the first light of dawn, the sky overhead being grayish-white and with one or two faint rosy streaks—more brilliant than the air—A few passed away. Hilliast cast [illegible] and the sightless eyes, and he [illegible] heart, not with his lips, "Enter into the joy of thy Lord, good and faithful servant."

He stood as a minister of Heaven, unconscious, as it seemed, that the sacramental grace had been with the dawn from on high, and that the Sword had given him of the power to do [illegible] mercy of God.

Hilliast Arrow! He always [illegible] by the risky half [illegible] and even [illegible] Hilliast came [illegible] upon [illegible] [illegible] as De Quincey [illegible] between the dawning [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

great bundles of papers for the morning trains. The bill-sticker was already abroad. There is a long dead-wall, shutting off the canal from the populous thoroughfare which runs alongside, which is a favourite haunt for the display of his art. A grey-looking lad was mounted on a ladder, with a brush and a huge pot of paste, industriously engaged in posting the sheets which announced the contents of the morning journals. Holdfast, listlessly gazing at this active Mercury on his ladder, saw his own name suddenly appear upon the wall. It was the last, printed in alternate black and red lines; his own name he noticed was in red:

THE HOLDFAST HOAX

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

Now, for the first time, it occurred to what had taken place. They had decoyed him, they had [illegible] and he was still [illegible] that he had [illegible], and to [illegible] gaily. He [illegible] if he had been [illegible] he had [illegible] since the afternoon of the previous day. He had [illegible] and [illegible] he was [illegible] and [illegible] and [illegible]

[illegible] was [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] He was [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

voices, and the summer breeze which fanned his cheeks rustled among the sedges. He opened his eyes dreamily, and looked around him. A very old weather-beaten man sat close to where he lay, holding the tiller of a coal-barge in his hand, and conversing in a subdued voice with a little girl who had gathered herself up into the corner of the seat. He was very tarry, very brown, very wrinkled, and very weather-beaten; but there was a fine, simple, honest look in the face which indicated a certain homely magnanimity of soul, a look which the most sordid environment cannot sometimes quite efface, a look which Holdfast knew well, for it had belonged to Andrew Steedman. The little girl was of a quite wonderful beauty. She might have been a Seymour or a Howard, not because she was beautiful only, but because the beauty was of the most high-bred and pure-blooded kind. Yet before they noticed that he was awake, Holdfast had heard her address the old bargee as 'Granny,' and her grandfather called her 'Dolly.'

What did it all mean?

By-and-by they saw that he was awake, and before long he had learnt where he was, and how he had been brought there—the explanation of which was perfectly simple.

Cranbourne Alley, commonly known to the [illegible] as *The Mint*, [illegible] by Isaac Walton and [illegible] Peter Dicey, started from the canal basin for the [illegible] at an early hour on Saturday morning, and shortly thereafter reached the spot where Holdfast lay. Isaac Walton was not [illegible] [illegible], but a [illegible] Scotchman, who [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

Old Isaak Waite, the owner of the barge, had been fretful, and muttered, and rested on the earth but the last few minutes to obey the Reverend had not been altogether with pleasure to see, but on the contrary, been perverse and resentful. Old Isaak's daughter, Mary Waite, was attached to the barge, and she was the youngest and most beautiful of all the daughters of Israel. She had been born on the barge, and had never known any other home. She was very fond of her father, and loved him dearly, but she loved Stephen Holdfast more. Stephen Holdfast was a young man who had been brought up in the Waite household, and was one of the family. He was a very handsome young man, and he was very much liked by all the family. He was a very good young man, and he was very much liked by all the family. He was a very good young man, and he was very much liked by all the family.

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you saw the hills, or the far-away sea—'the thea,' as Dolly called it once, when at a well-remembered spot she asked Holdfast to lift her up in his arms, and there below them lay that clear shining heavenly streak of blue water which some of us love better than even the woman (or women) we adore. So the long summer day passed drowsily away, just as the country on either side of the tarry barge passed—a day spent somehow in a land of dreams. Once Dolly brought him bread and sweet milk, and once old Isaak, noticing how faint he looked, insisted on his drinking a tumbler of some mixture or other, around which lingered an ethereal aroma (as it seemed to his dulled senses—it was whisky and water, I believe), all of which Holdfast accepted in a dim, passive way, as we accept what is offered to us in the lethargy of prostrating illness. The keen excitement of yesterday had been succeeded by a sleepless night, and his whole intellectual being had broken down. The strangest fancies took possession of him—the most grotesque shapes danced before his eyes. Fancy and fact mixed themselves up in an inextricably puzzling way. He fancied that a marriage and a funeral were going on simultaneously, and he knew that he had to take part in one or other as principal, but in which he was uncertain. The hearse, he observed incidentally, was a rather shabby one-horse vehicle, and he did not feel very anxious to occupy it; whereas the carriages, as they drove up with the young blushing bride and bridesmaids, were showy and brilliant, and upon the whole he came to the conclusion that, poor devil, if he is to be married or buried, the marriage is perhaps the more to be desired. But it was the (almost eternal) procession of the burial festivities that most impressed his young nature, so that at last a feeling of intense utter disbelief took possession of him, as though some one had said to him, 'Marriage to-day, death to-morrow. The festal procession is a mere clumsy disguise and mask, and—to give the pageant the least touch of reality—the last carriage with the last guest should be a hearse. Our friends are in wedding favours to-day; let the sun sink once or twice, and they will come back with funeral scarves, and those abominable black gloves which they use only at funerals.'

At length, as the last rays of the sun streamed through the trees, a deep sleep fell upon him, covering him, as Sancho Panza said, all over like a cloak.

VI

Meanwhile, Hazeldean society was agitated to its centre. The great commercial crash, which for some time had been dimly foreseen and dreaded, had come at last with a vengeance. The difficult financial problem—how to make money out of nothing?—on which the mercantile classes had been eagerly experimenting for some time, had answered itself. *Ex nihilo nihil fit.* The bubble had burst. And there was consternation and dismay upon the Hazeldean Exchange—as elsewhere.

During the afternoon the excitement, which had somewhat abated, was renewed by a rumour (the reader will be able to guess how it originated) that the Reverend Stephen Holdfast had drowned himself in the canal. The evening editions of the papers gave currency to the rumour, which at length reached the ears of the young person who superintended the *ménage* of Miss Louisa Higgins. Louisa, on the plea of a sick headache, had been secreted in her sanctum, with a copy of the *Hazeldean Herald*, containing a full report of the trial, during the whole forenoon. She was very sorry for Stephen, very sorry for herself. There had been

[illegible] by Mr. Charles Reade. It was no [illegible] that it did. There were [illegible] considerable [illegible] the [illegible] day, as it [illegible] Here was the [illegible] of Hilliard, and [illegible] Higgins. And, [illegible] there was a third letter which Higgins had addressed to [illegible] in somewhat [illegible] terms, with which he had been making up and which had stood the test of a [illegible] in the power of the [illegible] day. What right had a [illegible] tribunal, to comment upon the [illegible] of the matter? What could any thing [illegible] Higgins) to the charge of [illegible]? It is true that [illegible] who [illegible] condemned?

So Higgins, greatly [illegible], passed to [illegible].

And Mrs. Montgomerie Jones, what of her? Mrs. Montgomerie Jones was not at home on the day when the post [illegible] and [illegible] was at home to [illegible] on that day to many others.

'My dear Brent, what [illegible] anxious matter, we shall be very thankful that that affair of [illegible] has not entangled you. What an escape you have had! It is a perfect Providence. Now, do or tell me that Higgins had [illegible] every penny in the world.' Poor Sir Humphrey Mallet has [illegible] easily imposed upon [illegible] that Higgins [illegible] to take. I must write the servants to tell her that I will do what I can to get a place for her. A nursery governess, I suppose, or anything of that kind.'

'I pity her, I think, I said, more than [illegible], who was not so much as the woman, though I [illegible] that his escape was a piece of [illegible] accidental order.

How surely was retribution,

direct and decisive? It was indeed! For the children of this world are wiser in their generation than the children of light were ever to the gods themselves, and certainly sharper

...

H... ...ly, proudly spoke... But the poor wo... ...utterly worn out... ...ld to leave him at the pa... ...ry rocky piece of ground... ...we have arrived. I do... ...y to assume that... ...which I have related... ...ed as a tragic termination... ...the contrary I am willing to... ...that I have carried you just... ...in the streets of Sa... ...H... ...and of the... ...whom I married... ...The... ...I had... ...but... ...and... ...The... ...of... ...At... ...H... ...had... ...Dea... ...H... ...the... ...the... ...H... ...the... ...the... ...the

SCOTLAND IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY
PRE-REFORMATION PERIOD

handed boldness, which found its most flagrant exhibition in the contest for the archbishopric of St. Andrews. Broad lands and splendid revenues and political position were the things at stake: in all respects it was a struggle typical of the times. For two years it distracted the church and the council, and was finally settled by a compromise which gave the largest share of the honours to the largest giver of bribes.[1]

But, scandalous as were these ecclesiastical feuds, they were after all comparatively light matters. They were far surpassed by the feuds among the great nobles, who waged private war against each other with a ferocity which defied interference. It is not easy for us to conceive how savage these men were. Perhaps there never was a more turbulent and rapacious nobility, not to be aliens or conquerors. Each, regardless of his loyalty, was bent on his own or his chief's aggrandisement. Every man did that which was right in his own eyes. The lord of the manor was alike lawgiver and lord of life. There was indeed a central contest of the Douglases or Angus clan on one side, and of the Hamiltons, who were now almost their rivals in power, on the other, which drew into its whirl the sympathies of the country nearest the capital, but separate disputes, ever weaving a deadly issue, branched out in all directions from this central contest, and flooded the country with slaughter.

Our general histories tell us this, but only in our county histories, with their family broils and personal feuds, and all that came of these, do we see it reflected with a faithfulness which justifies the historian in describing Scotland during these years, the minority of James V., as 'a theatre of constant rapine and assassination.'[2] 'As for the ordering of God's justice,' says a sagacious English observer, 'there is none done in all Scotland.'[3] Neither was there any pretence of doing it, which was the worst feature in the time. No one really cared about the mending of matters. The Queen-mother, Margaret Tudor, fickle[st] and foolishest of women, moved through her mazes of ill-doing eager only on her own ends;[4] the rude rapacious nobles were haughtily lawless; and the churchmen were rent into sections deadly in their mutual enmities.[5]

On the borders, misrule was rampant, and had been so for generations. They could only be said to be Scottish territory by a fiction, and were commonly called the Debatable Land. Brigandage, or free-booting, was the settled order of life in the dales of the Esk, the Tweed, and the Teviot, and sometimes it put on a ducal, almost a regal air.[6] One freebooter was called the King of the Border, and another was a terror as far south as the Tyne. The later poetry and fiction of this district have thrown their glamour over this state of things and obscured its real character. We must not be so deceived, however, in forming our historical opinions. The lonely peel on the hillside, or at the head of the pleasant valley, was a reiver's watch-tower, whence issued bands of men

W[illegible]

In E[illegible]

In the Castle of Tushielaw there was a gallow-tree marked in its principal branches by the ropes

[1] B[illegible] [2] T[illegible]
[3] [illegible]
[4] [illegible]
[5] T[illegible]
[6] T[illegible] [illegible] Arm[illegible] James V[illegible]

which clung the captive and foes of the lord at the cost of their property and their lives. And there was no want of a more extensive cause to effect the same end in most of the parts of the district. Of necessity, therefore, there came to be a perpetual remembrance of the border wars were transferred to their own territories, creating and to their own borders. The county families in the fertile farms and granges immediately north and west of the border slept with their swords under their pillows and their horses saddled in their stalls, and perhaps for two centuries no boy ever grew to manhood who had not known the midnight terror of a blazing homestead, who had not seen his father or brother, followed by their retainers, ride out at dusk harnessed and booted for some night foray, to be brought back before morning grey at dark across his saddle. A man was no man if he could not, if he did not, delight to take his place among the freebooters. There was no settled quiet or peaceful labour throughout the length or the flank breadth of the great range of hills.

The Highlands and the Highlanders were as much unknown to the rest of the country and the institutions of Europe as they are known to those of the nineteenth century. There was no intercourse between the two districts of country, and the farmers who lived on the southern edge of the great Highland district were as much strangers to the Highlanders as they were to the people of Japan. The general Highland life appeared at court, but the lower chiefs and every man of every one had not the remotest idea of loyalty to the reigning family. The power of the government was upheld by the rude dwellers in the straths and glens west and northwest of the Lay. The only power they reverenced, and that they did most profoundly, was the word of their chief. If the heads of the clans were in their places around the throne and professed allegiance it was deemed enough. But these nobles were in fact, whatever they were thought to be, great territorial lords all but absolute over their own domains. Like all such lords, their temptation and their general practice was to oppress their weaker neighbours, and under all sorts of pretexts to add to their estates. Hence there was the same tendency in these districts which there was on the border, to the creation of petty independencies.[1]

The faithful attachment of the great northern chiefs might have added strength to the throne, but could not have added one penny to the Exchequer. For the Highlands were, if ever a country was, a waste howling wilderness, where man had to struggle fiercely for existence against heavy odds, and where the population were steadily thinned to a low average by famines and feuds, the two inseparable foes of such communities. The land of Osman seems to us in the sixteenth century as a land of barbaric tribes, to whom the Afghan or the Algerine tribes of our own day have a family resemblance, who hated to weave and to plant and to sow, whose women were slaves, and who preferred to pasture neighbour and enemy alike.[2]

Their dwellings were of the

[1] [illegible]

[2] [illegible]

rudest kind, of the same grade as the Indian's wigwam or Caffre's kraal; and their dress was as rude; though later generations have seen the setting and the tartan in the light of romance! They went barefooted and bare-legged, unless when in the winter they bound on their ankles a piece of hide with the hairy side out! They had no trade, and detested it with haughty disdain. Their only sources of wealth were their cattle, the products and their pasturages, the latter of which were augmented by a few notable modes of increasing their store. A 'creagh,' or plundering expedition, beside cattle, carried off the women of the district, and it was the proudest boast of a Highland chief that he had a wife from every clan in the country. Marriage by capture was not, however, the only mode of obtaining a wife. Marriage by purchase was also practised. Lands and houses were frequently held by the payment of certain quantities of heavy articles, as a high degree of value was attached to the wives and daughters of their neighbours. Hawking by trade was not altogether unknown. They had their hares or coneys to keep, which were fed for the table. [illegible] were also kept [illegible] The [illegible] were [illegible] large [illegible] Nevertheless, a [illegible] The [illegible] and [illegible] The [illegible] large [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] in the fifteenth, and far into the [illegible] sixteenth centuries, and had descended [illegible] from the middle ages, [illegible] and who were [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

work, where the family sat in good weather and assembled on great occasions, and which were reached by outside or 'fore stairs.' From these, too, they hung on festive occasions their tapestries and carpets, and applauded, or, as it might be, reviled the passers-by. The first storey was often made into one or more booths or covered shops.[1]

The best towns owed their origin to the Church, and were, as Melrose and Kelso, the farm-towns of the wealthy monastery, where its servants lived, and the markets where some of its produce was sold; or, as St. Andrews and Glasgow, were chiefly composed of the houses of the clergy and lay officials of the cathedral. Royal burghs were of more various origin; but they usually grew up in the shadow of the great castles, and were peopled by the feudal retainers of their owners. St. Andrews was the largest town in the kingdom, and had a population of 15,000 souls; Edinburgh, although the capital, had little more than the half of this number, and Glasgow had only some 1,500 inhabitants.[2] Berwick-on-Tweed was the chief port, and carried on a brisk Continental export trade in cured fish, hides, and wool. The fish came chiefly from the busy fisher villages which dotted the east coast then as now, from Buchan-ness to St. Abb's Head; the hides and wool chiefly from the monasteries. As there were no craftsmen but of the commonest sort, and no skilled manufacture, whatever was required beyond the necessaries of life had to be imported. The common cloths, the 'hodden gray,' and 'plaidin' of later story and song, and the ordinary household articles, were of home manufacture, strong if rude; but the finer kinds of raiment, and all the luxuries, ornaments, comforts, with not a few of the necessaries of life, from the velvet and satin and rich cloths of Bruges to the pots and pans of Yetlin for the kitchen, were of foreign production; as were also the church furniture and the implements of war.[3]

A glance at the Acts of Parliament will show how poor the nation was, and how trifling its trade; for Parliament then concerned itself with the slighter matters of municipal and burgh economy. Fish was the great article of commerce; and the fisheries were carefully protected by law. Other trades were insignificant, and worked only for home consumption. The scarcity of gold and silver is a subject of lament through all the reigns of the Stuarts; and the desire for bullion is no less apparent. Constant pressure was put upon traders to bring home bullion rather than foreign goods for their produce. There is no sign of plenty and comfort, and growing wealth with its natural tendencies to expansiveness in new and more ambitious forms; the chill and dismal quiet of a poverty-stricken country which has no resources or knows of none, and has a hard fight for very life, lie on all the pages of the Acts of Parliament from James I. till James V. The most conclusive proof, however, of the excessing scantiness of gold and silver is that nearly all payments, rent and wages, and much of the king's income, were in kind, not in coin.[4]

If there was no commercial

[1] See Chambers's *Ancient Domestic Architecture of Edinburgh*. *Domestic Annals of Scotland*, i. 114; and Dunbar's *Poems*, 'Address to the Merchants of Edinburgh.'

[2] Anderson's *Annals of the English Bible*, ii. 395, 428. Burton, iii. 26 n.

[3] Innes's *Scotland in the Middle Ages*, ch. viii., and to *Early Scottish History*, 266.

[4] *Acts Parl. Scot.* ii. The Spanish ambassador, De Ayala, writing in 1498, although wishing to impress his master favourably of Scotland, reports, says, as a fact, and of that age might well do, that although the Scots want for nothing, they have no

wealth in the land, neither was there any great material wealth. That system of farming and dairy keeping which has since become famous had not even dawned. There was no tenant right with the land, and law-suits for pasture rights and bleaching were frequent. Nor was there any encouragement to the farmer to improve his farm, while there were various oppressive taxes, the growth of centuries, and finally customs, which, when paid out of the year's income, left little to the husbandman. The law was no doubt meant to protect the tenant, but the law was too often powerless. To crown all, there were frequent harryings by neighbouring barons, who, like the Assyrians of old, found that the quickest way of saving and reaping was to make use of the greater part of the year's produce for themselves and their armed followers, while the husbandmen were left to starve.

[illegible] were the great [illegible] the land [illegible] were [illegible] Moray. Dryburgh, [illegible] held [illegible] the greater part of the land [illegible] and [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] estate than the great barons. The [illegible] of [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

work, where the family sat in good weather and assembled on great occasions, and which were reached by outside or 'fore stairs.' From these, too, they hung on festive occasions their tapestries and carpets, and appealed, or, as it might be, reviled the passers-by. The first story was often made into one or more booths or covered shops.[1]

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[1] See [illegible] *Domestic Architecture of Scotland*, [illegible] of Arts, 1854; and [illegible] Memorials of Edinburgh.

[2] [illegible] *Scotland*, [illegible]

[3] [illegible] *Scots Affairs*, [illegible]

[4] [illegible] were given for [illegible] were [illegible] and [illegible] were [illegible] and [illegible] were [illegible] they have no

wealth on the land, neither was there any general wealth. That system of farming and dairy keeping which has since become famous had not even dawned. There was no tenant right which the hard and law's-pet letter might not break with impunity, nothing leases existed, and therefore no sort of encouragement to the farmer to improve his farm, while there were various oppressive taxes, the growth of immemorial feudal custom, which, when paid out of the year's income, left little to the husbandman. The law was no doubt meant to protect the tenant, but the law was too often powerless. To crown all, there were frequent harryings by neighbouring barons, who, like the Australians of old, found this the quickest way of sowing and reaping, while some of the greater nobles had their retainers quartered for the season and their armed followers from the richer monasteries. Then the harvesting was over, 'Scotland,' they said, 'was ours to waste, and we wasted it.'

In the towns were the great artificers. In the Low Countries, the home of Scottish trade, Mons. Desbrières, the French ambassador, found the greater part of the land of the valleys and their adjacent hills more valued, for cattle than the greatest lay lords. The lack of [illegible] was [illegible] but [illegible] were [illegible] parts of the country and [illegible] was [illegible]

While the monks fostered agriculture, the clergy cherished letters. There were no means of mental culture at home, and in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries every educated Scotsman had got his education in some one of the great foreign universities; and, happily for Scotland, more than one of these men was fired with the noble zeal of founding similar institutions in their native land.

Out of these various and strongly marked elements of life and character, the Scotland of the future was to be formed. There was no lack of spirit in the people. They had the same caustic humour that the Lowland yeoman and shepherd of to-day have; the same resolute will and arm, the same love of social rest and jollity. The 'spuse' or 'creel' was then, as after the instrument on which the shepherd played his springs or airs there to the 'bane nek,' 'kemmick,' and 'the kebbuck,' the chief items of household fare. There was no other plenty nor elegance within the borders of such a land. By long-continued wars the strength of the people had been dearly bought, but it had not harrowed, however, shrewdness, [illegible] love of country, patience and [illegible] courage, had already [illegible] Scotland's crown, and [illegible] the [illegible] of [illegible] which took place here and after Flodden into [illegible] native power, and whether the personal misfortunes of [illegible] people, trampled out by the [illegible] feet of war, or [illegible] set up [illegible] and [illegible] form

in the favouring skies of peace, lay hid in the unknown future.

II.—ITS RELIGIOUS CONDITION.

Underneath the seething lawlessness which filled the country, the germs of a new national life, whoever, were growing. More than a century had passed since the word 'heretic' had been first publicly heard in Scotland—that word which was the one most fraught with deep associations of horror to the men of those days, but which is sought for eagerly among the records of the past by the modern historian, as the green blade of promise bursting out of the barren soil. The flames had consumed the first solitary teachers of heresy.

John Resby, an Englishman and a Wycliffite, in 1407, eight or nine years before the death of Huss, and Paul Craw, a native of Germany and probably a Hussite, in 1432. And the fear of the flames no doubt restrained many from open avowal of Wycliffe's doctrines or Lollardy. There is good ground for believing that these doctrines were being held in secret in various districts, and they certainly were in the west. But the fear of the flames—it must always be borne in mind—however effectual in checking the open profession of the heresy, was powerless to prevent its secret propagation. In the history of the Church, of secret Bible-reading, twenty to thirty persons of good family, we seem to have had the New Testament in the Vernacular, having given a solemn oath to the Archbishop of Glasgow [illegible] generation heresy, as a decided living principle, had begun to show its strength.[3] Luther's name had sounded across the sea to the bleak Scottish shores; and in 1525 an Act of Parliament was passed which ordained that 'as the damnable opinions of heresy,' of Luther and his disciples, had spread into divers countries, of all which 'filth and vice' 'this realm and lieges ever have been clean'; 'therefore, no manner of persons, strangers, that happen to arrive with the ships within any part of this realm, shall bring with them any books or works of the said Luther, his disciples or servants, dispute or rehearse his heresies or opinions, unless it be to the confusion thereof, under pain of confiscating of their ships and goods, and putting of their persons in prison.'[4] Of Luther's particular heresy the framers of the Act had, like many of their brethren elsewhere, the vaguest notion.[5] Hence in this Act, it is to be noticed, it was only Luther's books which were forbidden, and no mention is made of the Bible. They fancied the world was to continue as it had been, and that all their interests were as safe as ever. Little did they dream of the effects of the new engine of influence, the printing press, which was already [illegible] Little did they think that about that time and for several years after, a steady, quiet trade in Lutheran New Testament [illegible] was being carried on between the Flemish towns and the towns on the east of Scotland. Yet so it was. Act [illegible] by 'strangers,'

[illegible]

but by native shipowners and merchants, who were quite aware that Beaton could not stop trade, and that Wishart was eager to spread the new opinions.

As it was the interest of trade that it should go on, so it was the interest of the merchants to keep up a good understanding with the Government. Accordingly, when Wishart began to preach in Dundee, the merchants were at first disposed to protect him. But when they found that the preacher was dealing with the question which was beginning to be much discussed, they would not allow him to meddle with trade. Accordingly they sought to make use of their influence with the Government. What, however, was the real ground of Wishart's imprisonment and execution at St Andrews, and the New Testament and Articles of Faith found in his possession, we shall see presently.

[illegible]

hunting down Tyndale at the time, of the secret method with which his books were packed, to be transmitted one all the others across the sea, 'without any suspicion.' A traffic, therefore, however limited, could not exist, and was in active though quiet operation. A few years would be enough for the immediate necessities of Scotland, where readers were few, and they would be none the less quick and earnest in the perfect ease of being read in secret. Patrick Hebburgh, however, the martyr, was unaware of the existence of an increase of Lollardy, or of a more serious and conscientious spirit which seemed to betoken, as much, that it made the laws against heresy in this same year, 1528, more stringently directed. The 'cream' was the 'scum' of the 'filth and vice' of heresy, the king's 'progress' to punish 'heresy' proceeded in the heyday of the liberty of discussing the forbidden opinions had been found not to lead to their overthrow. Hence the Lords of the Council interposed their authority to the letter of Act, and ordained, the king's progress, assertors to such opinions, be prosecuted in the ordinary way, and the effect of the Act to strike upon them,' and that the 'which restricted discussion of these opinions to clerks in their chambers.'

[illegible]

[illegible]

its first decided example, the Stephen of the new era in Scotland, appeared this year. This flower of the new spring yet blooms in the eyes of later generations as the only sweet and lovable object in that dreary moral waste.

In the autumn of 1527 the people of Linlithgow saw a new thing in their country and generation, a young man of noble family, a Hamilton, turning preacher, and going among them teaching of faith and holiness. No one had ever seen or heard the like before. He was not a monk, and monks only preached then, his discourse was not of paternosters, purgatory, the saints, relics, but of the blood of Christ, and of repentance and a holy life. Fresh from the schools of Germany, his preaching was the warm outgrowth of a soul clear and immovably fixed as to its own duty, tried by contact with some of the noblest men of the time. Skilled, as one who had studied in Paris, Louvaine, and Marburg, in the Greek original of the Scriptures, and learned in the use of them as one who had sat at the feet of some of the Reformers, his preaching must have at least startled the hearers but it was for other reasons. Faith in Christ was the main theme of his teaching, and his views of it and of the Christian life generally were so great a novelty, and felt, that we have no difficulty in believing that they were to them as fresh as the morning light.

As was the fashion of the time, Hamilton had gone abroad to study, and in 1523, in the seventeenth year, he became a Master of Arts of Paris. Paris was then as for centuries it had been, the chief centre of the intellectual life of Europe. The Scottish students were famous for their love of theology, and were probably drawn to have all the more of Christ in their keeping and to be serenely removed above all change and confusion. At that time, however, they were unusually ruffled. The spirit of innovation was coming in upon them like a flood. Erasmus, the most scholarly wit of his age, had laughed at them as Obscurantists, and had got many to join him in the laugh: the young men especially, delighting in his exquisite raillery, and, half inclined to think the older men, as the younger generation always are, drowsy and slow, joined the most readily in it. Every young man who pretended to letters and culture was a disciple of Erasmus. Vexing as all this was, the rabbis were yet too strong in their own conceits to be much or long disturbed by it. But a bolder man than the timid scholar of Rotterdam early disquieted them. Luther had become a European name, and they had been asked to state their opinion of his doctrines. They had consented, and keenly impatiently awaited their decision. After a year's deliberation, in the spring of 1521, in the presence of students from every Christian country, they declared Luther to be a heretic, and the writings to be burnt for the flames.

Of all the young Hamilton was a witness. Luckily for him he was a devotee of Erasmus. Luther's name was not yet a tower of strength, and his writings were still dreaded. Many of Erasmus's Greek Testament he knew by heart, which was much more than many of Luther's readers also had. Yet even at this, was much the same. The sequestered study the Scholar proved the way for the Monk, and the impetuous reformer in the pulpit, the intellectual power and the moral earnestness in the cloister. It was so in Hamilton's case. After some years, he was finally arrested

of the charms of Plato, and the practical wisdom of Aristotle, and like a true Erasmian, was for banishing the jargon and glosses of commentators from the schools, and recalling philosophy to its sources, the original texts of the ancients.[1] But here he did not rest.

Leaving Paris he went to Louvaine, and thence returned home, and in the summer of 1523 became a member of the University of St. Andrews. His residence on the Continent, he now found, was to become a destiny to him. He had carried back with him the leaven of a new life. He had seen and heard what could not be forgotten, nor fail, in an ardent young mind, of working in time considerable change, more especially when it found nothing but barrenness in the lecture-rooms of Major, the first professor in the Church. Coming home in 1523 an Erasmian, in 1526 he became a Lutheran, and openly maintained Lutheran doctrines. The laws against heresy had just been passed, and Archbishop Beaton having heard of Hamilton's defection, 'made faithful inquisition' into the grounds of the rumour, and being satisfied of its truth, proceeded to take steps against him. Confronted in an instant with the appalling alternative of silence or death, Hamilton fled, and, accompanied by two personal friends, 'he passed,' says Knox, 'to the schools in Germany, for then the fame of Wittenberg was greatly divulged in all countries, where by God's providence he became familiar with those godly and notable servants of Christ Jesus at that time, Martin Luther, Philip Melanchthon, and Francis Lambert.[2] Wittenberg was at that moment the centre of the Reformation, and was in its first flush of youthful zeal. Luther's New Testament was in most homes. The Mass had been abolished, and in loud and fervent chorus the crowded congregations lifted up their voices in thanksgiving. Students flocked from all parts of Europe to see and to hear the wonderful things which were taking place there.

Affected by these deeply moving influences, he proceeded with his two friends to Marburg. A new University was to be opened there by the leaders of the Reformation, under the very walls of the castle of its bold patron, the Landgrave of Hesse. Among its first hundred and four students the three friends enrolled their names. Here, Hamilton breathed the genial air of true religious fellowship, and was quickened by intercourse with riper and larger minds. He sat at the feet of Francis Lambert, a teacher of theology, who occupied himself more with the spirit than with the form of Christianity; and seems to have been on intimate terms with Frith and Tyndale, who were destined like himself to be martyrs in the same holy cause. Six months' intercourse with that apostolic company kindled a spirit of irrepressible missionary zeal in him. But a short while before he had fled from his native shores for his life; now, stronger in faith and stouter of heart, he was ready to take his life in his hand, and face death. To his own benighted land he therefore returned, when 'the bright beams of the true light, which by God's grace was planted in his heart, began most abundantly to burst forth as well in public as in secret.'[3] He was the first preacher of the Reformation.

But he was destined to be also its first martyr. Invited, as Knox tells us,[4] to a conference with his foes, no charge at the time was brought against him. Allowed,

[1] For a succinct sketch of the Scholastic see Hallam's *Middle Ages*, ii. 426–430.
[2] Knox, i. [illegible] [3] *Ibid.*

with a large show of friendliness, the freedom of the city, he was permitted to discuss in the schools; in other words, to declare beyond doubt the precise nature of his opinions. He was also visited by men of honest and good heart, who were open to conviction, and by men who laid in wait for his words. No rude fault-finder, and anxious only to show men Christ's simple truth, he was instant in season and out of season with all who visited him. So he continued for nearly a month. Then, when his confession was widely known, and probably when his death could be most easily compassed,[1] he was apprehended, tried, and condemned by twenty of the chief ecclesiastics of the realm. Quick on the heels of his sentence came his death. His doom was pronounced in the morning; at noon the youthful confessor was led out between a strong guard to the place of burning in front of St. Salvator's College, and ere the sun went down, February 28, 1528, he had given his life for that Truth which was dear to him above everything else.[2]

The white tower of St Regulus, bleached by the storms of a thousand years, which is so conspicuous an object in St. Andrews as seen from the sea, is the sole relic of the first missionary who kindled the flame of the Christian life in that part of Scotland. Centuries after, when that life had been long dead, it was from the same spot that the first voice was heard calling on men to awake. And here also it was in the next generation that Knox, as if with the dying words of that voice in his ears, and with a far profounder comprehension of the issues in question than Hamilton could have, accepted his commission to take up his message and apply it with the same fearlessness to the altered conditions of the time. And here again, nearly 300 years later, dawned the genius of Chalmers, who, with as piercing and wise a glance, and with a richer wisdom and eloquence than the Reformer, took up the same many-sided message, and applying it in a frigid, irreligious age, with unrivalled power, to the conditions of life around him, startled his countrymen out of their lethargy, and became the reviver of the religious life of Scotland in the nineteenth century.

The characteristic influences of such events as Hamilton's execution in the initial stages of all great movements are general, and tell upon society rather than upon individuals.

[1] W[illegible] the King was a [illegible] to the [illegible] of St D[illegible] as [illegible] as he was at [illegible] to the [illegible] of the [illegible] who [illegible] masters of [illegible] and with [illegible] [illegible] upon [illegible].

[2] [illegible] 18 [illegible] Lorimer's [illegible] [illegible] an Historical Biography, 1856, 163 ff. *Annals of Scottish Life*, ii. 414 ff. Mackie's [illegible], 14. Burton's *History of Scotland*, ii. 322 [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

We only know, for instance, of one man who publicly acknowledged himself Hamilton's convert, but we know that his martyrdom was the first of a series of confessions and martyrdoms. The spirit of enquiry was aroused: the idea of the one was criticised and pondered by the many. Knox, who was then twenty-three years of age, is decisive as to this: 'When these cruel wolves had, as they supposed, clean devoured the prey they found themselves in worse case than they were before; for then within St Andrews, yea almost within the whole realm, there was none who heard of the fact who began not to enquire, Wherefore was Master Patrick Hamilton burnt? And when his articles were rehearsed, question was holden if such articles were necessary to be believed under the pain of damnation. And so within short space many began to call in doubt that which before they held for a certain verity.'[1]

It was fortunate for the new movement that the political state of the nation was confused. The king and his friends had no particular interest in it, nor knowledge of it; and Archbishop Beaton, more interested on account than on spiritual affairs, more of a courtier than an ecclesiastic,[2] was content to rest in the deterring influences of the penalties against heresy. But forbidden opinion loves to run underground, and strikes and spreads its roots long before it rises into the light. The doctrines Hamilton had died for were in that New Testament which was being circulated and read, and which had the ineffable charm to that generation of a new revelation. To read and to believe was not indeed to become a Lutheran, but it was to be a heretic, and to come practically within the power of the law. Still there was no need for a man, although of heretical opinions, putting himself of choice within this power; and therefore it was possible for scores of secret believers in the new opinions to exist. Heretics, however, could not yet be numerous, for heresy supposed conviction, and the Scriptures were too recently introduced to have created that to any extent. The national mind as to such matters was a barren, unoccupied waste. There had been nothing in the literature or in the church instruction of previous generations which tended to the contrary, as there had been in some countries: no poor priests, the Methodists of the fourteenth century, as in England,[3] no Friends of God,[4] or Brethren of the Common Lot, as in Germany,[5] whose lives were as stars in that hour of murk, and whose doctrines were streams of refreshing in that arid waste. That hour, however, had now passed away for ever; a mighty change had begun; and it was good therefore for it that those in power were absorbed in their own worldly ways and had no fear of it. The leaven worked all the more effectually.

This unpreparedness and absence of internal influence in Scotland is noticeable. There were burgh and convent schools enough for all classes,[6] and no lack of colleges during at least the previous fifty years, but they were both barren

[1] Knox, i. 36. When Lawrence was burnt in Paris, 1311, a decree of the Sorbonne [illegible] 'that there was matter for the Church to have pastime of mercy as well as zeal, and therefore to mitigate the punishment.' White's *Memorials of Mr Lawrence*, 6. See also Neander's just remarks on this point, *Planting of Christianity*, i. 11. [illegible]

[2] Knox, i. 38. [3] Vaughan's *Wycliffe*, 207.

[4] Winkworth's *Life and Sermons of Dr Tauler*, 28.

[5] Milman's *Latin Christianity before the Reformation*.

[6] Innes's *Sketches of Early Scotch History and its Middle Ages*, 335 sqq.

of those quickening influences springing out of special teaching and discussion which had so many centres on the Continent. The barrenness of these is attested by the fact that none of the best known friends of the Reformation refer to either school or college as instruments in their religious enlightenment.

But if there were no decided enlightening agencies at work in the nation, neither was there any devout blindness to the real state of things in the Church. To this the eyes of the nation were not indeed opened by the contrast of a nobler ideal of life being exhibited to them: it was simply impossible for it to be had. I am afraid the nineteenth century, with its higher moral standard and living, will not credit what must be said of the Church of the sixteenth century; and may suspect that my statements are a combination of violent exaggerations and wicked lies, and that there never existed, unless in distempered imaginations, such a race of priests of our most holy religion. But the truth is indelibly written in the monuments of the Church herself and in the national records, and the historian's chief difficulty is how to write at length of it without giving offence. If, however, we would be just towards the Reformers, and would truly estimate the character of the Reformation in Scotland, we must in simple justice, and at whatever pains, thoroughly comprehend this and all the other causes which created and in any way affected the change.

If, then, we look into the lives of the leading churchmen (and I wish no one to do so too minutely), we shall find that they all resemble one another in open, proud lewdness, and that there is not a single name in that age which is free from the taint. The clergy were, in fact, the avowed leaders of profligacy,[1] and the abettors of it in those who could buy easily-gotten dispensations from the marriage vows of which they had grown weary. Some of them made their diocese their harem;[2] others, it is true, were more constant in their loves, and kept house with one mistress; but bishops and abbots procuring letters of legitimation for their numerous children, all bravely bearing their father's name, advancing them in the State and in the Church, and giving them away in marriage to the chief nobles, were common occurrences. Concubinage, in fact, was the general, long-established, and well-known practice of churchmen of all grades in Scotland, which was not exceeded by any country in Europe in her adulteries.[3] It was so, no doubt, in a greater or less degree all over Europe. The popular literature of Germany,[4] Italy,[5] and Scotland[6] is conclusive in its evidence on the subject. Nor was it denied. The Council of Lateran admitted it was, with much else that was base, a general practice;[7] and its existence in Scotland was an immemorial complaint in the Provincial Councils. But in Scotland there was an obliviousness to the wickedness of

[1] Pertee. ... p.]

[2] Knox, ... 41. *Annals of the English Bible*, ... 44. Knox i. 112.

[3] For the exhaustive and unchangeable view of the case, one dark with abominations, see Preface to Lorimer's *Patrick Hamilton*, Scotland.

[4] The most frequent ... and ... dress is the ... as the common priests with their ... and ... the ... and ... Luther, *Of the Rule*, priests' ... with ... ; as a part ... and ...

[5] ... the ... of the ... most ... of ... general theme of the ... ; ... ; ... Lord ... day iv. See also Muratori, *Della Regolata Divozione dei Cristiani*, ...

[6] Montgomerie, *Knox* ...

[7] Knox's *Lord* ... day iv.

such dounge, and an effrontery in acknowledging bastardy and adultery, which was unequalled elsewhere.

Like priest like people. The Church for her own purposes[1] had long made it law that no marriages should take place within eight degrees of blood relationship, and eight degrees of marriage relationship. But in so small a country as Scotland it was impossible to marry and keep out of these relationships. Hence in Scotland as elsewhere two enormous evils arose: the first, that the Church, by creating a fictitious morality, reaped a large revenue from dispensations, or, to speak more correctly, divorces, which she granted to those who wished, on whatever grounds, to make a change; the second, that it opened the flood-gates to immorality by making marriage a mere bargain which could be broken at will. For, thus the profligate husband like Bothwell, eager to enjoy some other beauty or to form some ambitious alliance, easily freed himself from his marriage vows by allowing he had married within the forbidden degrees; and thus the fickle wife, like the wicked Margaret Tudor, if rich, could gratify her amorousness as she pleased. Nor was this the worst, for so debased had society become, and so ready were the Church courts in Scotland and in Italy to do any job of this sort if well paid for it, that when divorces were wanted and could not be procured on these grounds, it was usual for ladies even, like Janet, Lady Buccleuch, of romantic history, afterwards Duchess of Sutherland, and for nobles like Angus, to set forth their own previous guilt and shame as the ground of them.[2] And as it was in the upper ranks so was it in the lower, only more revolting because more indiscriminate.

Not less obnoxious was the luxuriousness of the higher ecclesiastics. The half of the wealth of the kingdom was in the hands of the Church,[3] as it was in England in Wycliffe's times,[4] and whatever may be said of the righteous and natural way in which this wealth grew to be so great, and of the noble uses it had often been put to,[5] it cannot be said that in that century, at least, in Scotland, this cormorant opulence was spent on worthy objects. The two Beatons kept up a style which far exceeded that of most of the great nobles. Unlike some of their peers in other parts of Christendom, there was no pretence on their part of serving God with their wealth: it was used openly and shamelessly on the gratification of their appetites. It was the fashion, no doubt, in high places to do so; it was the age of Alexander VI. and Leo X.,[6] the most un-Christian age in Christian annals.

For this pre-eminence in wickedness of the Church in Scotland many causes might be given. The remoteness of the country from the great centres of European opinion and influence was one; but the dependent relation which the kings had always held, because of their extreme need, to the ecclesiastical dignitaries, was another and a more potent one. For many generations no evils arose out of this relation, and the bishops and abbots chosen from the monasteries at home or abroad were mostly men full of faith and good works. But by-and-by this order changed, and these men ceased from the sacerdotal office.

[1] Hallam's *Middle Ages*, ii. 3-8.
[2] Tytler, i. 4. Hallam's *Middle Ages*, ii. 148.
[3] Tytler, i. 26; ii. 80. Hallam's *Middle Ages*, ii. 143.
[4] Lechler's *Life of the Reformer*, i. 8. M'Crie's *History of the Reformation in Italy*, chap. i. Macaulay's *Essays* (1866), i. 137.
[5] M'Crie's *Knox*, i. *Keith*, i. 4.
[6] Roscoe's *Leo X.*, chap. xiii.

Then the nobles interfered in the ecclesiastical affairs of their own domains, and placed whomsoever they chose in the minor sees; the chief ones, as we have seen, being often a cause of bloody feud. For long it had been thus. For long the great churchmen had directed the affairs of State, headed factions in the field, and taken the most active part in all worldly concerns. Thus in time they came to lose their sacred character in the eyes of the world, and their spiritual power over it, and were thought of, as they were most often seen, simply as great nobles who might do as they liked. And thus too it was in part as regards living in the open breach of their ordination vows, that the public conscience lost all sense of feeling, and really absolved them from their sins. The land was full of adultery. Hence bishops and abbots who had taken the vow of celibacy, openly broke it; hence the first ladies and fairest women in the realm, unconscious of anything shameful in it, were willing to become their mistresses, and the great houses were nothing loth to ally themselves with their bastard sons and daughters.[1]

In this way the barriers of ancient discipline were thrown down, and the Church became only another name for wealth and power. It had become a part of the heritage of the nobles—a preserve for the younger members of their families. The spirit, therefore, which animated most of the prelates, and the objects for which they lived, differed in little or nothing from those of their brother barons. Their morals, and pursuits, and pleasures were much alike, acting under another name, and with all the aids at their command which their office conferred, they were able to push more successfully their individual and family interests. What else could be looked for from such a class, as regards purity of life, than the spectacle we have just seen?

More irritating than either of these vices to the body of the people was the avarice of the clergy. From baptism to burial, in life and in death, and after death, the heavy hand of the priest was felt in various exactions. Bills of excommunication or cursing, at one time the most terrific power of the Church, and only reserved by her for an hour of special need, were freely sold, as Tetzel sold his pardons, to be used by one man against another. Their effectiveness having been duly tested, they were laughed at by the village gossips;[2] but the Church, earnest in maintaining her hold on purse and person, made it plainly understood that a disregard of them was 'a damnable persuasion'[3] of heresy. A man thought twice, therefore, before slighting them altogether. Worse, however, than this were the different dues demanded, from tithes down to certain properties of the dead. These tithes increased in amount with the increasing prosperity of the people. Every year accordingly made them a more fertile source of quarrel between clergy and laity.[4] Last and worst of all, it had become the practice of the Church, which in this case changed a voluntary gift for pious uses into a forced payment, to demand, in case of death, 'the kirk cow,' and the 'upmost cloth,' that is, the best animal and the best garment of the deceased; and the long use and wont of this pitiless practice had almost

[illegible]

[1] [illegible] [2] [illegible] [3] [illegible] [4] Barton, iv 36.

passed it into a law. It was very hard to resist, and was especially hard for the poor families, on whom it bore the worst. Sir D. Lindsay's description of this exaction may be overdrawn, but it must yet be substantially true.[1]

It increased the irritation caused by these exactions that there was no appeal against them, for the Church monopolised the three offices of inquisitor, hangman, and bailiff, and was at the same time ever seeking to widen her powers. A parish priest, like the vicar of Dollar, who refused to take these exactions from his flock, was a marvel among, and an offence to, his brethren. The laity therefore felt, and every year felt it more keenly, that the clergy by secular inflictions and spiritual anathemas wrung from them, the poor and hard workers, the fruit of their industry to swell their own wealth and minister to their pampered appetites.[2]

It completes the description of the religious condition of Scotland at this time to say that the clergy were as ignorant as they were licentious and worldly. The traces of their scholarship are as scarce as the traces of their sanctity. Some of those who were made judges of heresy seem to read their matins. Most of them had never seen a copy of any version of the Bible. The few copies which existed were of the very rudest kind. A Bible in the Vulgate might be found here and there, and some of Augustine's or Jerome's works, but the greater portion of the few books which were anywhere to be found were missals, processionals, and the like.[3] There was nothing to feed the soul or to stir the intellect.

This was not as it had once been. Once the religious life had truly been the salt of the nation. But no longer was the monastery the home of religion and learning and industry the well-watered garden in the desert, fragrant with true charity, and the example and instructor in the homely arts of life; and no longer were the clergy dispensers of Heaven's best gifts. Long ago the conditions out of which that noble life had spontaneously sprung, and in which it had borne such precious fruit, had passed away, and now disease and decay had attacked it, as was plain to its most devoted friends. There were some of these who sought to devise a remedy, but they were all too conservative and timid. Quiet, pious souls, wedded to those forms and notions which had been the solace of their own lives, and who neither knew the real state of things nor were capable of being roused into endeavour, they hoped to do some good by founding congregate churches and by placing them under strict discipline. They hoped in their simplicity to kindle afresh the sacred flame in fanes long desecrated by every unholy thing. It was reserved for mightier geniuses to do this — for Caraffa and Ignatius Loyola.[4]

It was in the various scenes which arose out of these circumstances that the secret of Scotland's second life lay. And what man, not led astray by some phantasm, can seriously wish that that state of

[1] [illegible] *Three Estates*, and [illegible] Monro's *Kirk of Scotland*, [illegible]

[2] [illegible] the clergy took from every one and did [illegible] what was agreeable and [illegible] what was [illegible] [illegible] all the days of the [illegible] Monro's *Kirk of the Dales Improved*, p. [illegible] *Scotland in the Middle Ages*.

[3] [illegible] Monro's *Kirk of the Dales Improved*, p. [illegible] *Scotland in the Middle Ages*.

[4] [illegible] Monro's *Kirk of the Dales Improved*, p. [illegible] *Scotland in the Middle Ages*.

things should have continued unshaken, or been merely mended? It was not more opposed to the spirit of Christianity than destructive of the political liberty and commercial prosperity of the nation, while it was the open, deliberate, stony-hearted foe of social purity and happiness. Considerations from every quarter thus combined in calling aloud for a radical reform. The earnest efforts of men of all classes, each in his own sphere, with one aim in common, were imperatively required to root out abuses of which all had good reason to complain, and for bringing about a change of which all would share the advantages.[1]

But how might this be done? It could not at any rate be done by a sudden process, or by any one man; but like every movement which has become a power in the world, must be slowly born, and of mixed motives. No such movement can be either purely religious or purely secular. No such movement as this could be borne on to final success on mere selfishness. It was rooted in religious feeling, and was fed in its earlier stages by the religious spirit, as we have already partly seen: but it was impossible that selfishness and self-interest should not largely influence it in its future course.[2] For had not every man, or nearly every man, some well-grounded grudge against the Church? The particulars of her state as given above will furnish an answer. And these had just been seen in a new light by some eyes, and their number was increasing. Some might, some would turn them away heavenward, dumb with sad astonishment; others with darkening brows and flashing eyes would look closer, muttering wrathful words as they did so. And these last would be the greater number. The true light had shed its first gleam across their path, and they were men likely to avail themselves of it for personal ends. They were neither blinded nor frightened by superstition. Their intellect was not cajoled. Their understandings, though ill-furnished, were too shrewd by nature and too direct to sublimate absurdities into mysteries. However fierce and lawless, they were proverbially bold in speech and action; and whoever might be their proven foe, they had hitherto, wisely or unwisely, swiftly dealt with him as such.

Once let the Church be fully exposed, and the chances will be against her. It will be strange, indeed, if the currents of national feeling, diverted into new channels, do not show all their well-known impetuosity and turbulence. If they do, the fate reserved for the savourless salt, and that from all sorts of motives, will be the fate of the whole ecclesiastical system of Scotland.

A. F.

[1] M'Crie's *Knox*, ii.

[2] See Motley's remarks on the same point as regards the Netherlands. *The Rise of the Dutch Republic*, i. 131, 132.

FRASER'S MAGAZINE.

FEBRUARY 1871.

ENGLAND'S WAR.

WHEN the last shot had been fired at Waterloo, Great Britain was indisputably the first Power in the world. From that day to this we have run a career, almost without a check, of what has been called unexampled prosperity. Yet at the end of these fifty-five years English officers tell us that they can scarcely show their faces at a table d'hôte in Germany without danger of affront. English opinion is without weight. English power is ridiculed. Our influence in the councils of Europe is a thing of the past. We are told, half officially, that it is time for us to withdraw altogether from the concerns of the Continent, which, on the other side of the Atlantic, Mr Bancroft certainly intends to manage, and declares that the time is not far off when the United States must throw its protecting ægis over us in our foreign dealings. We are still able to make ourselves heard, we cannot move a man-of-war, we cannot despatch, and, however we may resent the attitude which the world is assuming towards us, we are painfully aware that we owe our exemption from a serious danger to our geographical position alone, and that if our fleet were destroyed or disabled we should be at the mercy of any Power which could muster three or four, we will offer no opinion on that point, of first-class ironclads. We are told, and with perfect justice, We are not conscious of any serious decay in our national character and spirit; we have not been niggardly in our supplies; even in our humours of extremest economy we vote sums annually for our military service which suffice elsewhere to provide troops in any numbers of the most admirable efficiency. There are some among us who conceive that we should catch at the first available opportunity the first affront or diplomatic embroilment to court a quarrel for its own sake, as if the clash of war would rouse us out of our lethargy, put life into our languid movements, and restore us to let the nations know that our arms have not lost their skill nor our hearts their courage.

Only a few years ago, when the Exhibition of 1851 was opened in Hyde Park, we were accustomed to look upon the theory of a new era of commerce and free trade were to usher in a revolution which Christianity had failed to produce, and that War was to be at an end for ever. All the civilized parts of the earth were to contribute thenceforward only to the arts of peace. The world was already one in our estimation, or seemed to share our enthusiasm. When the first unsuccessful Arctic expedition was in search of the Arctic, the anxious message which it bore from Washington to England was "Peace on earth, and

goodwill towards men.' The peace proved a cycle of storms which in one quarter or another have raged since scarcely with intermission, and, though at home our streak of sea has stood our friend, we have borne our share already in the East, and danger may very easily come to seek us at our own doors without our going out of the way to look for it. Many idle wars have been undertaken at one time or another for the sake of national prestige; but the notion of going into such a business for the sake of the moral improvement of our characters would have occurred to no one but an Englishman in the second half of the nineteenth century. If we are suffering from the 'long canker of peace,' it is to be hoped there are other ways of curing it besides sacrificing hundreds of thousands of our own people, and killing hundreds of thousands of others.

Before we look for enemies abroad we have enemies to make war upon among ourselves, or we shall gather little honour or profit in any other field of glory. And when our home war is over, when we have tracked out and disarmed the real sources of our weakness, we shall find perhaps that both our moral health and our prestige abroad will have returned in the process without need of a more desperate remedy.

We are not respected because we are supposed to be powerless. Why are we powerless? We have money without limit, we have coal and iron, and with them ample command of all mechanical resources, and to make use of these things we have thirty millions of men and women in our own islands, and ten millions besides in our colonies, of a race which in times of trial has been found at least equal to any other upon earth. Individuals among us, or voluntary combinations which we form among ourselves for special purposes, do their work punctually and effectively. Private English enterprise built up our Indian Empire, founded English-speaking communities in every quarter of the globe, realised in steamships, as Emerson says, the fable of Æolus's bag, and inclosed the four-and-twenty winds in their boilers; invented railroads and the telegraph, and in this very crisis of our supposed decadence holds a virtual monopoly of the commerce of mankind. Our time of degeneracy may come. We may founder on the rock on which every other commercial community has made shipwreck before us, and perish in the greediness of money-making. But the evil day has not yet arrived. The poison may be in the skin, but it has not touched the bones. Individual Englishmen can still do what they undertake to do as effectively as when English statesmen ruled the resolutions of the Congress of Vienna. Individuals, unless when they are deliberately dishonest, are as capable as ever they were; but the business of national defence belongs to the Government, and the touch of the Government is like the touch of a torpedo,[1] sending paralysis through the nerves and veins of every organisation which it ventures to meddle with. Here is the seat of the disorder, and here, if anywhere, it must be encountered.

All nations have their idols, the creatures of their own hands, which, having manufactured, they bow down before as gods. The Spanish peasant adores his image of the Virgin. The Englishman adores the British Constitution. It is his ideal of political perfection, and under the shadow of it, when it was once finished, he believed that he would be safe from the malice of his earthly ene-

[1] The [illegible] Mr Carlyle was supposed [illegible]

mies. The origin of the satisfaction in both instances is precisely the same. Success well pursued with a divinity which cannot but be with him. So far as we are concerned at home, we have taken very good care that the Government should be as powerless as the devil. We cannot, as the Times told us some months ago, have both good government and liberty, and liberty is the better of the two. There are persons who would reverse the position entirely, and maintain that good government was the essential of liberty—that there was no liberty in any human community without it. That, however, is not the present opinion of the citizens of the British Empire. So far as our domestic administration is concerned, we select, indeed, some conspicuous person to act at the head of each department; but we usually interpose so many checks upon his activity that he is virtually powerless. Had he the strength of a steam engine, unless he had Parliament in a state of excitement at his back, that strength would be exhausted in futility, and would come in at last at the tail of a three-year old.

Now, at last, we think we see, amongst the principal women, Ministers are selected for the several posts, to invest them with larger powers than they possess. The Lord Chancellor, indeed, is necessarily the only Cabinet person but the legal profession, which can influence the attitude of the party in power, but all the great political posts of the Parliamentary campaign, and are distributed, not only with reference to the opinions, interests with those of the country who are to be dragooned or cajoled, but also to the personal influence which the possession of office will give. We are not sure that we do not think that this is a mistake. Whatever. In the House of Commons, as in the House of Lords, the Ministry is composed of the great territorial magnates, some eminent merchants and bankers, but an engineer is not selected for the Board of Works, or a banker for the Exchequer. Cabinets are not composed of distinguished soldiers or sailors, distinguished men of business, or men of science. When a Ministry is formed, the selection lies between peers of great territorial influence, for whom places must be found as the price of their support to the party, and politicians remarkable for readiness of speech, debating power, and dexterity in influencing divisions. The object of the party in office is to secure its working majority in the Lower House, and this or that prominent person has to be provided for—to be appointed, that is, to the headship of some important department of public business, though he may be guiltless of the faintest acquaintance with the work which he undertakes to guide, and though his claim to the situation be merely some Parliamentary service which it is necessary to reward, or the possession of debating abilities which it may be dangerous to drive into opposition.

Putting together as the members of the Cabinet are, upon such terms as these, we are not surprised afterwards at any fresh redistribution of seats which may take place in them. We see right honourable gentlemen shifted from one department to another, a Colonial Minister goes to the War Office or the Foreign Office, an Irish Secretary to the Board of Trade, either as if these high officials had been trained into competence and were masters of every subject which could be entrusted to them, or as if they were like the Russian lieutenants in Sebastopol, intended to do nothing but draw their salaries and illustrate the stupidity of fools, which the most singular part of the business is that all this passes as a matter of course. It is one

of the outcomes of the most perfect constitution which the world has ever seen, and we are so unreasonable as to expect that public business shall be conducted successfully under a system which would bring a private commercial company to immediate ruin. If Sir William Armstrong requires a manager at one of his foundries at Newcastle he does not pick out a man who knows nothing of mechanics; the captain of a Cunarder is at least expected to understand navigation; but a noble lord may be set to preside over the War Office without at the date of his appointment even knowing the difference between a brigade and a company. In a few months, when his work has become less entirely strange to him, he is removed perhaps to the India Office and made supreme ruler of our Eastern Empire. How India may fare under his administration no one cares to ask or think: as long as he can be crammed by a subordinate, and skilfully reply to inconvenient questions in Parliament, he answers every purpose which either his chief or his country expects of him.

The consequence of this method of managing public business is precisely what might be expected and now the British people, which looked upon it as natural and reasonable, is oddly surprised at the inevitable result. The state of the Army is at present a disgrace to us. We spend fifteen millions annually upon it—more than France spent under the Empire, a great deal more than Prussia ever did—and the result is, or was a short time ago, a band of Militia and Volunteers, fifty thousand really available troops and militia cadres, perhaps with some exaggeration, and battalions of the Line. What else could we expect? The Army is used solely as a convenient department by the successive Ministers, a civilian, who by the nature of the case can know nothing of his duties; the other—well, there is no occasion to say anything of the other. But if England requires a real army she need not vote another shilling, but she must abolish once and for ever all leaderships of incapable or gilded phantoms; she must look for the ablest soldier that she possesses, who has devoted his life to his profession. She must not ask him if he can make a speech in Parliament; she should rather insist that he and Parliament should be held as far apart as possible; she must require only that he understand thoroughly in all its parts and requirements the business of war, and, being satisfied on that point, she must give him authority to carry out what may be necessary without the liability of being called to account on every detail by the amateur critics of the House of Commons. She must resolve, or she must allow him to resolve, upon an organised method which has been thought out in all its parts, and when decided on shall be strictly adhered to—not chopped and changed from session to session to suit the budget of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, or catch the votes or the applause of the moment.

There would then, it is said, be no responsibility. Rather responsibility would then for the first time come really into being, the country would know the person to whom it had distinctly delegated its powers, and could call him to account for the use which he had made of them. She would not blame him when he was doing his work effectively because the Prime Minister happened to be defeated in the House of Commons on some irrelevant question. She had appointed him to his post to create an effective Army. If he had provided the Army, if it was there in adequate numbers, with its proper reserves in case of emergency,

ready to take the field at home or abroad when England required its services, she would know that she had the right man in the place, and, having got him, would keep him there. If after time given there was still no Army, but only the expenses of an Army, with nothing ready but promises, magnificent pay, and expectations, then she would put him away, punish him if necessary for having misled her confidence, at any rate remove him and put a better man in his place.

The Army just now is our most pressing consideration; but the War Office is only one department out of many in which organisation and authority are alike imperatively demanded. The present theory of England's duty in the world is that we should attend to our own business, and keep out of our neighbours' way so long as they will keep out of ours. And the notion is that we are a people eminently qualified for self-government—that each and all of us separately and collectively have only to be left to ourselves, and the result will be universal harmony. We are supposed to have arrived at that high stage of civilisation that we approach the condition of the gregarious animals, where each individual of the community falls naturally into its place and contributes automatically or instinctively to the general structure of society. Streams of omnibuses, carts, carriages, and pedestrians pass to and fro at all hours of the day and night. Hansom cabs turn and wheel, meeting each other, crossing each other, passing one another, without and of the policeman yet with rare collisions and rarer injury—unless, perhaps, to the few hundred children, old women, and passers-by who are run over and maimed or killed. Locomotive traffic is interrupted by nobody, and the daily loss of life and limb is human tide would be as if a bank were thrown across the Thames. But there is no confusion and no disorder; everyone goes on his way quietly, and arrives punctual as clockwork at the point at which he is aiming. The steamers go and come through the crowded Pool; their cargoes are loaded or unloaded exact to the hour or the minute, their days of arrival and days of departure from every port in the world are laid down and observed with astonishing precision. Our affairs seem to manage themselves, if only they are not interfered with; and thus the notion has risen that the functions of Government are zero, that it can meddle only for mischief. Such a Government as we possess at present doubtless acts discreetly in keeping its hands off. The intrusion of it would work nothing but mischief; but if the details, for instance, of the management of the Cunard line are looked into, there is no lack of authority rather there is stringent order and exact observance, and when supervision slackens there is instant failure and confusion. Much indeed we are apt to do for ourselves, but a juster inference from our capabilities that way would be that there is no people upon earth who value organisation more highly, or among whom an intelligent Government, in that large department of things which will not manage themselves, could interfere with more ease or with more result.

Even if we were all honest, great multitudes of human beings cannot even congregate together without instances of relations arising which individuals are unable to cope with, or without breeding positive mischiefs which they have neither knowledge nor power to resist. Private justice and private convenience have to the crown attorney. Cholera and cattle plague start up suddenly to teach us that the commonwealth

has further interests of its own, which if neglected bring universal ruin.

But to leave matters of this kind, and confine ourselves to common honesty. The thing which we call self-government is driving some of us into considering whether, if life is not to become unendurable, we should not do better to collect our worldly goods together and move off to some other locality where scoundrelism has a less easy time of it. Past mutinies have been against tyrannical governments; but another and more respectable mutiny may break out one day against anarchy and no government at all. Every nation secretes its percentage of rascals, and the plea on which authority exists, on which it levies taxes on the subject, and is itself maintained in honour, is to hold such persons in some kind of check; yet it seems now-a-days as if Government was unable to recognise the rascal unless he takes the shape of a cut-throat, a burglar, or a forger, while the masters of the art thrive as they never throve before, carry about unblemished reputations, and, instead of finding their necks in the halter or the pillory, pile up enormous fortunes, make their way into the House of Commons, and live and die in honour.

We Londoners are poisoned in the water which we drink, poisoned in the gas with which we light our houses, we are poisoned in our bread, poisoned in our milk and butter, poisoned in our beer, poisoned in the remedies for which, when these horrible compounds have produced their consequences, we in our simplicity apply to our druggists, who in their druggists are in turn cheated by the swindling makers that supply their medicines. We have escaped, some of us, out of the hands of our grocers, for in despair we have set up establishments of our own. The grocers, we perceive, threaten us with actions for conspiring to defraud them of their honest gains. There was a time when drunkenness was as rare in England as it is now in France or Spain. Eighty millions a year are now spent among us upon wine and spirits and malt liquor, five-sixths of it perhaps by the working men upon stuff called beer and gin. The artisan or the journeyman, exhausted by the gas-poisoned air with which his lungs are loaded, and shrinking, when his day's work is over, from the stifling chamber which is all that society can afford as lodging for him and his family, turns aside as he goes home to the pot-house or the gin-palace. His watered beer is raised to double strength again by nux vomica and cocculus indicus, and salted to make his thirst insatiable. His gin is yet some viler mixture—a minimum of pure spirit seasoned with white vitriol and oil of cinnamon and cayenne. Drunk, and with empty pockets, he staggers home at last to his wife, who must feed and clothe herself and him and his miserable family with the few shillings which she can rescue out of his weekly wages. She too often enough grows desperate, and takes to drinking also. The result is that half the children born in England die before they are five years old. The death-rate over the whole country is double the death-rate in Canada. And a Minister of State rises in his place in Parliament and declares, amidst general cheering, that the condition of the working classes is supremely satisfactory, and that he holds convincing proof of it in the increasing returns from the excise.

There are laws, we are told, by which the men who do these things can be punished. *Quod lex non vetat, non licet.* Or, rather, What are laws good for without a public prosecutor to enforce them? What can we unfortunates hope for when another right honourable gentleman, whose especial business it

was to look after trade and commerce, could speak almost complacently of adulteration as a natural result of competition? The collectors of our gas rates and water rates laugh in our faces at our feeble remonstrances. The companies are bound by their charters to filter the water and purify the gas. The collectors tell us it pays better to supply us with the present article. The shareholder prefers ten and twelve per cent. to seven. The brewing interests, the publican interests, the moneyed interests generally, are too powerful in the House of Commons for a Minister to dare to offend them. The Ministers in general too faithfully represent the body which gives them their being.

Or, indeed, the fault may be traced higher, and, when we see the true source of it, we may well sit down in despair. Under no circumstances, perhaps, could there be anything but misgovernment when the supreme authority, legislative and executive, was held by a miscellaneous body of six hundred and fifty gentlemen. But the House of Commons at present is a club, to which money is the sure and almost the only passport. The wolves are made the watchdogs of the sheep, and the sheep are afraid of being devoured, that there is scarcely a constituency in England which, if offered a choice between St. Paul and Diana, would not return Diana by an overwhelming majority. The voters may themselves be poor, they may know that they can never be anything except poor; but the rich man embodies the qualities which they honour at the bottom of their hearts. Great wealth is regarded with the self-surrendering and disinterested devotion which used to be felt for God Almighty.

But Parliament, however careful to tie the hands of ministers who might interfere with matters incurrently at home, is less uncontrolling on matters of interest in concerns which do not immediately affect the personal interests of its members. The selections for every department are equally independent of considerations of specific qualifications. But the range of action which is permitted either for good or evil varies considerably and momentously. The Home Office is practically powerless. The Minister for India, if he chooses, may be almost as absolute as the Mogul whom he succeeds. The House of Commons, when the dominions of the Company were transferred to the Crown, became the Sovereign of the Eastern Empire. It received two hundred millions of human beings as its subjects, with fifty millions of revenue; yet a debate on the game laws creates ten times more excitement at St. Stephen's than the discussion of the most momentous questions connected with India. When an Indian matter is brought forward the House subsides at once into apathy, and would endure perhaps with more fortitude to hear that we had abandoned our entire Eastern possessions than that it had been found necessary to suppress Tattersall's or abolish the Derby. Thus as to India the Minister is secure from interference, and if the result were only that the fittest person who could be found was sent to Calcutta, and left free to act by his own and his Council's judgement, the indifference of Parliament would be the surest guarantee for good administration. The Government of a congregation of nations of various creeds, races, and temperaments, agreeing only in a fundamental difference of character and habit of thought from Europeans, can be conducted only with the assistance of men who have had experience of the Asiatic temperament, and who are on the spot to decide at any moment upon measures which may be immediately necessary. Yet over the head of the Viceroy and Council

it has been thought a wise and intelligent thing to place a minister at home—a noble lord or right honourable gentleman, who three months ago may have been in the Privy Council, and two months hence may be at the Post Office—whose unacquaintance with the duties of either of these offices may only be equalled by his self-confidence, and who is left practically to himself to do whatever he pleases. The Electric Telegraph it was said a few years since would make us safe in India. Any threatening danger would be instantaneously known, and the army could be instantaneously reinforced. On the other side it is no less true that if we lose India the electric telegraph will lose it for us.

A Cabinet Minister is at present the representative of some temporarily prevailing form of public opinion—opinion formed in England, in the spirit of the times, by the hour, formed lightly and hastily, not on fundamental and circumstantial acquaintance with the facts, but under the influence of the theories or catchwords which happen for the moment to be fashionable. Himself the creature of opinion, he becomes the exponent of it in act. He is doubtless clever. Talent of a certain kind is to be presumed in any man who has made his way into the first ranks of English statesmen. He believes in the system out of which he has sprung, he acts loyally and consistently in the spirit with which he is surrounded; and the most strict-constructionist of the Indian Government is liable to be overruled in details at every moment by a minister anxious to show himself off, to win popularity by a name, and then to propitiate by concessions the [illegible] of the [illegible] Government at home. At present in our relations with India we are [illegible] that our Eastern subjects are by-and-by to learn to govern themselves as we do. We are their trustees while they are in their political infancy. Our duty is to train them in our own image, that when they are fit to receive their inheritance we may pass it over into their own hands. The Asiatic, we are persistently told, is the inferior of the European only in the disadvantages with which he has been surrounded. If he be educated, educated as we are educated, lifted gradually into freedom, with his rights and his powers enlarged as he shows himself capable of their exercise, we shall elevate him into an equality with ourselves, and our own mission will be ended. The secret of superiority being intellectual cultivation, we must teach him in schools like our own: as he shows proficiency, we must open out the avenues of power to him—admit him to the privileges and authority of our own civil servants. The competitive examination system is the idol of modern progress. We believe ourselves to have found it the most perfect method of sifting out our own best men. The experiment, it is true, has been tried among Asiatics in China for a thousand years, and has produced the weakest and most corrupt government which the world has ever seen. But

> In the forty years of longer than a cycle of Cathay

better the doubtful and incomplete experiences of one generation at home than the broad results painted upon history. What is good or determined to be good among ourselves must be good universally, and therefore, not only has popular opinion, expressing itself through the India Office, decided that the Hindus shall be admitted to share in the government of our Eastern Empire, but they shall be admitted by the road of competitive examina-

tion. The introduction of them, it is held, will be a guarantee of the excellence of our institutions—will strengthen our present tenure, and facilitate the transfer when the hour for its accomplishment shall have struck. We desire that we can teach Asiatics to appreciate constitutional liberty, and so that hereafter we may be fitted to their intellectual fellow-countrymen whom we are educating to be their future masters.

Those who have formed their opinions on the spot, and not in Leadenhall, tell us that the educated Hindoos, with whom our own students in metaphysics and politics are so anxious to associate, would have as great chance of governing India, if the matter appertained to them, as a handful of tame sheep of ruling quietly over a nation of lions. A single Sikh horseman would drive a thousand of them with the butt end of his lance from one end of the Peninsula to the other. Native officials selected by competition, as they can be for some future when we are governed, and have governed ourselves, by the natural interest of weakness. The wealthy natives of India may have been educated, but can they govern their own sons? We are afraid not. These wealthy Hindoos with the best of possible education and the best of home, they both enjoy and love, and have no wish to [illegible] them the necessity of working with their hands as slaves. Yet it may be [illegible] we have [illegible] that the system [illegible] that of India [illegible] We have [illegible] may [illegible] by the example [illegible] and [illegible] to [illegible] Hindostan [illegible] from [illegible]

Our Indian Empire was won by the sword, and by the sword it must be held; and to suppose that we can ever abandon it except in defeat and disgrace is to surrender ourselves wilfully to the wildest illusion. Dilettante politicians, armed with an authority which they ought never to have possessed, meddling with matters which the modesty of true intelligence would have forbidden them to touch, may tie the hands of the true rulers of that empire we are carrying out their 'ideas' to the last extreme, overweight our strength, make our tenure impossible, and compel us to leave the Peninsula to the Musselmans. If we keep it, we shall keep it by sweeping our brains clear of dreams, by giving power to those only who know how to command, and returning to the plain principles which won the empire that we are now making the plaything of amateurs.

'You forget,' said General Jacob, one of the ablest officers that the Indian service ever produced, 'you forget, sir, that liberty means the same thing in all parts of the world, and that all mankind equally desire it. You could not make a greater mistake. Liberty with us means that you have a right to govern yourselves, and that it is tyranny to govern you. Liberty with an Asiatic means that he has a right to be governed, and that to make him govern himself is tyranny. If the people of India were your equals you would not be here—your mission is to govern them, and you must govern them well, or they will cut your throats.'

Can any of our [illegible] statesmen from the Indian Office [illegible] less wisdom than these simple sentences, which [illegible] up [illegible] our [illegible] both the [illegible] the Right Hon. [illegible] question [illegible] may [illegible]

another catastrophe comes—as come it will—we shall call in our Jacobs to recover us, and then begin again on the same road.

Stripped of its verbiage, and the fine-sounding phrases by which its true intention is concealed from us, the real meaning of the cant about self-government is that our modern administrators are partly conscious of their own inability to rule, and partly weary of the effort. They will not acknowledge their own weakness. The descendants of a once imperial race have accepted and taken to their hearts the economist's theory that every man's first duty is to attend to his own affairs—follow, in other words, his own pleasure. Philosophical platitudes are made an excuse for apathy. A few fine phrases in which no one really believes are admitted as if they were laws of nature, and we drift on under a self-made destiny through imbecility into anarchy and collapse.

The same helplessness, disguised behind the same mask of pretending sagacity, discloses itself in the present Colonial policy. Several articles have appeared lately in this Magazine upon the so-called Colonial Question. If we return to it again, it is because the Colonies are infinitely more important to us than even India—it is because the entire future of the English Empire depends on our wisely availing ourselves of the opportunities which these dependencies offer to us. When we consider the increasing population of other nations, their imperial energy, and their vast territorial development; when we contrast the enormous area of territory which belongs to Russia, to the United States, or to Germany, with the petty dimensions of our own island home, we cannot but see that our race as a first-rate Power is in a position of peculiar danger. We can, indeed, tax the Colonies with pensions, and multiply the English soil by spreading the English race over them. Our fathers, looking down into coming times, proud of their country and jealous for its greatness, secured at the cannon's mouth the fairest portions of the earth's surface to the English flag. They bequeathed to us an inheritance so magnificent that imagination itself cannot measure the vastness of its capabilities. Let the Canadian Dominion, let Australia, the Cape, and New Zealand be occupied by subjects of the British Crown; be consolidated by a common cord of patriotism, equal members all of them of a splendid Empire and alike interested in its grandeur, and the fortunes of England may still be in their infancy, and a second era of glory and power be dawning upon us, to which our past history may be but the faint and insignificant prelude. The yet unexhausted vigour of our people, with boundless room in which to expand, will reproduce the old English character and the old English strength over an area of a hundred Britains. The United States of America themselves do not possess a more brilliant prospect. It is no less certain that if we cannot rise to the height of the occasion, the days of our greatness are numbered. We must decline in relative strength, decline in purpose and aim, and in the moral temperament which only the consciousness of a high purpose confers.

And yet, notoriously, the permanence of our union with the Colonies is regarded with indifference by our leading politicians. They refuse, all of them, to look beyond the exigencies of the present moment. They are content to leave the next generation to solve their own problems, and sink or swim as their skill or luck may order, provided only they can themselves maintain their own supremacy from year to year by humouring the so-called interests of the capitalists

and manufacturers. The conditions of the situation are so plain that those at wilful perversity cannot refuse to see them, yet there is no bigger statesmanship or courage among us to encounter and frown down the hostility of paltry selfishness. The rich men of money are afraid that a closer connection with the Colonies will affect the labour market and raise wages. The economist, whose farthest horizon of vision is the next budget, sees that the Colonies cost us at present a few hundred thousands of pounds annually, and without caring to think what they bring in, cries out that they are a burden on the taxpayers. The working classes have fastened their imagination on the division of the land at home, and regard an invitation to remove elsewhere as a snare to lead off their attention. The landowner, contemptuously indifferent to the danger, sees that the thicker England is peopled the more his estates increase in value; and thus the interests of the empire are for the present thrust aside.

The working man will wake from his dream. He will discover at last that a hundred acres in Canada would be better for him than five at home, even if he could succeed in getting these. Nor will he be contented to await a precarious upon intermittent wages in the poisoned atmosphere of our huge and hideous towns. Hard times will come again. The best and manliest of our artisans will then turn their backs upon us as the Irish have done, and the question will then be whether we shall have coal left to offer them over which our flag is flying, or whether they will not rather be casting in their lot with young and vigorous nations, in which we shall have ceased away from the unworthiest of motives, into an independence which they will not share.

A readier arrest of the Colonies has fallen very unfortunately into the hands of the aristocracy—of the class of persons most unfitted by association and temperament to deal with them successfully. The colonists are men seeking their own fortunes, proud, self-dependent, and unaffected by the traditional reverence for rank by which the greatest levellers among us are irresistibly influenced at home. They are jealous of their liberties, conscious of their growing strength, in want of nothing which could induce them to meet these high persons on terms of compromise. While they would bear it, the Colonies were used as sewers to drain off our refuse population; when they declined to receive our burglars and paupers, they still gave opportunities of patronage. Cadets of noble families, or men who had laid their 'party' under obligations, were quartered on the colonial revenues, or received grants from colonial lands. When this resource dried up also, the Minister for the Colonies became tired of his thankless office. Unable to rise to an Imperial conception of their duties, the noble lords saw no reason for extending to the colonists a share in the honours and prerogatives of the mother country. If they were incorporated in the Empire, the democratic element would receive an increase dangerous to their own privileges, and thus the economist's theory was accepted as a welcome expedient. The Colonies were to be left to themselves to bear their own expenses, and if they pleased it to assert their independence. No anxiety was felt for a connection which was no longer to be utilised to provide for friends and dependants.

That separation is or has been the drift of the colonial policy of the present Ministers there is no occasion to argue. The universal impression which they have created throughout the Empire outweighs their own formally uttered and stammering [illegible]. Had they been sin-

ocre in these denials, they would have made haste to clear themselves of suspicion by an unequivocal declaration of their real purpose; and we take leave to say that a policy tending to produce consequences so momentous ought not to have been introduced by a side wind. Lord Granville and Mr. Gladstone were no doubt confident that the course which they were pursuing was a wise one, but they ought to have remembered that these separatist opinions are of recent growth, lately adopted even by themselves, and diametrically contrary to the views held by the men who were the founders and builders up of England's political greatness. A false step taken in such a matter cannot be recalled; our Colonies once gone are gone for ever; and therefore, before they acted even in the slightest degree on the new conclusions at which they had arrived, they were bound to consult the country without evasion or reservation. The disintegration of an empire, the reduction of Britain to the ancient limits of her own island shores, is at least a matter of as much consequence as a Reform Bill or the disestablishment of the Irish Church. The people have not been treated fairly. They have been told that there is no question of separation at all; that a better mode of government has merely been substituted for a worse, that the Colonies are wealthy enough to bear their own expenses, and, as they at present do not contribute to the taxpayer's purse, it is not to be expected that they will contribute. This is a statement which, even if [illegible] the case for the present, [illegible] Whatever the views may be at present, it is certain that they do not, [illegible] that at no distant day [illegible] Young [illegible] their own

upon them in making roads and railroads and canals to open up their countries for us as well as for themselves. They cannot raise a revenue except by customs duties; and, as they direct their whole trade to the mother country, they no doubt cannot help laying taxes upon English produce. But, in proportion to their numbers, the colonists are the largest consumers of our manufactures in the world. Successful settlers come home to reside in England, bringing a stream of wealth with them broader and deeper far than the trifling sum which England has been called on to spend. The outlay of the mother country on the least advanced of her Colonies is but like the sinking capital upon an estate in drains and fences. Canada and Australia, which have long ceased to cost us anything, fifty years hence—or twenty years hence—will be helping to bear the burden of the maintenance of the Empire, if they are permitted to continue a part of it.

Busy about their own concerns, the English people are at present indifferent. They take their statesmen at their word, and refuse to believe that they mean mischief. Let the ripe fruit fall, let a single colony 'cut the painter,' and, if we know anything of the temper of our countrymen, a storm will rise from which those who have provoked the catastrophe may well call on the mountains to cover them.

We look to the Colonies as the [illegible] of our [illegible] a [illegible] and the only [illegible] for our [illegible], and as giving us an opportunity of recovering the esteem of the world, which we are so much in danger of losing. We [illegible] our power [illegible] and, [illegible] we have war, we [illegible] [illegible] taken. It is well that we [illegible]

be prepared for all possibilities. We spend fifteen millions a year on our Army, and we have a right to insist that some sort of an army shall be forthcoming. If other nations interfere with us while we are about our legitimate business, we must so bear ourselves in the quarrel that they shall beware of meddling with us for the future. But if we wish to win back the respect by means of war ourselves, there is a campaign which we might open like no other—a campaign against administrative incapacity, against swindling and cheating, against drunkenness and uncleanness, against hunger and squalor and misery; against the inhuman vices which are bred as in a hotbed in our gigantic cities, against the universal root of the disorders which are preying upon us, the all-pervading, all-devouring love of money. We desire wealth and luxury and long life: if we desire to do our duty first, we shall have them; all these things shall be added to us. If we desire these things themselves first, we shall find economy for labour, for long life all-pervading misery, and along with the rich a curse will have entered them for ever unpropitiable to us. The business of government, truly enough, is to watch over the nation's 'wealth;' but not wealth in the modern meaning, which in its selfishness how far we have travelled from [illegible] the welfare, the luxury and moral health of the people of which the nation is composed. At [illegible] every [illegible] from Mr [illegible] demonstrable will meet it in words as [illegible] as a [illegible] her [illegible] meet it as to [illegible] and the [illegible] we are [illegible] away of [illegible] It [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

men who are wasting their constitutions and wearing out their souls in factories and coal mines were growing corn and rearing cattle in Canada and New Zealand, the red colour would come back to their cheeks, their shrunken sinews would fill out again, their children, now a drag upon their hands, would be elements of wealth and strength, while here at home the sun would shine again, and wages would rise to the colonial level, and land would divide of itself, and we should have room to move and breathe. The manufacturers would reap lighter profits; the landowners would find their incomes shrink to the level which satisfied their grandfathers; the evil sisters luxury and poverty would move off hand in hand; but the health and worth of the English nation would be increased a million fold.

I speak of what cannot be—cannot be at least till in many a long year of painful discipline we have unlearnt the most cherished lessons of modern politics. One thing, however, is possible, and ought immediately to be done. The Colonies will not take our paupers, and as we make our beds, we must lie in them; but we can prevent pauperism from growing heavier upon our hands. If we send out able-bodied men with their families to settle upon land, we must support them also till their first crops are grown. If we advance money for other people's benefit, we expect to be repaid, and cannot see our way to obtaining security for it. But there is not the same difficulty in providing for the young. When Mr. Forster's Education Bill is fairly in work, in one shape and another we shall have more than a million boys and girls at school in these islands, of whom at least a fourth will be adrift when their teaching is over, with no definite outlook. Let the State for once resume its old character, and constitute itself the constable of these helpless ones. When the grammatical part of their teaching is over, let them have a year or two of industrial instruction, and under an understanding with the colonial authorities let them be drafted off where their services are most in demand. The settlers would be delighted to receive and clothe and feed them on the conditions of the old apprenticeship. If the apprentice system is out of favour, some other system can be easily invented. Welcome in some shape they are certain to be. A continued stream of young, well-taught, unspoilt English natures would be the most precious gift which the Colonies could receive from us.

If the Colonial Office has no answer but the old 'impossible,' a word which sounds in our ears like the despairing wash of the waters of Lethe, then, in the name of common sense and humanity, let the Colonial Office be dissolved. Let the noble lord or honourable gentleman for whom it is necessary to find a seat in the Cabinet be provided with some titular position to which that honour may be technically attached. Let us have ministers *in partibus*, with no department to paralyse or mismanage. And for the administration of the Colonies, and the readjustment of England's relation with them, let there be some Council established where the Colonies as well as the mother country shall be represented, in whose eyes the interests of the Empire will be of more consequence than the supremacy of party.

It is not our supposed unreadiness to fight which has lowered, and is still lowering, England's reputation. We have not allowed any occasion to pass by when our honour or our interest distinctly called us to arms—we are disesteemed because, as a nation, we no longer seem to live for any high and honourable purpose. Communities as well as private persons always set before

themselves consciously or unconsciously some supreme aim towards which their energies are bent. Military power, extension of territory, political unity, dynastic aggrandisement, or the maintenance of some particular religious creed, have been at various times the all-absorbing objects on which the minds of great nations have been bent; and as none of these has been entirely good, so none has been entirely discreditable. The noblest object, which all honour and few pursue, is the well-being of the people; the worst and meanest is that to which we in England are supposed to have devoted ourselves—the mere aggregation of enormous heaps of money, while we are careless what becomes of the 'hands,' as we call them, by which all the money is created.

We have a vast empire—we have infinite land waiting only to be occupied—we have a population larger than we can employ, even on our own theory of the manner in which we should wish to employ them, crowded into lanes and alleys and cellars, swelling in drunkenness and pollution, of the children born in these places the fate of those that die being more blessed a thousandfold than of those who survive. We have—or we had a few months ago—Ireland, from which millions had to be removed to escape starvation.

We let the Irish go to the United States, careless of course of whatever suffering as the immediate result of the lack of local property was not affected. We do literally refuse to carry the overflow of our own people to lands which are crying out to be tilled, where they can live in health and abundance, and where the wealth of a child, instead of a curse, is a material blessing. We will not stir a finger to save our voluntary emigrants to our own Crown, or even to warn them from the dreaded sites, or our national good name from the reproach of commercial dishonesty. We profess a righteous [illegible]

horror of slavery; but the English farm labourer who has been rash enough to marry is as much a slave under the lash of hunger as the negro under the whip, and is so much more unhappy than the slave that he has no refuge but the workhouse in sickness and old age. He is told, in insolent irony, that he is a free man, and may go where he pleases. Rather, he may go away if he can; and those who mock him with the name of freedom know well that he lies in an enchanted circle of necessity that he must stay passive under the barest wages which will keep life in him and his, under penalty of starvation if he resist or make an effort to escape.

This it is which has lowered English credit—that we have grown oblivious of all generous principles, that patriotism has become a jest, and that nothing is considered worthy of a serious man's attention but what will put money in his purse. Words travel far in these days of newspapers. When a great capitalist said of emigration during the late stagnation of trade, when millions were starving, 'Keep our men at home—we shall want them when trade revives,' the world heard of it, and made its comments. English working men, it seems, exist only to fill rich men's pockets. The House of Commons cheered a well-known speaker when, as a crowning argument against assistance to emigrate being granted by the State, he argued that it would displease the Americans. An English politician declares that he is afraid of helping men and women in search of employment from one part of the Queen's dominions to another for fear a foreign Power might not like it. Parliament approves, and we are surprised that we are not better respected. Wonderful consideration for American sensitiveness! wonderful new-born consideration, of a kind however, which they are so little inclined to

appreciate! Let us take courage. Were we suddenly to show ourselves practically alive to the condition of our people, and set apart for the sake of them some small portion of our enormous income, the Americans would forgive us as soon as they had recovered from their astonishment, even if it took the form of sending families to Canada.

'You will increase taxation,' shriek the economists. 'Money must be taken from those who have it, and laid out upon those who have not.' Be it so. We lay on taxes without scruple for a war, and it is a war which we are advocating. When the interests of the nation require killing and burning and destroying, we are all called on to contribute, and are ridiculed if we complain. In the same interests of the nation we may tax ourselves for a war on misery and vice and overgrown nations. Is it not a honourable [illegible] as to destroy,—to rescue nations from wretchedness as to plunge [illegible] into burning and [illegible]

METEORS AND METEOR SYSTEMS

By R. [illegible] A. P[illegible], B.A., F.R.A.S.,
Author of "[illegible]," "Our Work in the Open," &c

ONE of the most remarkable features in the history of astronomy is the way in which the most important discoveries have been suddenly forced upon the world by the profound interest of a novel fact. When a great truth is very simple, we can understand that it may at once be accepted as a recognised truth; but when some great new truth has been slowly reached, it might be supposed that all the consequences which flow from that truth would at once be accepted; or rather that the students of science would vie with each other in pushing the search for such results to its most legitimate limits.

Here, however, as [illegible] Whether it is that a discovery of truth by another is regarded as presenting an inviting subject of study and contemplation, or whether it is that men are ready to believe from their own original resources that for which they feel the interest and importance of the discoveries of others, or whether, lastly, other students have the true interpretation of it learned that as regards the results obtained by studying a truth discovered by another, we have agreed to leave it to ascertain that we very soon find the attempts of others wanting to anticipate results of interesting character for us. There are of course exceptions, and these exceptions [illegible] investigations by the Continental mathematicians as to the results flowing from the law of gravity, the study by Encke of the resisted wave from Kirkwood's great discovery, and some other cases may be cited. But unless a new truth is, as it were, metaphysical, of a very striking and even imposing nature, it is left very much to itself, and only by a wide research are its fruits gathered in.

The discoveries recently made by Schiaparelli, Adams, and others, respecting the connexion between meteors (and probably many more comets) and comets, and between meteors, comets, and the tails of comets, afford a very apt illustration of the peculiarity I have referred to. The consequences which flow directly from these discoveries, and still more those which may be legitimately deduced from them by careful reasoning, are full of interest, and bear in a most important manner on the economy of the solar system; nay, it needs but a moderate study of the subject to see that questions affecting the very existence of the interplanetary spaces are actually settled by the researches which have recently been made respecting meteors and their systems. Yet but few among modern astronomers have been willing to make researches in these matters. Professors Herschel and Newcomb, Mr Stoney, Sir John Herschel, and a few others, have dealt with the subject; but the great body of astronomers would seem not yet to have forgotten that Schiaparelli and Adams had made a new point at issue in the universe.

I propose briefly to direct the discoveries referred to, and then to consider some of the conclusions which may be deduced from them.

Less than ten years ago a comparatively insignificant place was assigned to meteors, regarded as members of the solar system. It was but recently, indeed, that they were believed to be known to belong to the solar system at all. From being regarded as a species of extraneous [illegible]

during some sudden processes of change in the upper region of air, they had risen to the rank of volcanic missiles from the moon. Next, the occurrence of meteoric showers at certain definite times of the year that is, as the earth traverses certain definite parts of her orbit—had compelled astronomers to recognise the fact that meteor systems must exist, which regarded as systems occupy a relatively fixed position in the solar system. The individual meteors may or rather must be in swift motion; and if a meteor system includes a swarm of meteors, then that swarm must also be in swift motion: but regarding the system as a whole, it must have the same sort of relative fixity which the earth's orbit itself has. Otherwise the occurrence of annual showers would remain unaccounted for; since we require that near a certain point the earth's path should be crossed or closely approached by the track of the meteors belonging to a system and that not for a single year, but for many years or even centuries in succession.

Now, directing their search to other parts of the solar system, astronomers presently found what they took to be the analogue of the meteor families traversed by the earth. The zone of asteroids consists of a number of relatively minute bodies travelling around the sun. Distinct in all its characteristics from the family of small outer planets circling close by his glare, and equally distinct from the more attended family of outer planets, the asteroidal zone may be regarded as forming a family apart. Now, we do not know how many members there may be in this family, nor do we know what may be the extreme limits of its range, either outwards towards the family of major planets, or inwards towards the terrestrial family of planets. But what we know respecting it teaches us to infer that if all the asteroidal orbits could be seen as rings of light around the sun from some distant station, the combined system of rings would form a ring system whose densest portion would appear as a nearly circular and somewhat flat zone between the orbits of Mars and Jupiter, and close to the plane of the ecliptic. And we have only to conceive the case of a large planet circling around the sun along the thick part of this ring to see that results analogous to those presented as the earth circles amidst the imagined meteor systems would inevitably follow.

Hence astronomers inferred that a number of meteor systems travelling in orbits of no considerable eccentricity occupy the region through which the earth's orbit passes. The boldest reasoned that, in all probability, the whole space between the earth's orbit and the sun was more or less occupied by these meteor systems, and that some of the systems might even pass to moderate distances outside the earth's orbit. The phenomenon known as the zodiacal light was associated with the existence of such meteoric systems, though the idea of such an association was scouted by not a few as wild and chimerical.

But the actual facts, as revealed by recent researches, are far more wonderful, whether we regard their direct significance or the conclusions which may fairly be deduced from them.

The history of these researches reads almost like a romance, so strange are the coincidences and the examples of 'good luck' which it presents to our consideration.

In the first place, the approach of the expected display of November meteors in 1866 led many astronomers to direct their attention very specially to the subject of meteoric astronomy. Not only were observations made much more systematically than in previous years, but the records of former phenomena were carefully searched, and in particular those which relate to the

November system, or, as these meteors have been termed, the *Leonids*. It was during this process, rendered necessary, as it seemed, by the difficulty of determining when and where the shower of 1866 would be seen, that the significant fact of a slow progression of the place where the earth encounters the system became known. Of old, setting apart the difference of style, and also the effect of precession, the earth crossed the November system somewhat earlier in the year. In other words, she has now to travel somewhat farther forward (measuring her motion from the spring equinox, suppose) before she encounters the *Leonids*.

There is nothing specially remarkable about this peculiarity. It corresponds to what is observed in the case of the planetary orbits. These are continually—though slowly—shifting in position, their inclination changing within certain limits, and the line in which their plane crosses the medial plane of the whole system travelling round, though not without occasional reversals, and even retrogression, yet, on the whole in one direction. But meteor-astronomers began to feel hopeful of determining the true shape and position of the November meteor system when they thus saw that a measurable amount of perturbation affects the motions of its members.

A more striking feature of the system had before this attracted notice. I mean the recurrence of great displays at intervals of about a third part of a century. It was, indeed, this feature which had caused astronomers to look forward with such special interest to the display of 1866.

What might this periodic recurrence of great displays be assumed to mean? The natural answer to this question would have been that the meteor system circles once around the sun in about thirty-three years, but for a circumstance which was very justly held to be strongly opposed to such a solution of the problem. The period of revolution of any body round the sun tells us with absolute certainty the mean distance of the body's orbit. We have only, in fact, to multiply by itself the number representing in years the body's period, and to take the cube root of the product, in order to obtain the number representing the body's mean distance (the earth's mean distance being taken as unity). Now, when we multiply thirty-three by itself we get 1089, and the cube root of this is greater than ten; so that if the period of these November meteors were thirty-three years or thereabouts, their mean distance would be more than ten times the earth's; greater, therefore, than the mean distance of Saturn. But this by no means indicates the full extent of their range in space on the supposition implied, for, since the earth encounters them, they come at least so near to the sun in one part of their course as to have their distance represented by one, or reduced from the mean distance by as much as one. Hence at the opposite part of their course their distance must be just as much greater than the mean distance, *ten*, or must be as great as *nineteen* times the earth's mean distance. This would place the most distant part of their track as far off as the orbit of the planet Uranus.

Now, it certainly does appear that astronomers were justified in rejecting such a view as this in favour of hypotheses which gave a less extended sweep to the meteor orbits. Nor was it difficult to suggest other modes of explaining the observed peculiarity. Supposing the rich part of the system, instead of circling once round the sun in thirty-three years or thereabouts, circled

* Because they seem to radiate from the constellation Leo.

one more or one less than thirty-three times in that interval, then the recurrence of maximum displays at intervals of thirty-three years would be fully accounted for. It needs but a momentary consideration of the matter to see that this is so. In one case, at the end of the first year after a great display, the rich part of the system would have gone one round and a thirty-third part, at the end of the second it would have gone two rounds and two thirty-third parts, and so on. Each year would find it advanced one thirty-third part further, and at the end of thirty-three years it would have completed the extra circuit. Indeed, the supposition, on the face of it, brings the rich part back to the place of encounter at the end of thirty-three years, but the above way of considering the matter shows also that this part of the system cannot be at the place of encounter when the earth is there during any of the intermediate years. And the law would occur on the second supposition, only in this case the rich portion would at the end of each successive year be found two-thirty-third parts behind instead of in advance of its original position.

It was not to be expected, according to the way by which the truth usually works its way, that Professor Newton, of America, was aware in 1867, that of the meteor system of the November meteors only the rich part of the system appears in November each year. Nor could he even suspect, from the records, that we had not observed of Newton's last two centuries displays in America, with a single exception. In other words, though the last great display occurred more than thirty years before, the richer one known as the rich part of the system had never been traversing, and though the extent and nature of the rich aggregation were also wholly unknown, the encounter between the earth and the long-absent cluster preceded the time predicted for it only by the brief interval separating the successive passages of England and America across a given rotation space. If we imagine that from some distant orb a being were watching the event, knowing the nature of Newton's prediction and uncertain as to the result, then this being would have seen the Leonides rushing onwards to the scene of encounter on the one part, and the earth sweeping towards the same point on the other, he would have seen America passing round from the dark to the illuminated hemisphere, then Europe following, and the Atlantic coming round to that portion of the dark hemisphere on which the Leonides were preparing to fall. But would he not have watched with interest America would come round to the same side before the encounter took place, and as the predictions of the American astronomer be established, he would see that America and the western parts of Asia, and in a less degree even Europe, were already facing the quarter whence the meteors were to come, the display would grow richer and richer as the meteors began to be seen through the long gap that was awaiting them, and then, as America and Europe passed to the dark hemisphere, the encounter would be ended, the earth passing out into the meteor system, leaving behind the rich part of the system?

In the same manner the observers of Europe might have watched upon the same occasion the approach of the rich part of the system, and have begun to infer from the first appearance and from the later course of the meteors that the rich part was approaching. And then began the work of survey. Observation had to supply a sufficiency of facts, and

careful study was to relieve from these facts something of their true value.[1]

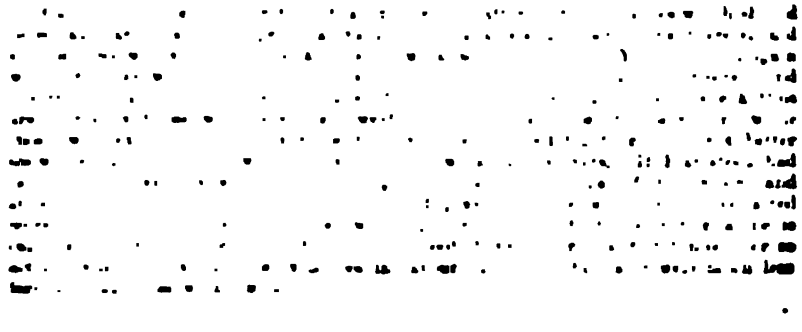
It appeared that one of the most striking facts elicited about this time resulted from what was in truth but a startling guess. It referred to the August meteors, called sometimes the Perseids, because they seem to radiate from the constellation Perseus.

The Italian astronomer Schiaparelli had been led to believe that a comet which appeared in 1862—a comet seen but once, viewed, than either Donati's or the comet of 1858, but still a remarkable object, and certainly to be classed with

had an orbit which approaches the earth's path nearly upon the same day that the earth on August 10—the day when the Perseids appear. It occurred to him to ascertain whether, if one only supposed the meteors to travel in as near a path as the comet, the direction of their motion would be that of the comet's motion past the sun. Let us briefly explain what assumption was to be made, and what actually was found, that without any real connection existing between the comet and the meteors, the remarkable features of the one would seem to resemble those of the other.

The period of the comet was known to be about a century and a half, and the figure of its orbit therefore so extended that at the comet's perihelion it was

the velocity of the comet where it passes us by the earth's track was nearly calculated to be greater than the earth's velocity, about as fourteen is greater than ten. All that Schiaparelli assumed was that the August meteors have this same velocity, about twenty-six miles per second. But knowing their real velocity, we could, from their apparent course as they enter the earth's atmosphere, determine the real direction in which they approach us. And so, their real direction and their real velocity at the earth's distance being known, their orbit around the sun would be completely determined. The real velocity at that distance would not alone suffice to determine the orbit; for we can conceive bodies projected with that velocity from the point where the earth is, on or about August 10, in a myriad different directions, and all these bodies would travel on different paths, only possessing the common property that their mean distances would be equal to that of the comet of 1862. The large axes of the paths thus determined might be directed towards any part of the heavens—towards any star, if we please. We see then that the antecedent probability was minute indeed, that when the real direction of the August meteors, as shown by the part of the sky they seem to come from, was taken into account, their orbit would seem to accord exactly with that of the comet of



1862, unless some real association existed.

But the paths were found to agree perfectly.

Schiaparelli himself, Leverrier, and a few other mathematicians of high repute, were at once convinced that the comet of 1862 and the August meteors are in some way associated. It is true that there was an initial assumption, and so far the force of the evidence seemed diminished. But to mathematicians accustomed to weigh the value of probabilities it was at once obvious that the evidence remained altogether too strong to be resisted. Accordingly we find that Leverrier about this time, seeing that the August meteors travel in an orbit of such enormous eccentricity, no longer regarded the 33-year period as an unlikely one for the November meteors; and he proceeded to calculate their path on the assumption that the recurrence of maximum displays three times in a century indicates the true period of the system.

But in the mean time the same result had been arrived at in a more direct and convincing manner by Professor Adams, co-discoverer with Leverrier of the distant Neptune. I have spoken of the slow progressive motion of the point in which the November meteor system crosses the earth's orbit. In this motion Professor Adams recognised a means of determining the actual orbit of the meteor system. For on any given assumption respecting the figure of this orbit it was possible to calculate the perturbating action of the planets, and so to deduce the rate at which the plane of the orbit would shift. It was possible, I say, but on certain assumptions as to the figure of the orbit, the calculation was by no means easy. In fact, it may be justly said, that to determine rightly the degree of perturbation of a ring of bodies whose orbit is assumed to extend from the earth's orbit to the orbit of Uranus would be a problem which would overtax the powers of the most subtle modes of mathematical analysis yet devised. I do not enter here into the nature of the methods by which Professor Adams dealt with his subject, my purpose being rather to discuss results than the means employed to obtain them. Suffice it that he showed, beyond all possibility of question, that the only orbit which will satisfy the observed relations is the one already referred to as carrying the meteors beyond the orbit of the planet Uranus.

It need hardly be said that the orbit thus assigned to the meteors was identical with that determined by Leverrier—the work of Adams altogether surpassing Leverrier's, however, in importance, since the English astronomer alone had proved that the meteors travel on this widely extended orbit. In fact, Professor Adams was the first astronomer who had ever undertaken to deal with meteors as members of the solar system, and the first, also, to determine from the perturbations of celestial bodies, the dimensions of the path along which they travel.

A telescopic comet, only discovered in 1866, was found to travel in the same path as the November meteors. In this case there was not even that doubtful feature which had seemed to render the aspect of Schiaparelli's discovery questionable to those unskilled in judging of probabilities. No assumption had been made as to the path of the November meteors. The path had been ascertained first, and the comet searched for afterwards. The path of the comet, too, had been examined and calculated until the orbit of the meteors had been determined. The two orbits were determined altogether independently of each other, and then, each complete in all its details—they were brought into comparison with each other. The agreement was practically perfect.

Now it is at this point that the above-considered antecedences to trace out the consequences of an important discovery begins to be apparent. The work of Schiaparelli, Leverrier, Adams, and others having brought meteoric astronomy to this point, astronomers seem to have been, for the most part, willing to leave the matter there. Thus the August meteors are admitted to be bodies travelling along an orbit of enormous extent carrying them much farther away from the sun than the orbit of Neptune; the November meteors are admitted to be bodies travelling in an orbit extending beyond the orbit of Uranus, and the association of both meteor systems with the comets I have spoken of is also admitted. But as for the remaining meteor systems which the earth encounters on her course round the sun—fifty-six of which were known when Adams's researches were made, and more than a hundred of which are at present recognised—very little indeed (most astronomers seem to think) is to be regarded as known. Some few of these systems may appear to be associated with certain comets, and others again may appear, from the periodic recurrence of meteoric showers to travel in long periods, and, therefore, in eccentric orbits round the sun, but until these things have been demonstrated they are not to be admitted as proved. Such ideas are wholly arbitrary and conjecturing the general existence of other meteoric systems than those with which the earth is actually known to encounter.

These systems are little more than a mere application of the law of gravitation hitherto restricted to the movements of the earth until astronomers had been able to examine as many of these systems of meteors as they have examined those of our satellite or as the laws of Kepler had been restricted to Mars until the same processes which Kepler had occupied nearly a quarter of a century in applying to that planet had been extended to the other planets.

We ought rather to take the general negatives implied by what has been discovered respecting the August and November meteors than to consider those particular positive results which Schiaparelli and Adams have established. Let us start from such propositions as these:

The meteor systems encountered by the earth are not necessarily of small eccentricity.

Their paths are not necessarily limited to the portion of space traversed by the earth and the three other minor planets, Mercury, Venus, and Mars.

And let us add to these propositions, which are the direct results of the discoveries considered above, one positive proposition also deduced directly from them, viz.:

The meteor systems hitherto considered (and therefore, presumably, others also) are associated with comets,

and this further proposition known but to many of the others but not at that time considered with sufficient attention,

The orbits of the meteor systems are inclined at all possible degrees of obliquity to the plane of the ecliptic—from coincidence with direct motion, through all angles up to a right angle, and beyond such an angle, down through all angles to coincidence with retrograde motion.

To these deductions, rightly considered, will lead us directly, as I take it, to results of extreme importance, tending to modify altogether our conception of the nature of the constitution of those portions of the sun and system which we have been in the habit of regarding as understood.

Taking first a general view of the

four propositions, we see that they all agree in assigning to the meteor systems the characteristics of circular orbits. There is no restriction regarding the motions of the meteors in any of those ways in which the planetary motions are limited—that is, either as respects the shape, extent, or position of their orbits, or as respects the direction in which they travel.

Now, consider the case of a meteor system, which is said to be assigned altogether at random, in accordance with what is taught by our first proposition. First, as to the magnitude of the meteor system: if its apheliun distance be greater than the earth's orbit, which, for illustration, its distance is less, the system is such as the earth cannot intersect, but if both perihelion and aphelion distances be greater than the earth's orbit cannot by any possibility intersect the system. The antecedent probability against an intersection of the orbits is on this account more enormous. Next as to the shape and position of the meteor system. The plane of the system would intersect the plane of the earth's orbit, and the meteor system

points on opposite sides of the sun. If the distance of one of these two points agree with the earth's distance from the sun, the meteor system will intersect the earth's orbit; otherwise not. The antecedent probability against intersection on this account also is enormous. Now the actual antecedent probability against intersection is obtained, not by *adding* these two enormous probabilities together, but by multiplying them together. For instance, if we set the chance that each condition would be fulfilled at one-tenth (altogether too high, be it noted), then the chance of intersection will not be one-*two*-tenth, but one-*hundredth*.

Taking this value of the chance for the sake of illustration, as fairly representing a chance which in reality is very far smaller, we see that an enormous number of these random meteor systems would be required in order that there should be a reasonable probability of the existence even of one of them. If we had a telescope with a million faces, and different, we should require a large number of trials in order to have a fair chance of turning up the right face. And the case of the meteor systems (on

the most and certainly unexpected [illegible]

Now, let us see how this [illegible]

If the earth encounters two [illegible]

And, lastly, the earth encounters [illegible]

[illegible] from [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[

other planets are so situated that we can never become cognisant of their existence? A large proportion of the actually existent meteor systems also must be so situated that they cannot be recognised from any of the planets at all.

Here then we have, as a direct and legitimate conclusion from admitted facts, a view of the solar system which four years ago would have been justly regarded as too startling for belief. We see the vast gaps which separate planet from planet no longer untenanted, or only traversed by an occasional comet, but literally crowded with meteor systems. If a vast model of the solar system could be constructed, all the parts being justly proportioned on some such scale as is considered in the well-known description given in Herschel's *Outlines of Astronomy*, and if the orbit of every meteor system were represented in this model by an oval hoop made of the finest possible wire, justly placed and shaped, then the space around the sun to a distance far exceeding the radius of the earth's orbit, would be an almost network of these wires or rings. Nor would it be easy to say how far from the two-foot globe representing the sun some of the closed orbits would extend, while myriads of parabolic and hyperbolic curves would have to be introduced to indicate the paths of those meteoric clusters which successively approach from outer space and return to the star-depths, never again to visit our system's neighbourhood. Amidst these myriads of orbit-wires the paths of the planets, if similarly treated, would be almost lost, though individually the least of the planets probably surpasses the combined mass of all the members of those meteor systems which belong exclusively to the solar domain.

It would indeed be difficult to determine, even approximately, the weight of all the members of any meteor system or of the system of such systems circling around the sun. We know that among those meteoric masses which actually reach the earth there are some few of great weight. One at least has fallen whose weight amounts to about fifteen tons. Nor again can we regard the masses which are found in the earth after the explosion of a bolide as more than the fragments of much larger masses. But on the other hand, the bodies which form such systems as the Leonides and the Perseides are for the most part exceedingly minute, insomuch that the weight of some of these bodies has been estimated at less than a single grain. Between these limits lie the meteors which explode in the upper regions of air, but without casting their fragments to the earth's surface in a solid form.

It is worthy of notice, however, that even if we set on one side meteoric displays properly so called and the great aerolites which from time to time crash down upon the earth, we yet find abundant reason for believing that our earth alone, small as she is, grows yearly in weight by many tons through the downfall of meteoric matter. Professor Newton has calculated from perfectly reliable data that on an average in the course of a single day 7,500,000 meteors large enough to be visible to the naked eye are consumed in the earth's atmosphere, and about 400,000,000 meteors such as could be seen in a telescope of moderate power. Now, if we consider the latter set to be equivalent to the former, and assign a single grain as the weight of each meteor visible to the naked eye, we deduce fifteen millions of grains as the earth's daily increase of weight. This is rather less than a ton. So that in the course of about three years the earth's weight must increase (even on the very low value here assigned to a meteor's weight) by a thousand tons, and in the

course of the three thousand years during which astronomy has been a science the earth's weight must have increased a million tons! The sun's mass in the mean time would be increased by about a sixteenth part of this amount!

If then, the earth, moving in its course once around the sun, gathers up tons of meteoric matter, it will be perceived how vast must be the weight of that meteoric matter which in the course of a year has been within the earth's mean distance from the sun, and how enormous must be the combined weight of all the meteor systems, when this abundance of matter is continually maintained, though the matter present in any one year has for the most part passed away before the next, and though year after year a proportion of the meteoric matter is withdrawn from orbital motion around the sun, and forced to form part either of its own mass or of the mass of some one of the orbs which attend upon him.

But the considerations which now urge themselves upon our attention are far too numerous and too important to be discussed at the close of an essay like the present. I have to another occasion the study of details which bear in the most striking manner on the economy of the solar system. I would particularly point to the way in which the new discoveries altogether change the aspect of the planetary scheme. The solar system as seen by Kepler and Newton may be compared to the trunk and main branches of a mighty tree, which modern discoveries present to us as adorned with lesser branches, twigs, and foliage, a tree still living and still growing. It may well be that as the study of astronomy proceeds we may recognise far more clearly and satisfactorily than now, the principles and the developments of this mighty system.

[illegible]

VIRGIL AS TRANSLATED BY DRYDEN AND CONINGTON.

VIRGIL can never be rightly translated into any modern tongue. 'He seems to have studied not to be translated.' So says John Dryden, and Conington proceeds to bear him out, and devotes barely three short years to the task. We shall examine in this article how far facts support this dictum, but first it is necessary to state our views on translation in general. In considering this subject three points have to be kept in view—the translator, his instrument, and his style.

First as to the translator. Who will best interpret the works of a great classical writer? It may seem to many readers that a mere tyro knows enough Latin to understand the genius of a great author, and that a mere command of English is all that is necessary to produce a translation. But, on the contrary, it must be remembered that, to be a good translator, one must be apt to be a bad linguist rather than a bad poet, and the reason is easy to be understood. In order to translate, one must be able to put oneself in the author's place, to enter into his feelings, to see with his eyes. We may further add that we must have such a command of English as will enable us to express the thoughts of the author, however they may differ from the conventionalities of modern life.

Even if so much be granted—and it is of course a matter of opinion how far the following remarks are true—there are many other qualifications necessary to the translator. What are the qualities that go to make a poet? Are they not the power of producing a certain effect on the reader's mind by the use of words? Among these qualities some may exist which, though they would be directed from their proper purpose of production to the inferior object of simple imitation? Whatever may be thought of Pope's Homer, for instance, or of Dryden's Virgil, can any one fail to regret that their authors did not give us instead another *Rape of the Lock* or *Absalom and Achitophel*? Surely it was their duty not to revive the splendour of the past, but to shape the thought and purify the affections of the present. To take another example, Mr. Tennyson has shown, by his remarkable translation of the passage at the end of the Eighth Book of the *Iliad*, that, did he so choose, he might delight the minds of this and future generations with such a rendering of Homer as the world has never yet seen. But would this be worth setting against the loss of such a poem as *In Memoriam*, or *Locksley Hall*, or *Lucretius*?

To return. Suppose it be conceded that the task of translating great poets in general, and Virgil in particular, should be reserved for writers using the word-system to which we are restricted [illegible] quantitative metres. Now, as to this latter most point. What is the principle on which to translate Latin verse correctly. By borrowing, it would seem, a translation exactly suited to a Latin dactylic hexameter. Men, not sheep! We do not deny that there must be occasions, and even frequently, when the most delicate, and, in the end, the most correct, rendering of a passage will be found in a literal translation; yet, remembering as no two critics seem to agree as to what that principle means may be, it seems better that the poet should have the choice to the individual character. For, as Mr Conington observes, 'that which may be absolutely the best in by no means necessarily the best for the individual,' and of this he must of

But a translator must not merely have a quick eye to seize, and a forcible style to delineate, the separate beauties of his author. His most difficult task will be so to fuse and blend them together as to produce one harmonious whole. The continuous and rapid flow of the *Æneid* demands in an especial degree sustained power. There are of course passages which rise, and were intended to rise, in their sublimity above the usual level of the narrative; but we cannot fail to remark the exceeding evenness of that excellence, the calm majesty with which it sweeps along. To this must be added the difficulty of reproducing that which Dryden considers so remarkable in Virgil, his exact propriety of expression, and his suggestiveness and brevity of diction—beauties which an inferior artist will vainly strive to imitate by clumsy circumlocutions and excessive copiousness.

Lastly, it will be well to keep before our eyes the pregnant remarks of Dr Johnson, that 'it is not by comparing line with line that the merit of great works is to be estimated, but by their general effects and ultimate result. Works of imagination excel by their allurement and delight by their power of attracting and detaining the attention. That book is good in vain which the reader throws away. He only is the master who keeps the mind in pleasing captivity, whose pages are perused with eagerness, and in hope of new pleasure are perused again, and whose conclusion is perused with an eye of sorrow, such as the traveller casts on departing day.' In other words, we must be generous in our judgments, and just as old Scotch proprietors used to tell that a man's life was to be regarded not in isolated fragments, but from the broad basis of a completed whole, so should the general scope and tenor of a translator's labours be mainly regarded, and all minute and vexatious criticism of individual lines and phrases be deprecated and shunned. Moreover, the translation must be readable in itself, and without regard to the original. If it have not this merit, it has none at all.

In forming an opinion of Dryden's translation of the *Æneid* we must first of all emancipate ourselves from the associations connected with that mighty name. And this is no easy task. It is like judging Manlius in sight of the Capitol. The memories of *Alexander's Feast*, and of *Absalom and Achitophel*, seem to rise up and disarm the critic. But if we approach the subject as far as possible unbiassed by such considerations, and are content to rest our conclusion upon the facts themselves apart from the splendid fame of the poet, we shall probably think that it will not be materially enhanced by the translation of the *Æneid*. Not that there is not much to admire therein. On the contrary, a choice collection of single lines, of happy phrases and passages, may be obtained even by a cursory examination of the poem. But as a whole the effect is somewhat unsatisfactory, and we rise from the perusal with a feeling that the poet has misapplied his powers—that he is unsuited to the laborious drudgery of interpreting another's thoughts—and we cannot help wishing that he had preferred instead to indulge the world with an original work.

Great magnificence, mais ce n'est pas la guerre—much of it is very grand, but it is not Virgil. As regards the metre, the first point that forces itself upon our attention is the extreme license which Dryden allows himself in triplets and Alexandrines, and in the matter of rhymes. And here we cannot do better than quote the following remark of Dr Johnson: 'In examining the propriety of the triplet and

Alexandrine, it is to be considered that the essence of verse is regularity, and its ornament is variety. To write verses is to dispose syllables and sounds harmonically by some known and settled rule—a rule, however, lax enough to substitute similitude for identity, to admit change without breach of order, and to relieve the ear without disappointing it. The Alexandrine breaks the lawful bounds, and surprises the reader with two syllables more than he expected. The effect of the triplet is much the same.' Accepting this as a very fair account, let us see how Dryden fulfils the conditions laid down in the passage quoted. 'Fenton,' the same author informs us, 'was of opinion that Dryden was too liberal, and Pope too sparing, in the use of triplets and Alexandrines.' As to the first half of his statement, Fenton certainly did not err on the side of exaggeration. Being struck with the very frequent recurrence of the licences in question, we had the curiosity to count the instances which occur in the first six books of the Æneid. We find 250 triplets and 218 Alexandrines. But the arbitrary manner of their use is even more remarkable. At times, no doubt, their introduction is, as Dr. Johnson observes, 'grateful to the reader.' Take, for instance, the fine lines in which the poet moralises upon the fatal introduction of the wooden horse, in which the concluding triplet, observes aptly to bring out the force and dignity of the passage:

> With cruel fears to guard their easy hearts,
> To gain the credit of the pretended arts.
> When twenty years the greater part had run,
> The timber'd monster was compleatly done—
> Large tow'rs and lofty walls the city grow'n.

We may also call attention to the happy effect produced by 'the full-

resounding' Alexandrine to express the volume of some of those majestic lines in which Virgil delights to close a passage or description of more than ordinary dignity.

But far too often their introduction is simply for the convenience of the poet, and they are inserted with the most utter capriciousness. You may meet with triplet following triplet, often as many as three consecutive triplets, and occasionally even as many as four, occur without a single couplet to separate them. So also with Alexandrines. One page will contain four or five. Not seldom the alternate lines of three or four couplets will be Alexandrines; sometimes both lines of a couplet will be Alexandrines.

The same laxity which is conspicuous in the management of Dryden's metre and selection, or rather want of selection, of his rhymes, is to be observed throughout his translation generally. He has constant recourse to paraphrase, he thinks nothing of inserting ideas, half-lines, whole lines, even couplets, of his own. Hence the disproportion in point of length between him and Virgil. Such disproportion is, no doubt, unavoidable to a certain extent, the Latin language admitting of greater conciseness and compactness than our own, however ably handled. Still Dryden seems to have been at no pains to strive after brevity where it would have been possible, but rather to have willingly lent himself to expansion as the easier process. Indeed, at times he inserts explanatory lines which are wholly uncalled for, and further encumber an already overloaded text. Moreover, the exigencies of rhyme occasionally lead to the introduction of a superfluous line, which would certainly never have been written had it not been necessary to complete a couplet. Then, again, Dryden indulges perpetually in studied antitheses which are not discoverable in the original, whereby

Virgil's words are exaggerated, and their meaning so far distorted. We do not intend to assert that a false idea is conveyed, but merely that liberties are taken with the text, and the principle of literal and conscientious interpretation quietly and comfortably ignored. This free-and-easy method imparts a certain verve and power to the translation, but it is at the expense of truth, and the effect of a careful comparison with that which Virgil actually wrote cannot but painfully impress our minds with the wide difference discernible. We do not, however, mean to convey the impression that Dryden is always literal. Such is by no means the case. He can be as literal as possible when he chooses, and it is this fact which intensifies our regret that he does not choose to be so more often. In some of his otherwise most successful passages the faithfulness of the rendering is remarkable. Take, for instance, the following prophecy of the Sibyl to Æneas:

Escaped the dangers of the watery reign,
Yet more and greater ills by land remain.
The coast, so long desired, must be reached,
Thy fate vouchsafes it; reach, but having reached,
Wars, horrid wars, I view, and foaming blood,
And Tiber swelling with a purple flood.
Nassus nor Xanthus, nor the Grecian power
A new Achilles, sprung in arms as near
And he, too, goddess-born. Relentless Juno's fate,
Added to thee, while exiled thou remain,
To what strange nations not to assail and not implore
Drive to and fro, and at every resort
The cause the same with a hostile cause oppose.
A foreign consort and a foreign love
Prepare for Troy, and anger with new woes.
The enemy I shun, from whom the storm appears
Thou, more than needful, art to thy own fears
From what you dread and what you hope a train
Of toils you weave, and all your labours pain.

Exception may perhaps be taken to the phrase 'watery reign,' as a synonym of the same class as many which Pope or Addison used, though fortunately with not so much frequency, to naturalise; but what can be more admirable than the genial vigour and accuracy of the rest of the passage? Or, again, let us select Mnestheus' address to his crew, in the boat-race of the Fifth Book:

My friends and Hector's followers hereto fore,
Exert your vigour, tug the labouring oar.
Stretch to your strokes, my stout unconquered crew,
Which from the flaming walls of Troy I drew
In this your country's interest let me find
That strength of nerve, that courage of the mind,
As when you stemmed the strong Maeonian flood,
And o'er the Simois' banks I bore you proud.
I seek not now the fame of past to gain.
This day we bid but for that heavenly wish in vain.
Let those essay to win the goal in chase,
But to be last—the lags of all the race—
Redeem yourselves and me from that disgrace

Surely the occupation of the critic would be well-nigh gone *si non omnia dormiret*. But if we often have to complain of the freedom which refuses to be bound by the ordinary trammels of metre and rhyme, or to submit to follow humbly in the footsteps of another, this very freedom is not seldom productive of the happiest effects. In Dryden we are repeatedly reminded of Homer's glorious simile of the self-moved horse:

[illegible]

and, swept away by a sense of life and vigour, as every criticism is apt to yield to a sense of beauty and delight. It is this nervous force and spirit which constitutes the peculiar excellence of Dryden, and which to some extent overbalances the many mistakes, inaccuracies and defects which deform his pages. With but little delicacy of touch, and scarcely any lacking that subtle tenderness and exquisite sense of rhythm which, we cannot but feel, is perhaps, of all Virgil's characteristics, the most remarkable, it is this masculine,

the free, unimpeded energy of conscious power, which will principally attract and arrest the attention of scholars.

But as too often happens, the vigour of some parts is compensated by the concomitant dullness and flatness of others; and the result is a marked inequality of merit—irregular perhaps the most probable accompaniment of genius, but scarcely to be deplored in translating a poet of such even and continuous excellence as Virgil. Dr Johnson, while discussing Dryden's writings generally, observes: 'Such is the unevenness of his compositions, that ten lines are seldom found together without a something of which the reader is ashamed. But, on the other hand, it is to be remarked, that it will be equally difficult to find ten lines together in which some valuable and memorable sentiment, some powerful picture or elegant turn of thought, does not reward the labour of perusal, as by a lightning-flash, the mere presence of genius. It is indeed much to be regretted that Dryden should have rested satisfied with so transitory and spasmodic an exhibition of power. But in him there was a craving of that restless and unsatisfied yearning after perfection by which the highest minds are known. The partial powers of correction, the Horatian limæ labor, was unknown to him. To quote Dr Johnson again: 'Dryden was no great judge of his own pages, he seldom struggled after supreme excellence, but snatched in haste what was within his reach, and when he found contentment others, was himself contented.' He was not sufficiently [illegible] and [illegible] to be [illegible] of [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

sume not to say. Certainly he has realised with more than common vividness and energy the awful conceptions of his master. Here is his description of the lot of the self-murderers:

The next in place and punishment are they
Who prodigal threw their lives away,
Fools who, repining at their wretched state,
And loathing anxious life, contemned their fate
With late repentance now they would retrieve
The lasting light they forfeit, and wish to live.
The Fates forbid, and sullen streams confine
To nine times round them the unpassable Stygian line

And thus he sums up the dread catalogue of crime and punishment

Ask not what pains are farther sought to know
Their progress, or the forms of law below
Some roll a mighty stone, some stand and ply
And hang with labouring breasts on what they try
Unhappy Phlegyas most for ever there
Is fixed to bate and his eternal fear
And with his voice proclaims through the world
(Would warning make the world more just)
Learn righteousness and dread the avenging Gods
To tyrants [illegible]
[illegible]
Were as the [illegible]
[illegible]
Marvel not [illegible]

With regard to the second passage we may observe that line 8 affords a good instance of the reckless and unnecessary manner in which Dryden overlaid the text by ornaments of his own, which, however attractive, must be admitted, as they increase the length of an already tedious translation, besides in the present case involving the necessity of an alteration of text. But the passage as a whole is truly fine and spirited, and the concluding Alexandrine, inserted in this instance for a good and sufficient reason, reproduces the terrible grandeur of the original with sonorous and telling effect. We will quote but one other passage from the Sixth Book—the famous lines in which Rome's mission amongst the nations is described. Although they do not equal the sublimity of Virgil—as indeed how should they?—yet in them Dryden has preserved much of the proud patriotism which prompted the boast, and accomplished it with unflinching determination:

Let others better mould the running mass
Of metals, and inform the breathing brass,
And soften into flesh a marble face,
Plead better at the bar, describe the skies,
And when the stars descend, and when they rise.
But, Rome, to thee alone, with awful sway,
To rule mankind, and make the world obey,
Dispose of peace and war thy own majestic way
To tame the proud, the fettered slave to free
These are imperial arts, and worthy thee

It follows, as a natural consequence of Dryden's inequality, that quotations are apt to do him rather more than less justice. A sufficient number of passages might be cited, which if taken alone would stamp his translation as one of the highest excellence, and only by perusing the entire work would such expectations be falsified. With one more short extract we must take leave of Dryden. Jove's promise to Venus of the glories of Rome's future empire is thus powerfully rendered:

[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]

The only fault we can find with these lines is that they are less compact than Virgil's, but, as we before

said, this is to a certain extent unavoidable.

Of Professor Conington's translation, before proceeding to examine particular passages, we may take a general survey as a whole. In the first place, then, we should say that his book is eminently readable—no small merit in a translation, to be indeed in any other book. It is read with real pleasure, and is calculated to delight anyone who takes an interest in poetry irrespective of his acquaintance with the language of the original. It is moreover a scholarly and faithful translation. No one who knows Virgil well can doubt that the author is intimately acquainted with his subject, and has bestowed no common labour upon it. The versification is easy and flowing, and is a happy imitation of Scott's best manner. Again, it is characterised by genuine pathos. It may indeed be urged, that the pathos is rather lyrical than epic, and that between these two different manifestations of the same beauty there is a real and substantial difference, but no one can fail to acknowledge the presence and power of the pathetic employed. It may also be doubted if the metre chosen would not have disclosed far graver defects under less able handling. But handled as it is, we cannot but admire the sustained dignity of the measure, and feel surprised at the few instances in which it degenerates into something approaching what is known as the singsong hush-a-bye-baby style. That some instances may be found, we do not deny. But we repeat that, in making a poem and with a metre of such tempting facility, that they should be so comparatively rare is surprising. It must not be supposed that the lovers of pure-poem prose and striking single lines will have their predilections particularly gratified by a perusal of this translation. But very few of such lines can be discovered by the most ardent admirer of Mr. Conington. It is rather in the equable and well-sustained excellence of the book as a whole that it recommends itself to the reader. Those who desire sudden surprises and flashes of genius to illuminate and make amends for much inaccuracy or even dullness, must turn from these pages to the 'splendid unfaithfulness' of Dryden. But the want of such beauties is far more than compensated by the confidence in the author's trustworthiness, which grows the farther the reader proceeds in the story, in the pleasing charm diffused throughout, and the absence of anything calculated to grate upon the ear or divert the attention from the action of the poem. At times, no doubt, a strange word may meet the eye and strike it with a sense of novelty, or a forced turn of expression may bring the exigencies of verse too prominently before the mind; but in the main the rhymes are natural and legitimate, the diction is that with which we are perfectly familiar, and the style is graceful and regular. There is one point especially upon which we would at once observe—the remarkable propriety and happiness of the similes. This is no small matter when the number and beauty of Virgil's similes are taken into account. We cannot call to mind a single one in which Mr. Conington has really failed, while the excellence of the greater number is admirable. And here the author's evident love of detail and laborious scrupulousness of workmanship stand him in good stead, as they are qualities possessed in an eminent degree by the Latin poet, and without which no one can adequately represent him.

Not that the poetry is in any way wanting. But, as everyone knows, the special characteristic of Virgil's similes consists in their minuteness and the thorough way in which every point is accurately

brought out as opposed to the broad general effects which were alone aimed at in Homer's similes; and Mr. Conington possesses in a marked degree the same excellences, and has consequently delineated Virgil therein to perfection. We must of course bear in mind that the most recent translator has the advantage of the labours of his predecessors, by means of which he will avoid many faults, and derive many happy turns of expression, while by the nature of the case his language itself is more likely to please the ears of his contemporaries. In saying this we are in no degree detracting from Mr Conington's merits. We are merely doing justice to those who have preceded him in the same task, and pointing out an advantage (if properly managed) which awaits the latest labourers in this particular field. Nothing but pedantry and a morbid craving after originality can forbid to appropriate in moderation the happy efforts of previous artists. For what the public desires is a really good translation, and it matters not to them whose name is inscribed upon the title-page, while there are never wanting a host of lynx-eyed detectors of plagiarisms, to keep a writer within modest bounds in availing himself of so desirable a license.

Before commencing upon detailed passages we may state as our opinion that Mr. Conington has been particularly successful in his treatment of the Fourth Book.

The seething invectives of Dido against her perfidious lover are given with singular power and intensity, and form, as Virgil intended, in the ruggedness and frenzy of their utterance, a fine contrast to the equable flow of the main story. These passages, together with the tragic episode of the murdered queen's self-inflicted death, and the spirited description of Fame, account for the especial admiration with which the Fourth Book has ever been regarded; and Mr. Conington has doubtless been urged by this fact to exert himself to the uttermost in consequence, with the happiest result. As we shall now proceed to enable our readers to judge for themselves from as many passages as we have space to insert, we merely add generally, that the destruction of Troy; Apollo's prophetic declaration to Æneas of his future wanderings; the last race in the Fifth Book, the descent into Hades; the description of the shades below and the future glories of Rome in the Sixth Book, and the exquisitely beautiful episode of Nisus and Euryalus, as they are some of the most celebrated passages of the Æneid, so should we select them as instances in which Mr. Conington may with advantage bear comparison with any of his predecessors.

The opening lines of the *Æneid* disappointed us, and from their somewhat sing-song rhythm and lack of dignity, they by no means, in our opinion, represent the stately sweep of the original. But the perusal of the long paragraph almost immediately succeeding convinced us that the opening lines were exceptionally unhappy, and the farther we read the more we became interested.

Of the impotence and necessary vagueness of all general criticism of a long poem we are fully sensible. On the other hand, it is well nigh as difficult by a few selected quotations to give anything like an adequate idea of its merits.

However, preferring of two evils to choose the least, and feeling sure that our readers would sooner listen to Mr. Conington's own words than to our account of them, we shall make no apology for the length of our extracts, merely premising that they are selections from many others that might be cited did space permit. Our attention will be particularly directed to the first six

books, upon the composition of which Virgil bestowed his chiefest labour, and which are confessedly works of a far greater elaborateness, and in many respects impressed upon them the stamp of his genius. It will be convenient, we think, instead of following the sequence of the several books to any extent, to group up as far as possible our quotations under certain heads of illustrative of special excellences, and so to exemplify the just truth of the general statements advanced above.

First, then, with regard to Mr Conington's style in narrative, take the following passages (*Æn.* ii. 268—298.)

It was the time when rest is sweetest to poor mortal men,
For sweet was the first and best
Love, as I guess, in earliest years,
The time when Hector's ceaseless tears,
Before my eyes, and from his eyes,
All Troy's walls, and Troy's fate of war,
And Hector's glory dost not bound,
As round about the mounted coast
All [illegible] was there to view!
How we the fleet from the walls we know,
[illegible]
[illegible]
The [illegible] wearied hands
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]

The scene is at once accurate and spirited, and withal easy and flowing.

Again

The [illegible] freshens in the sail
We heavy [illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[

Eye of the world, majestic Sun,
Who see'st whate'er on earth is done,
Thou, Juno, too, interpreter
And witness of the heart's fond stir,
And Hecate, tremendous power,
In cross-ways howled at midnight hour,
Avenging fiends, and gods of death
Who breathe in dying Dido's breath,
Stoop your great powers to mine that plead
To heaven, and my petition heed
If needs must be that wretch abhorred
Attain the port and float to land,
If such the fate of heaven's high lord,
And so the moveless fabric stand;
Scourged by a savage enemy,
An exile from his native race,
So let him sue for aid, and see
His people slain before his face:
Nor, when to hard unlovely peace at length
He stoops, to his or life or land,
But let him fall in manhood's strength,
And welter 'mid the sands.
Such mad vows to heaven I pour,
A last libation with my gore
And, Tyrians, you through time to come
His seed with deathless hatred chase
Be that your gift to Dido's tomb
No love, no league 'twixt race and race.
Rise from my ashes, avenger of crime,
Born to pursue the Dardan brute
To-day, to-morrow, through all time,
Oft as our hands can wield the sword
Fight shore with shore, fight sea with sea,
Fight all that are or ever shall be!

We shall not insult our readers by pausing to point out the intensity and passion of this passage, which, to our mind, will almost bear comparison with the turbid grandeur and sublimity of the original; but invite them instead to listen to Dido's dying farewell, which is thus touchingly described:

Thus, madly roving over crime, the queen,
With bloodshot eyes and tossing cheeks
From panting breast and quivering cheeks,
And wandering over with death's frenzy,
Through inner portals wildly flew,
Scales the high pile with swift ascent,
Takes up the Dardan sword and burns,
Fond gift, for fleeter uses meant
She eyed the robes with wistful look,
And, pausing at the sight awhile, and wept
Then prone upon the couch she leapt
Her last grief-laden gift, and o'er she spoke
Sweet words of farewell:
When fate and Heaven were kind,
Receive my soul and end my woe
I've run the course
My fortune's allowed; and I
The queen, a glorious city's gate
As I will pass a conquering shade,
Majestic 'mid the grave.
A glorious city I have built,
Have seen my walls ascend,
Chastised for blood of husband spilt,
A brother, yet no friend
Blest lot! yet lacked one blessing more,
That Troy had never touched my shore.'
Then as she kissed the darling bed,
'To die and unrevenged!' she said;
'Yet let me die thus, thus I go,
Exulting to the shades below
Let the false Dardan feel the blaze
That burns me pouring on his gaze,
And bear along, to cheer his way,
The funeral presage of to-day.'

These two passages, the one so full of power and the other of pathos and dignity, will, we hope, suffice to support our previously expressed opinion on the merits of this book.

Turning to the reverse of the picture, we must point out some instances in which Mr. Conington sinks below his usual standard, and which seem to us fairly open to criticism. At times his versification degenerates into something approaching doggrel. Take such lines as the following, for instance:

They marvel at the gifts they view,
They marvel at the bringer too

or:

Through every heart a shudder ran,
Appeased victim—who the man?

or:

Now mad my hind I linger still,
And live, but leave the light I will.

This is jingling sing-song, assuredly not poetry.

Again, passages occur in which the metre selected is found wanting to express the majestic sweep of Virgil, although there is nothing positively bad in the lines themselves.

Who, for instance, that recollects the grand verses in which the poet moralises upon the introduction of the wooden horse into Troy, can fail to feel the inadequateness of Mr. Conington's translation, and to regret the poverty of the metre selected?

Virgil's lines run as follows:

Talia [illegible] pectora [illegible]
Crudelis [illegible] lacrimas [illegible]
Quos ubi [illegible] Troes Laocoonta Ad [illegible]
Nec [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

What says Mr Conington?

Such tale of [illegible] spectre feared,
Our [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] and
And tears were [illegible] from [illegible]
Made us [illegible] [illegible] prize,
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible],
Nor [illegible] [illegible] heard,
Nor [illegible] [illegible] spread,
Nor [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

We feel at once that the dilution of the four lines of the original into twice their number robs them of their concentration, of their swell and volume, while the grand reverberation and sonorousness of the last line is altogether lost

Take, again, Turnus' proud and dignified appeal to the gods below:

Vos Manes, Manes,
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

THE EASTERN QUESTION.

TWO months ago most of us believed that this country stood on the brink of war with Russia, and perhaps also with Prussia—with the two strongest military Powers of the present day. The casus belli was, not an actual attack, but an intention expressed by Russia to establish an arsenal and fleet which might, in time to come, be used in an attack on Constantinople. And when we sought for allies, we found only Austria which could be counted on with certainty to give us effectual aid.

Happily we have escaped the danger this time. But we have not always been so fortunate. Sixteen years ago we were actually plunged into war with Russia to defend Turkey; and on that occasion Austria, for whose help we lately looked so confidently, did not think herself called upon to give it, although, as Kinglake says, the outrage then complained of 'was the occupation of two provinces which abutted on the Austrian dominions, and of all the great Powers, Austria was the chief sufferer.'

The champion who then stood by us in our conflict with the Giant of the North in defence of the beautiful Queen of the Bosporus was France. Yet only fourteen years before we had run the greatest risk of war with that very Power by lending the Sultan the aid of our forces to subdue his rebellious vassal, Mehemet Ali.

These three occasions are the salient points in a course of policy which England has steadily pursued for upwards of forty years. During that time no nation has ever gone before her in the endeavour to uphold the Empire of the Sultan, and she has watched over its territories as jealously as if they had been her own. Yet it has not of late years been the usual habit of British statesmen to interfere lightly in the embroilments of Continental governments, either with each other or with their subjects. Thus we have seen Austria and Prussia league together to seize provinces from Denmark; Sardinia has won back Italy from Austria and the petty sovereigns amongst whom it had been divided; Prussia has carved out for herself an empire with the sword; and revolutions have succeeded or been crushed in almost every country in Europe; without England stretching forth her arm to help or hinder.

It is certain that the English Government and the English people, who are nearly always at one with their Government in this matter, must think they see some very vital interest of their own bound up with the welfare of the Ottoman Empire. It will be useful at the present time, when there is likely to be much discussion of the Eastern Question throughout Europe, to look closely into this forward and jealous policy of ours, and to search diligently whether there be in very truth any good and sufficient reason for it. For our motives here are by no means so obvious, as they are in the only other case in which we have thus departed from our general rule of non-intervention. A glance at the map will show anyone why we look after Belgium; and it will also show him that there are scarcely two countries, with a sea-board in Europe, whose relative positions towards England are more different than those of Belgium and Turkey.

In this enquiry we naturally turn first to the reasons given by the Ministry which engaged in the great conflict with Russia in 1854. On the night on which Parliament was called upon to express its approval of the declaration of war, the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs said:

In entering on the war now, we do not to expel [illegible] and to secure a peace [illegible] Turkey. [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

vellers who, 'going to Eastern countries in early life and becoming charmed with their glimpse of the grand, simple, violent world that they had read of in their Bibles . . . coming home, bring back with their chibouques and their scymitars a zeal for the cause of Turkey.' These look with equal contempt on the Christian ravahs, and disapproval towards the numerous modern reforms which the Western Powers have lately been forcing the Government of the Sultan to engraft on the venerable trunk of Mahometan simplicity. Surely neither of these classes could persuade themselves that in taking up arms for the Turk they did so in furtherance of the cause of liberty and progress. We must look for some other clue to our policy than that afforded by Lord Clarendon.

The commercial interests of this country are frequently assigned as a sufficient reason for keeping Russia away from Constantinople at all costs. Now, supposing that the prosperity of the trade with Turkey does depend on the continuance of the present régime, England's stake in it is not so much higher than that of other nations as to account for her willingness to bear a burden of difficulty and danger which they will scarce touch with one of their fingers. In fact the English ships which annually enter the Golden Horn are also lately fewer in number than those which sail thither under the flag of at least one Mediterranean State. And it is incredible that England should be ready at any moment to subject to the injuries of war the vast ramification of her trade in all parts of the world for the sake of fostering one of its smallest branches, whilst other nations, to which the traffic with Turkey is a main source of wealth, rest comparatively indifferent to attempts made to destroy it.

But what is the present state of Turkey, the continuance of which is so essential to trade? With the exception of a short line of railway the country is absolutely without roads. A recent traveller describes how throughout the greater part of his journey *along* the principal (so-called) highway leading from Varna he had to make a détour through the fields to avoid the road, which was utterly impassable! In most districts, however, highways do not exist even in theory; and another traveller informs us that whenever a great officer of State has occasion to go from one place to another the whole population is turned out to clear a road for him, which becomes overgrown and useless again after he has passed by. Such is the state of things in European Turkey. In Asia Minor they seem to be just as bad; for it is said that there are districts—that of Sivas, for instance—where grain is so abundant as to sell for an old song, for want of roads; whilst on the Black Sea coast, not a hundred miles off, the rival produce of Russia commands a high price.

Again, the chief export of Turkey is grain. Here is what two authors, staunch advocates of the Mahometan rule, tell us of the benign and economical way in which the tax on the production of this staple is gathered:

> The day of harvest arrives, and the grain is cut. But not a sheaf may be carried home until the tax farmer or his delegate comes to take his share. The Beg himself frequently appears two or three weeks after the corn is cut during the whole of which time it remains at the mercy of the weather, or of the peasants, who never fail to count *their* tithe from it. In looking at the sheaves thus left upon the field we have frequently noticed that, from the heat of the sun, a considerable number of the grain falls out, and that, instead of only or seventy grains on the ear, we could rarely find more than one-third of that number when every day the loss became greater and greater.
>
> The loss thus occasioned cannot be estimated at less than one-eighth per cent., and the tithe costs the peasant sixteen or eighteen instead of ten per cent. through the negligence of the tax farmer, who, though he must be aware that he loses in

prospect us, probably regards such an enormous percentage as of no account, being quite willing to trade with other affairs with a hundred per cent. and upwards, and to disregard the loss of a few thousand pastres in the village while he is making some hundreds of pounds in the town.

It is needless to allude to the mass in which civil justice is now hidden at Constantinople, through which Greek cunning alone is equal to the achievement of threading its way to mercantile success. And as for the myth concerning the bias of Turkish statesmen towards free trade principles, we recommend any believer in it to certain instructive studies on this subject to be found in Sir Henry Bulwer's *Life of Lord Palmerston*. Enough has been said to show that our position in the Eastern Question cannot be justified on commercial grounds.

Two objects remain to be considered, which are commonly held to give England a concern above, and apart from, that of any other nation in the maintenance of the Ottoman Empire. First, the safety of India, which is supposed to be endangered by the growing power of Russia; and, secondly, the necessity of keeping open our communications with our Eastern possessions by the Isthmus of Suez.

In examining the first of these objects, one is struck at the outset with surprise that the two great powers of European civilisation in Asia should be looked upon as natural enemies, rather than as those which have common material interests to establish. The Russians in Central Asia are at least so far as concerns us in India that they are the pioneers of European civilisation and Asiatic progress. Russia has not yet begun the same grand development on which Great Britain stands, but the elements of power, and the leading men in her colonies in Central Asia, who must to a great extent mould the opinions of their countrymen in Eastern politics, have probably acquired in European society the same tastes and modes of thought which form the characters of our own civil and military officers. They pursue science as zealously as ourselves. The great object of their aggressions, as of ours, is to open out the continent of Asia to commerce; and surely in that continent there is room enough for us both. So long as we are operating, as we now are, in widely separated fields, so long as there stands between the sunny plains which we possess, and the rich valleys which Russia as yet only covets, the broad and high barrier of the rugged, inhospitable, profitless mountain land of the Hindu Koosh and the northern and eastern parts of Afghanistan, it seems strange that we should regard each other with distrust and apprehension. Nor is it easy to understand why our commercial interests should clash with hers. Just as the natural outlets for the trade of the countries south of the Hindu Koosh are the coasts of the Indian Peninsula, so the natural and only convenient outlets for that of the countries to the north of those mountains are the Caspian and Aral seas, whilst the way between these two tracts is blocked by such gigantic obstacles, that the trade between them must for many a long year, if not for ever, be utterly insignificant. One would think that, before England searches for new fields of enterprise, she had almost to possible range of hers, she has not to look towards the cultivation of the rich country which she already possesses in the East, whilst Russia, occupied in conquering and developing a land capable of producing corn, cotton, silk, tobacco, sugar, and opium, and rich in silver, lead, copper, iron, and coal, may well remain for a long time looking about for a field.

But the material antagonisms are belied by the fact. Russia's

jealousy for her monopoly of the trade of Central Asia is kept in a continual ferment by the appearance every now and then of English intruders in lands which she has marked for her own; and India for many years has not ceased to be disquieted by the phantom of a Russian attack, and the more substantial danger of Russian intrigue. This anxiety on both sides may have some ground to rest on, or it may be utterly vain; but that it results in a very real injury to us there can be no doubt whatever. The vague idea of a coming trial of strength between the English and the Russians, by encouraging disaffection, by checking the growth of a spirit of contentment, by its tendency to be continually lessening the value of that moral hold which it is so important for us to have over the minds of the natives, is the source of more expense, weakness, and danger than anything else in the political condition of India.

We need not search deep into history for the foundation of the fears and aspirations caused in India by Russia's presence in Central Asia, and we shall not have to go much farther to find how unsound that foundation is. All the conquerors of Hindustan, before ourselves, came out of the North-West. Thence came the Hurlus who first subdued the aborigines of the land, thence came Alexander; thence came the two Mahometan dynasties which successively ruled at Delhi, and thence came the devastator Nadir Shah. If Lord Clarendon, in the House of Lords, compared the encroachments of Russia in Europe to those of the Huns and Vandals on the empire of ancient Rome, it is not surprising that less discriminating politicians in Paris or Berlin should see another Baber in the Czar. Moreover the statesmen of the French, who have at the present crisis of our struggle for empire in the East, suggested the probability of another of the great military Powers of Europe challenging our right to hold the prize. The last remnants of the French corps had scarcely vanished from amidst the ranks of our enemies when the form of Russia was first seen looming on the distant horizon. It was not unnatural that people should believe she was coming to fill the place lately yielded by France.

But any analogy between the Russians and either the former conquerors of India, or the French who were our early rivals there, is merely fanciful. The hosts which broke up the old Empires of India invaded the country either for the sake of making a plundering raid or with a view to migrate. Which of these objects is likely to tempt the Russians to such an enterprise? An attack on India by land would now-a-days be much too costly an undertaking to be compensated by all the movable treasure which could possibly be carried off, and it is little likely that the Czar will exchange his capital near the Baltic for one on the banks of the Jumna, or by the shores of the Bay of Bengal. The only object which Russia could have in an invasion of India would be to occupy and hold it as a province; and the impossibility of her doing this until she has opened out the whole country from Moscow to Peshawur by railways, or until her flag is supreme at sea, ought to reassure those minds which are oppressed by the expectation of a Russian invasion of Hindustan.

Again, we now stand towards Russia in Asia on widely different terms than those under which we formerly met the French. They entered the field simultaneously with us, and at the same point. She, coming from another direction, finds us already firmly established in India. For a during a great part of the whole period of her rivalry with us in the East was engaged in deadly warfare with our nation at home.

Russia, on the contrary, is, except on the Eastern Question, friendly towards us.

A cursory examination of facts will show that it was we who took the lead in assuming the present hostile bearing of the two countries towards each other in Asia. It must be borne in mind that in those days her frontiers and ours were much farther apart than they are now. Russia was then only beginning to establish her power on the Caspian Sea, and the subjection of the Khanates of the Lesser Horde was far from complete. We, on the other hand, had not yet passed the Sutlej. Immediately on our frontier lay the vigorous kingdom of the Punjaub and the weak Principalities of Scinde; beyond lay the wild and distracted country of Afghanistan, and further on the small independent State of Herat. Westward again of Herat was the powerful Empire of Persia, conterminous on part of her western frontier with Russia. To the north-west of Herat stretched the States of Bokhara and Khiva, the latter of which bordered on the Caspian Sea, and marched with a Russian province. Thus we may consider that what the Punjaub then was to us, Persia was to Russia, and what Scinde was to us Khiva was to her; whilst Bokhara bore much the same geographical position with regard to her as Afghanistan did towards India.

Before the time to which I am proceeding to refer, viz. that of the Afghan war, when the relations of the two countries became permanently hostile, the progress of advance on each side had been very slow. In the year 1814 Russia and Persia were parties to the Treaty of Teheran, and were even engaged in war, which was followed by a treaty between Persia and a European Power, to which we were not parties. It is true that this treaty was in intention chiefly directed against France, and that when Persia afterwards took up arms against Russia, we withheld our aid on the plea that she was the aggressor. Still the Russian Government, at the commencement of the war, had cause to fear that our aid would be given to their enemy, and they accordingly protested against such a course. That they had some ground for complaint against us in the matter will scarcely be denied by anyone who will take the trouble to imagine the position reversed, and that Russia, previously to our Sutlej campaign, had promised to aid the Sikhs with men and money in any war in which they might engage against a European Power. Let us now turn to the Afghan war. In 1838 we invaded Afghanistan with the ostensible purpose, as proclaimed in our Governor-General's manifesto, of securing on our western frontier an ally who should be interested in resisting aggression, in place of chiefs ranging themselves in subservience to a foreign Power. That Russia was the Power principally intended, whose designs were to be thwarted and whose influence was to be impaired, no one, officials or other, took the trouble to conceal. And so thoroughly was this acknowledged, that the agitation which affected men's minds in India at that time became, and has ever since remained, known as Russophobia. In fact the Cabul expedition was virtually as much a hostile movement against Russia as was that which we afterwards sent to the Crimea. Our cause for the war lay in two acts committed by Russia, and it is remarkable that we had committed an act precisely similar to one of these only a few months before, and that only a few months afterwards, with an Power professedly friendly to Russia, we committed an act of the same kind as the other, only in a greater degree liable to arouse suspicion.

Russia's first offence was her supposed connivance at the Persian expedition against Herat. Sir J. MacNeill, our Minister at Teheran at the time, gave his opinion that the atrocities committed by Shah Kamran, the ruler of Herat, on Persian subjects, fully justified an expedition to chastise him. Nevertheless it need not be disputed that the siege of Herat by a Persian army was justly looked upon by us as objectionable; and it may also be granted that the Shah really was encouraged to undertake it by the Russian Minister at his Court. Did this justify our striking a blow at Russia, by attacking a nation which was the hereditary foe of Persia, and which had nothing whatever to do with the expedition against Herat? Turn the tables again, and see what would have been the aspect of our own action if adopted towards us by Russia. In 1834 Runjeet Singh, Maharajah of the Punjaub, annexed the Afghan province of Peshawur. He was then quite as much under English influence as the Shah was under that of Russia. At Teheran there was an English embassy, which, though it could not supplant that of the Czar in the first place in the favour of the Persian Government, was not unsupported by a respectable party. At Lahore there was no Russian agent to whisper suspicions or promises which might induce the wily old Lion of the Punjaub for one moment to waver in his public friendship for the English. Persia, it was thought, was a high road along which a Russian army might any day march without let or hindrance towards our frontiers. But in 1842 an English army actually did march across the Punjaub on its way to Cabul. Peshawur was only a few miles farther from the Russian frontier than Herat was from that of India. If, therefore, we chose to regard the Shah's attack on Herat as a danger incurred by the influence of Russia, it is difficult to understand by what reasoning we could have denied to the Russians the right of looking upon the annexation of Peshawur by Runjeet Singh as a dangerous extension of ours. The Government of India had plainly shown that it approved of Runjeet Singh's aggression, and had, in the most haughty terms, refused Dost Mohammed's request that we should mediate for its restoration to him. Here was a case essentially analogous to the Herat affair. But had the Russian Minister protested against our encouragement of Runjeet Singh, we doubt whether he would have met from Lord Palmerston with so friendly an answer as our Ambassador received from the Czar's Government about Herat. And had Russia then sent a force into Bokhara, with a declared intention of injuring England, we should certainly have had, to say the least, a stronger ground for suspecting her ultimate designs towards us than any she actually had given us before our invasion of Afghanistan.

The second offence of which we complained was the mission of a Russian officer to Cabul. Now, it may be remarked in passing, that in the month previous to that in which Captain Vitkewich arrived in Cabul, Lieutenant Pottinger had arrived at Herat. To say nothing of that, however, if it were wrong in Russia to send an envoy to Dost Mohammed in 1837, how could it be right in us to send an envoy to the Khan of Khiva, the State which was to Russia what Scinde was to us in 1839? Whatever had been our object in the mean time, Russia had done nothing to lessen the friendship between us and herself. On the contrary, she had disavowed Vitkewich, and expressed disapproval of the Herat expedition. Her attack on Khiva had not then taken place, and though no doubt it was in contemplation, yet its original object, the release of Russian subjects held in

slavery by the Khivans, was perfectly legitimate, and was indeed the ostensible purpose of Captain Abbott's mission.

Embassies, however, may differ very widely according to the ends they seek. Let us compare those of Vitkewich and Abbott in this respect. The former was sent by his Government professedly on a purely commercial mission, but he actually entered into political arrangements adverse to our influence in Afghanistan. The latter was sent to endeavour to obtain a concession in which Russia only was interested, and in which she had not asked our help, but failing in this, he concluded an alliance offensive and defensive with the Khan! It is true that we repudiated what Abbott did in excess of his instructions, but it is equally true that the Russian Government did the same by Vitkewich.

Ever since that disastrous epoch there has been distrust and jealousy between the Russians and English in Asia. They fear our coming to share the commerce of Central Asia, which they look upon as their own. We suspect their intrigues amongst our native subjects. We probably do not know enough of our neighbour's concerns to be aware of all the trouble which their rivalry causes her amongst the hostile tribes with which she has to deal; though we now and then see an unmistakable sign of it, as, for instance, when the Khan of Khiva sent an ambassador to seek the help of Lord Lawrence. But its ill effects on our rule in India are only too patent to be seen in a general unsettled feeling amongst the most dangerous classes, in inflammatory writings in native newspapers, exhibitions in native theatres, intrigues at native courts, and disturbances on the frontier. The panic prevalent among Europeans in India last, that Mahometan fanaticism at present is confined to a small internal

commotion in that country is most likely to arise. If things had been allowed to follow their natural bent, we might have hoped that the religious enthusiasm of Holy Russia would have been a strong support to us in *this* danger at any rate. But Eastern politics have been so warped, that the Wahabees, from Calcutta to Swat, actually look for help against the Christian rulers of India to the Head of the Greek Church, the threatening foe of the Sultan of Roum, the oppressor of believers throughout Central Asia.

Many persons think that the nearer Russia approaches to our frontier, the more we shall suffer in this way from her presence. But the very reverse of this is likely to be the case, even though we persist in our present attitude of jealousy towards her; whilst, if we openly show that we welcome her advances, we shall certainly gain much by having a strong and settled Government beyond the wild tribes on our border. For what hopes can Russia, or those who pretend to speak for her, hold out to the disaffected in India? Not national independence, and a restoration of native dynasties, no native of India would credit any nation, Asiatic or European—least of any the all-conquering Russ—with such disinterested intentions as this. All that the natives of India can look forward to is a change of masters. And it may safely be predicted that the more closely they can examine the character of Muscovite dominion, the less they will like it. At present distance lends enchantment to the view, but when numbers of adventurers of all classes shall every day pass to and fro between the Russian frontiers and the villages of North-Western India in search of military employment or commercial gain, the mass of our native subjects will learn to feel contentment with their present lot by contrast with that of their Russianised

neighbours, and will not easily be misled, as they now are, by the flattering pictures drawn by would-be disturbers of our rule.

I have thus shown that British India stands in no danger from the progress of Russia, but that on the contrary danger and trouble are caused by our opposition to that progress. I have now not only disposed of one reason for our present policy with respect to Turkey, but I have at the same time increased the responsibility resting on those who would put forward the last argument in favour of that policy which we have to consider, for when both the necessity of keeping open the communication with India and the danger of Russian progress in the East as affecting our Indian Empire itself

The possession of the Dardanelles by any other great Power in Europe than Turkey would undoubtedly place in Indian peace and war in the power of that Power. But does the existence of this power really lead to the conclusion that the safety of our most valuable Empire requires the maintenance of the Turkish Empire? We

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

neighbours, and will not easily be misled, as they now are, by the flattering pictures drawn by would-be disturbers of our rule.

I have thus shown that British India stands in no danger from the progress of Russia, but that on the contrary danger and trouble are caused by our opposition to that progress. I have not now only disproved one reason for our present policy with respect to Turkey, but I have at the same time increased the [illegible] resting on those who would put forward the last argument in favour of that policy which we have to consider, for whose sake [illegible] the necessity of [illegible] would be [illegible] every part of the Ottoman dominions [illegible] as [illegible] that these [illegible] [illegible] interests [illegible] and profuse expenditure of blood and treasure in Europe, [illegible] lack of a real support and [illegible] ance of a real weakness [illegible] Russia itself.

The possession of the Dardanelles [illegible] by any other great Power [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

ADAMNÁN'S VISION.

THE original of the following piece is found in pp. 27*a*–31*b* of the *Lebor na hUidhre* ('Book of the Dun Cow'), a manuscript in the library of the Royal Irish Academy, the scribe of which was murdered at Clonmacnois in the year 1106.

There are two other copies of Adamnán's Vision—one in the *Leabhar Breace*, a manuscript of the fifteenth century, also in the Academy's library; another in the Bibliothèque Impériale, Ancien Fond, No. 8175. Extracts from the *Leabhar Breace* copy are printed in O'Donovan's Grammar, pp. 119, 341, 349, 350, 370, 381, 382, 440—442, and in Petrie's *Round Towers*, p. 439. The first two sentences of the copy now translated are a paraphrase of Psal. cxlvi. 5, 6, and the piece may be regarded as a sermon on that text. It has, however, some literary merit, and is, besides, one of the strangest of those mediæval visions which begin with that of the Irish saint Fursæ and culminate in the *Divina Commedia*.

Though the Old-Irish tenses are, as a rule, well understood, the language of our Vision is marked by many of the characteristics of Middle-Irish—contractions and in declension [illegible] for [illegible], and [illegible], in prostheses of [illegible] and other such corruptions which, though now be specified. The [illegible] cannot therefore be older than the eleventh century. Its composition has been ascribed to Adamnán, the ninth abbot of Iona, who died in the year 704. But at such a [illegible] first, from the [illegible] above [illegible] and from the [illegible] known in Ireland until after 703; thirdly, from his reference to the imperial edict of donation, a forgery (according to Muratori) of the period between 755 and 766; and fourthly, from his anachronism about the meeting at which Irish women were freed from liability to go to battle.

In the translation everything has been sacrificed to literalness.

MAC DA CHERDA.

ADAMNAN'S VISION THIS BELOW.

High and admirable is the Lord of Elements, and great and marvelous are His power and His might. He is gentle and He is kindly, He is merciful and He is loving; for He calls up to Him unto Heaven the folk of charity and of mercy, of gentleness and of forgivingness. But He hurls down and prostrates to Hell the [illegible] of cursing. Hidden things [illegible] diverse rewards of Heaven He gives to the Blessed, and He bestows many diverse torments on the [illegible] of Death.

Now (there were) multitudes [illegible] of just ones of the [illegible] of the Ancients and of Apostles, disciples of Jesus Christ unto [illegible] were shown mysteries and [illegible] things of the kingdom of Heaven [illegible] that were, and the allegorical [illegible] of the Last, and unto [illegible] he was shown Hell [illegible] torments with those that are [illegible] The Atlantic Peter saith was [illegible] the large-eyed vessel [illegible] let down from Heaven [illegible] more sweeter [illegible] more than [illegible] of it [illegible] Paul, after [illegible] the [illegible] heaven, and [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

in that great glory until the Great Meeting of Doom, so that on the Day of the Judgment the Righteous Breenon may range them in the stations and in the places wherein they shall abide beholding God's countenance without veil, without shadow between them (and time) through the ages of ages.

But the very great and though vast are the space and the distance that are in the Land of Saints as we have said, vaster a thousand times the splendour that is in a plain of Heaven's family around the Throne of the Lord Himself. Thus, then, is that store, as a carved chair with four columns of precious stone beneath it. Yea though there should not be rapture to anyone save the harmonious singing together of the four colours, even so, to Him there were of glory and of desirableness. Three noble Birds in the court before the King and their music on their Creator ever that is their office. They likewise celebrate the eight hours of prayer, praising and magnifying the Lord, with chanting of Arcmanach's coming thereon.

From the birds, then, and from the Archangels (as) the beginning of the prayers, and there after answer them all Heaven's family, both Saints and holy Angels.

A vast Arch, furthermore, above the head of the Dignified Ones. His royal star, like an astral heart or a huge diadem. If human eyes saw it they would melt away forthwith.

Twelve Zones all around Him between them and the host, and what is they are so named by setting-feet.

Six thousand of the guards with shapes of horses and of birds around

the fiery chair flaming without limit without end.

Then, to tell of the mighty Lord who is in that throne cometh not unto any one unless He Himself should desire, or unless He should speak unto the ranks of Heaven. For none will behold His Majesty and His strength, His radiance and His exceeding clearness, His splendour and His desirableness, His mercy and His tenderness, the multitude of His Angels and Archangels chanting music to Him. His multitudinous messengers to Him and from Him with exceeding best answers to every troop in turn, His sweetness and His great gentleness towards one, His roughness and His great severity towards other folk of them.

If anyone were always holding Him, around Him, from East and from West, from South and from North, he will find on every side with Him a face more comely, more brilliant seven times than is the sun. Yea, he will not see a man's form on Him of human nature of flesh, but as a fiery cloud burning throughout the universe, and every one in trembling and in terror before Him. And all of His might are Heaven and Earth, and radiance like a huge star all around Him. Three thousand diverse colours (there are) of every colour that is in clothes belonging unto Him. Sweeter than the many melodies of the world is every single melody of themselves apart.

His City, then wherein is that throne, to tell it, and every gaseous wall with thirty towers around it. Better is each wall than the other. The pinnacles and the towers of the City are all wrought with the same costly stones as in it, made

[1] The ... [illegible] ... Book of Leinster, 115
... [illegible] ...
... [illegible] ...
[2] ... [illegible] ... probably

[illegible] charge of [illegible] triple and [illegible]

[illegible] A [illegible] very much, very great [illegible] with [illegible] and [illegible] [illegible] with [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

sinners across their faces and across their eyes. A fiery river, moreover, hath been set, with great flame thereon, before that door. Abersetus, sooth, the name of the angel tending that river, which tries and washes the souls of the saints from the measure of guilt that cleaves to them, so that they become as pure and as bright as the splendour of a star. There, likewise, hath been set a shining well with bloom and odour to cleanse and purify the souls of the just. It raveneth, however, and burneth the sinners' souls and taketh nought from them, but it is an increase of pain and penance that cometh to them there. And then thereout arise the sinners with sorrow and full great gloom, the just, however, with delight and joyousness, to the gate of the third heaven.

A fiery furnace likewise, flaming continually, is there. Twelve thousand cubits it is that its flame reaches aloft. Then the souls of the righteous fare through that furnace in the twinkling of an eye. It bakes, however, and burns there the sinners' souls to the end of twelve years. Thereafter the angel of fellowship takes them to the fourth gate.

Thus, then, is the gate of entrance of the fourth heaven, and a fiery river around it like the river aforesaid. A wall flaming likewise surrounds it, the breadth of its fire is measured at twelve thousand cubits. Howbeit, the souls of the righteous pass over it as if it were not at all, and it detains the souls of the sinners for a time of twelve years, in wretchedness and in punishment, until the angel of fellowship takes them to the gate of the fifth heaven.

A fiery river moreover is there also, but different is it from the other rivers, for there is an especial whirlpool in the midst of that river, and it whirls the souls of the sinners round and round,[1] and holds them to the end of sixteen years. Howbeit, the righteous fare over it forthwith without any delay. When afterwards it is time to release the sinners thereout, the angel smites the river with a hard rod with a stony nature, and lifts the souls up at the end of the rod. Thereafter, too, Michael bears the souls to the gate of the sixth heaven.

However, it is not told (that there) is pain or punishment for the souls in that gate, but they are illumined there by a light and radiance of precious stones. Then Michael passeth thereafter to the angel of the Trinity, and they both show forth the soul in the presence of God.

Huge, then, and innumerable the welcome of Heaven's family and of the Lord Himself to the soul at that time if she be innocent, righteous. If, however, the soul be unrighteous, and if she be imperfect, she getteth roughness and bitterness from the mighty Lord, and He saith to Heaven's angels, 'Seize with you, oh Heaven's angels, this impious soul, and bestow her into Lucifer's hand to drown her and to hide her away in Hell's deep for ever and ever.'[2]

There then is severed that wretched soul, fearfully and bitterly and horribly, from the presence of Heaven's kingdom and of God's countenance. It is there, too, she casts forth the sigh that is heavier than every sigh at coming into the Devil's presence after beholding the delight of Heaven's kingdom. It is there she is severed from the safe-keeping of the Archangels with whom she

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[1] Cf. *Inferno*, v. 22

C'mo fa l'orcolo la sovra Caribi:
E se fra gente sua posa incontra s'intoppe,
E se vuole uscire e, a gridi e a pianti.

[2] Cf. 'Seize ye him and drag him into the misère.' *Aswan*, sura xliv. 47.

came to Heaven, and it is there, also, the twelve fiery dragons swallow every soul, each after the other, so that the uttermost dragon puts her from him into the Devil's mouth It is then she gets all-fulness of every evil with the Devil's presence for ever and ever.

Now when the angel of fellowship had shown to Adamnan's soul these visions of Heaven's kingdom and the first adventures of every soul after coming from her body, thereafter she took her with him to visit lower Hell with the abundance of its pains and its tortures and its punishments.

This then is the first land whereto he came A land black, scorched (is) it, bare, seared, without torture there at all A glen full of fire on the hither side of it. A vast flame there that comes over its brinks on every side Black (is) its lowest part. Red its middle and its upper part. Eight monsters there, their eyes like berry gleeds.

A vast Bridge besides, across that glen It stretches from the one brink to (the) other High its middle part, low, however, its two extremities. Three hosts endeavouring to wend across it and not all pass. A host of them, broad for them is the bridge from beginning to end, so that they go all safe, without terror, without dread, over the fiery glen. Another host faring towards it, narrow it is for them at the beginning, but broad at the end, so that afterwards they thus go over the same glen after great peril The last host, however, broad for them at the beginning is the bridge, narrow and strait at the end, so that they fall from the middle of it into the same glen perilous, into the throats of the eight red-hot monsters there who make their abode in the glen [1]

These are the people for whom that way was easy; folk of chastity, folk of devout penitence, folk of red martyrdom [2] willingly suffered for God. These, then, are the crowd

[1] The bridge has already been compared by M Pictet (*Origines indo-européennes*, ii. 911) with the Avestic *pereto* (bridge of the gatherer) of the Zend Avesta, which the souls of the just can pass while the wicked fall down from it into Hell (see Haug's *Essays on the Sacred Language of the Parsees* pp 156, 169, 213, 216, 218, 264, Bleeck's 'Account of the Arddi of Adarnah in Traveller's Record April 25, 1819, and Justus Hasselt's *Leven van Zoodspoken*, 1811) M Pictet also mentions the bridge over Gehenna which Hermas is made to reserve Basilides from Hell of the 'Bridge of paradise' *See Cassian Conl. Monastery* 13 ii 360, and see Grimm, *Deutsche Mythologie*, 3te Ausg 794. Mannhardt *Baumkultus der Germanen* 1875, p 331 Ideler, *Le Livre des Hermes*, pp 24, 52, 66, and Sale's Koran, 65 The bridge in Fra Alberico's vision more like that in Adamnán's 'He saw here a great burning pitchy river, coming from hell, and an iron bridge over it, which appeared very broad and easy for the virtuous to pass, but when sinners attempted it it became narrow as a thread, and they fell over into the river, and afterwards attempted it again but were not allowed to pass until they had been sufficiently purged by pains' (Thos Forester's Translation, London, 1854, p 33) No mention of the bridge in the Purgo of St Patrick as far as I have seen Mandeville 118—120 According to this book, after having been a thousand years in the fire of Purgatory that is the duration of Lammas day, on the commemoration of the holy martyrs all are taken away from Hell to Paradise for ever Now happy, now, is the soul of him who they get out from Hell but to endure longer, and great fear and great woe It is they that are thereafter to come to the Judgment Now a soul of heavy yearning ages Mourn not to the cry of the souls, weeping and wailing now and lamentation of those awful fires there, at the longing of them to be out of it They will at thereafter a more loathsome longing unto fires of great fire before the King of Hell in the Glen of Peace, a place wherein they shall have heavy punishments

[2] Red martyrdom This is the red martyrdom to endure a cross and death for Christ as he endured in the agonies in the evil ones power and at the hands of God's foes (Cassian, Rome, Jerom, seqq, where blue-martyr ('white martyrdom') and glass-martyr ('blue martyrdom') are also explained.

wail and to the lamentation of the souls in wretchedness and complaining to the Lord about the coming to them of the Day of Doom swiftly, if perchance they might get any coolness in the Judgment, for until Doom they get not any rest save three hours every Sunday[1]! Woe (to him) unto whom that land were a rightful heritage for ever! For thus it is. Fells hollow, thorny there: plains bare then, they are parched: and lochs stinking, monsterful: ground rough, sandy, it is exceeding rugged, icy; flagstones broad, fiery, amidst it: seas great with awful storms, wherein are the Devil's resort and abode continually. Four vast rivers[2] across the middle of it. A river of fire, a snowy river, a poisonous river, a river of black dark water. In them it is that the vehement hosts of the fiends bathe themselves after their fair and their sport in torturing the souls.

Now when the holy hosts of Heaven's family sing the harmonious choirsong of the eight times of prayer,[3] joyfully and blithely praising the Lord, it is then the souls make shouts wretched, miserable, at the striking of them without pause by the troops of the fiends.

Those then are the tortures and the punishments which the Angel of fellowship showed unto Adamnán's soul after visiting the kingdom of Heaven.

Then the soul was borne in the twinkling of an eye through the golden portico[4] and through the glassen veil to the Land of Saints, into which she was first taken when she left her body.

Then when she bent her mind on staying and on tarrying in that Land, she heard behind her through the veil the voice of the Angel who was ordering her to fare back again to the same body whence she had come, and to relate in meetings and assemblies, and in gatherings of laymen and clerics, Heaven's rewards and Hell's pains, as the Angel of fellowship had shown unto her.

This, then, is the teaching that Adamnán was wont to use to the hosts from that time forth whilst he was in his life.

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[1] See *Old English Homilies*, 1st series, p. 44, for a legend of St. Paul and Michael the Archangel hearing from the Lord rest for the souls in hell 'from sunnan-æfen æfenlic a tha cume mon-dæges morgenlic.'

[2] *Cothri uerbis*, a reminiscence, perhaps, of the classical four (Phlegethon, Styx, Acheron, Cocytus), which both Dante and Milton have recognised in their geography of Hell, and with which the ninth canto of the Liber Hymnorum (vol. Todd p. 114) was slightly acquainted. 'The four rivers around Mount Zion bearing the souls' are mentioned in LU. 104. So in the Tripartite Life, Eg. 92, as one strikes round them and ab

[3] The eight canonical hours are also mentioned above. They were matins, prime, terce, sext, none, vespers, compline, nocturns

[4] *Irdam*, Cormac's *airdam* gen. *airdma*, seems to have been in the Irish ecclesiastical architecture what the *pronaos* or *narthex* was in the Greek. If so, there were three doors from it into the nave and through these the saints might well perceive the family of heaven. See Petrie's *Round Towers*, 424, and Reeves' *Columba*, 344n.

[5] The Irish manuscripts commonly called the *Canons of Adamnan*, of which three are preserved in the Bodleian, Rawl. 512, p. 305, and in the Burgundian Library. The Bodleian copy begins thus: 'Five periods from Christ's birth, to wit from Adam to the Flood, from the Flood to Abraham, from Abraham to David: from David to the Captivity in Babylon: from the Captivity of Babylon to Christ's birth. When were in slavery and in trespass at that time all Adam's race of Roman the same.' The woman that was beaten for men not to be beaten, 'her waist of land on one side of her, her baby on the other side, her house at her back, thirty feet in height, a house of iron at one end thereof, the which she used to put on the trees of the other women, into the

was set on the Gael and when the women were freed by Adamnán and by Finnachta the Festive,[1] the king of Erin, and by the chiefs of Erin moreover

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This, then, is the teaching that Peter and Paul, and the Apostles besides, oftenest made. To wit, pains and rewards to relate, for they had been shown unto them in the same wise.

This then did Sylvester, Abbot of Rome, to Constantine son of Helena, chief king of the world, in the great meeting when he granted[3] the Rome[4] to Paul and to Peter.

Thus then is what Fabian,[5] Peter's successor, did for Philip, son of Gordian, for the king of the Romans, when he believed in the Lord and when many other thousands believed at that time This is the first king of the Romans who believed in the Saviour Jesus Christ[6]

These are the tidings which Eli is wont to relate to the souls of the righteous, and he under the Tree of Life in Paradise[7] Then from the time that Eli opens the book to teach the souls, come there the souls of the righteous in shapes of pure-white birds[8] to him from every point. He relates to them then first the rewards of the righteous, delightfulness and pleasures of Heaven's kingdom, and they are right glad at that time. Thereafter he relates to them Hell's pains and punishments and the orders of the Day of Doom; and greatly manifest is a countenance of sorrow upon

other battle her husband beside her, a hedge-stake in his hand, beating her to battle The Mac Firbis tale at length how Adamnán's mother extorted from him a promise to exempt women from military service. See Petrie's *Tara*, p. 147, Reeves' *Columba*, p. 179.

[1] Finnachta the Festive was *ardri* of Ireland from 675 to 695 The date of the synod and Adamnán's law was 697, two years after Finnachta's death Dr Reeves (*Columba*, p. 179) has already pointed out the anachronism here committed by the author of the Vision

[2] *Patrick son of Calpurn* So in Fiacc's hymn, 4, *maccalpurn* (i. e. *filii succedens*) *mac* Calpurn Patrick's father's name also in Muirchu's Life, Book i. chap. 4 Conchessa was his mother's name also in Muirchu's Life, Book i. chap. 4 She is called Conchessa daughter of Ochtae of Gaul, in the Tripartite Life, p. 11

[3] See on the subject of the grant of power over purgatory and Constantine's gift of Rome *to Peter*, Mirabilia Urbis Romae, p. 17 and Marucchi's *Basiliche e Chiese di Roma*, p. 87 The legend of the Donation is told in the Book of Lismore (Stokes' Lismore Lectures, p. 18, Jan 28) Constantine's leprosy and his baptism by the great Pope Sylvester prevail in the Irish version, but the story was of course widely known throughout Europe. Peter and Paul appear to him in a vision, and bid him send for Sylvester, who is then living in concealment on Mount Soracte. He sends messengers, who bring Sylvester to Rome, where he heals the emperor of his leprosy, and baptizes him. Constantine then grants to Sylvester the city of Rome, and all Italy and the West, and himself goes to Byzantium, which he founds as the capital of the Eastern Empire

[4] *Rome* Or, as the Irish text has it, *Rome of the Virgins*, a name for Rome which is found in the Book of Armagh, fol. 16 a 2, and in the Martyrology of Oengus at Jan 28 Constantine's leprosy and his baptism in the great font of Rome prevail in the Irish version, but the story was of course widely known throughout Europe. Peter and Paul appear to him in a vision, and bid him send for Sylvester, who is then living in concealment on Mount Soracte. He sends messengers, who bring Sylvester to Rome, where he heals the emperor of his leprosy, and baptizes him. Constantine then grants to Sylvester the city of Rome, and all Italy and the West, and himself goes to Byzantium, which he founds as the capital of the Eastern Empire

[5] *Fabian* [illegible] Fabian was martyred under Decius A.D. 249 *Philip* [illegible] Philip was Emperor of Rome A.D. 244 to 249, and the second in the year 247, and was murdered A.D. 244

[6] [illegible]

[7] [illegible] Paradise [illegible] Rev. xxii. 2, 14 As to [illegible] Matt. xxv. 31 [illegible] Rev. xxii. 2 [illegible]

[8] [illegible] Doves, Matt. iii. 16 [illegible]

wail and to the lamentation of the souls in wretchedness and complaining to the Lord about the coming to them of the Day of Doom swiftly, if perchance they might get any coolness in the Judgment, for until Doom they get not any rest save three hours every Sunday[1]! Woe (to him) unto whom that land were a rightful heritage for ever! For thus it is. Fells hollow, thorny there: plains bare then, they are parched: and lochs stinking, monsterful: ground rough, sandy, it is exceeding rugged, icy; flagstones broad, fiery, amidst it: seas great with awful storms, wherein are the Devil's resort and abode continually. Four vast rivers[2] across the middle of it. A river of fire, a snowy river, a poisonous river, a river of black dark water. In them it is that the vehement hosts of the fiends bathe themselves after their fair and their sport in torturing the souls.

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[1] See *Old English Homilies*, 1st series, p. 44, for a legend of St. Paul and Michael the Archangel 'leaving from the Lord rest for the souls in hell' from noon on saturday a tha come monday morning.'

[2] *Cóiced uisci*, a reminiscence, perhaps of the classical four (Phlegethon, Styx, Acheron, Cocytus), which both Dante and Milton have recognised in their geography of Hell, and with which the last canto on the Later Hymn-form (Todd p. 334) was slightly acquainted. 'The four rivers around Mount Zion bearing the souls' are mentioned in LU. 10a. So in the Tripartite Life, Eg. 92a. as also are the 'cruel immense lake.'

[3] The eight canonical hours are also mentioned above. They were matins, prime, terce, sext, none, vespers, compline, nocturn.

[4] *Erdam*, Cormac's *airdam* gen. *airdma*, seems to have been in the Irish ecclesiastical architecture what the *propylæum* or *narthex* was in the Greek. If so, there were three doors from it into the nave, and through these the saints might well perceive the family of heaven. See Petrie's *Round Towers*, 424, and Reeves' *Columba*, 324a.

[5] 'Book of Adamnán commonly called the *Cain Adamnáin*, of which copies are preserved in the Bodleian Rawl. 502, p. 305, and in the Burgundian Library. The Bodleian copy begins thus: Five periods before Christ's birth, to wit from Adam to the Flood, from the Flood to Abraham, from Abraham to David: from David to the Captivity in Babylon: from the Captivity in Babylon to Christ's birth. Women were in slavery and in oppression at that time till Adamnán established Roman *Ius*. came.' The woman that was beaten by women [illegible] *de manaigh* had to go to battle, her wallet of food on one side of her, her baby on the other side, her lance at her back, thirty feet in height, a coat of iron at once and shoes, the which she used to put on the trees of the other women, into the

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[2] *Patrick son of Calpurn.* From Fiacc's hymn, 4, *maccalpurn* (i. qui *fuit* succubus) *macc* [illegible] *dochum colum*. Calpurn was his mother's name also in Muirchú's Life. Bruinech and a kinswoman of S. Martin of Tours: see Todd, *St. Patrick*, pp. 114, 115. Conchessa, daughter of Ochiam of Gaul, in the Tripartite Life, p. [illegible].

[3] *Granted the Rome.* Both Fiacc's hymn, 9, *Roimm roscnad*, and Muirchú's Life, p. 337, Todd, *St. Patrick*, p. 114, say that Patrick received Rome from Celestine. Sylvester, Constantine's friend and adviser, is said to have received the Lateran palace from Constantine, and to have built the great church there. Jocelin represents the Lateran palace as being given to Patrick by Celestine, and Sylvester as building a church there. Peter and Paul appear to have taken the place of Celestine and Sylvester, and to have become the chief guardians of Ireland. Sylvester is represented as receiving, not granting, Rome. Apparently, Peter and Paul became the chief guardians of Ireland because they were the guardians of Rome.

[4] *Rome.* [illegible]

[5] *Fabian.* Fabian was martyred on Jan. 20, A.D. 249. *Philippus filius Gordiani.* This is a blunder. Philip was Gordian's murderer, and the son of Gordian the younger, and successor, A.D. 244.

[6] [illegible]

[7] [illegible]

[8] [illegible]

wail and to the lamentation of the souls in wretchedness and complaining to the Lord about the coming to them of the Day of Doom swiftly, if perchance they might get any coolness in the Judgment, for until Doom they get not any rest save three hours every Sunday[1]! Woe (to him) unto whom that land were a rightful heritage for ever! For thus it is. Fells hollow, thorny there: plains bare then, they are parched: and lochs stinking, monsterful: ground rough, sandy, it is exceeding rugged, icy; flagstones broad, fiery, amidst it: seas great with awful storms, wherein are the Devil's resort and abode continually. Four vast rivers[2] across the middle of it. A river of fire, a snowy river, a poisonous river, a river of black dark water. In them it is that the vehement hosts of the fiends bathe themselves after their fair and their sport in torturing the souls.

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[illegible] her husband behind her, a hedge-stake in his hand, beating her to battle. The MS. then tells at length how Adamnan's mother extorted from him a promise to exempt women from such molestations. See Petrie's *Tara*, p. 147; Reeves' *Columba*, p. 379.

[1] Finnachta the Festive was *ardri* of Ireland from 675 to 695. The date of the convention of Adamnán's law was 697, two years after Finnachta's death. Dr. Reeves (*Columba*, ...) has already pointed out the anachronism here committed by the author of the Vision.

[2] *Patrick son of Calpurn.* From Fiacc's hymn, 4, macc Calpurn (i. qui *fuit* succedus) macc Odisi qui Potitus hoc docebat omnes. Odissus was his mother's name, she is said to have been of Britain, and a kinswoman of S. Martin of Tours: see Todd, *St. Patrick*, 113, 114. Potitus and Odissus daughter of Orleans of Gaul, in the Tripartite Life, i. 81.

[3] *Granted the Rome.* Sylvester a primacy over papacy, and Constantine's gift of Rome *to Peter*, see Milman, *History of Latin Christianity*, i. 57. The legend of the Donation is first mentioned in the *Decree* of Gelasius the Great, 496. Constantine's leprosy and his cure by the great Pope Sylvester prevail in the Greek Church; but the story of his conversion, and of Peter and Paul appearing to him, after the persecutor had ordered his execution, and giving under the hand of Christ Sylvester [illegible] were, it appears, learned, and became the chief guard [illegible] to the two Apostles.

[4] *Rome* = [illegible] / 111.

[5] *Fabian* was martyred in the persecution of A.D. 249. *Philip* was [illegible]. This is a [illegible] Arab was the murderer, and the sum of [illegible] eager, and [illegible] A.D. 244.

[6] [illegible] and Eusebius, [illegible] cap. xvi.

[7] [illegible] Paradise [illegible] Apoc. ii. 7, xxii. 2, 14. As to [illegible] Mr. [illegible] Hist. [illegible] Jerome ii. 16, 33.

[8] [illegible] Grimm, [illegible] Myth. [illegible] Thorpe, Northern Mythology, iii. 289. Thus [illegible] Mary [illegible] forms of [illegible] two birds,

himself and upon Enoch, so that those are the Two Sorrows of Heaven's Kingdom. Thereafter He shuts the book, and the birds utter a great cry of lamentation at that time, and beat their wings against their bodies, so that streams of blood come from them for fear of the pains of Hell and of the Day of Doom.

Since, then, it is the meals of the Saints unto whom is appointed eternal possession of the Kingdom of Heaven, that make this latter term, better were it for the men of the world, though it were tears of blood that they shed in lieu of food of Doom-day and the pains of Hell.

It is then the Lord will pay His own wage to everyone in the world, towards to their glory or not; one to the sinners.

For one will put the sinners into a region of eternal pain, into which the flock of these will not enter, but the Judge of Doom for ever.

But the Saints and the Righteous, the folk of charity and of mercy, shall be set on God's right hand to possess for ever the Kingdom of Heaven. To wit: a place wherein they shall be in that great glory without age, without waning, without limit, without end, for ever and ever.

Thus, then, is that City, to wit: a Kingdom without pride, without haughtiness, without falsehood, without blasphemy, without fraud, without pretence, without reddening, without blushing, without disgrace, without deceit, without envy, without pride, without disease, without sickness, without poverty, without nakedness, without desolation, without extinction, without hail, without snow, without wind, without wet, without noise, without thunder, without darkness, without coldness a Kingdom noble, admirable, delightful, with fruitfulness (?), without hurt, with colour of a picture without rust, wherein is delight of every goodness.

Ends. Amen. Finit.

[illegible] of the *Vision of Adamnán*. It [illegible] which also the Saints seek, [illegible] to [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

THE MONASTERY OF ST MILAS

dertaken; and a fine week towards the beginning of August at last afforded the wished-for opportunity.

So in the early dawn, while the waning moon yet glittered above the morning star in the calm slaty sky, we started, a band of five horsemen in all, two negro servants included, bound for the celebrated 'Mariamana,' as the convent is here popularly called; and rode out of Trebizond with the huge bare mass of Boze-Tepeh, or the 'Brown Hill,' once Mount Mithrios, on our right, and the black and brackish pool, entitled by geographical courtesy a sea, on our left. We followed the new road, that, when Turkish engineers shall have learnt the first rudiments of their art, is to render the route between Trebizond and Erzeroom amenable to wheeled carriages instead of the classic caravans that now, as for centuries bygone, alone thread the double mountain pass. For at present the roughest waggon that ever lumbered along a Devonshire lane could not venture on four miles of the Erzeroom track without an unpleasant certainty of being either upset or jolted to shivers on the way. To us, however, on the present occasion this matters little, for Turkish horses are sure-footed as Spanish mules; so on we ride; and after rounding the great corner cliff that, jutting right out on the water's edge, retains the classic-sounding name of Eleusa, we enter on the sandy delta of the Pixytes river, now degraded into the 'Deyermend-Dereh,' or 'Mill-Course' of Turkish nomenclature. Its valley, penetrating south-west far into the mountains, has at all times served as directing line to the great commercial track that, bending eastwards to Erzeroom, brings Kurdistan and Persia into communication with the basin of the Black Sea and Constantinople. Up this valley we now turn, and soon cross a huge barrier-ridge of rolled stones, the joint work of sea and river in glacial times, when the now shrunk torrent was full fed by vast tracts of snow and ice in its parent mountains. And here I may add parenthetically that over all the highland of inner Anatolia, from the Lazistan coast range to the watershed of the Euphrates, I have met with numerous traces of that cold Post-Pliocene epoch, such as furrowed rocks, erratic boulders, rounded prominences, and huge moraines, stretching far down into the plains from the summits that even now, though long since bared of their icy caps by a milder climate, maintain patches of snow all the year through.

Next we thread a pass of remarkable beauty, where picturesque rocks jut out among thick brushwood, or steep slopes, all grass and wild flowers, run high up against the sky; at times the gorge narrows into a ravine, where black volcanic crags barely leave room for the pathway along the right bank of the brawling torrent; while the old traffic-route, despairing of a footing below, passes by the heights several hundred feet overhead. The general type of scenery recalls North Wales, or the Rothen-Thurm pass of the Carpathian district. At last, just as the eastern sun bursts in full light and heat over the fir-crowned mountain tops on our left, we reach a point where the valley expands into a wide marshy plain, thick-planted with maize, while the roadside is lined with rows of Khans, or halting places—long low sheds, with no accommodation to offer beyond shelter from the weather, and the possibility of fire-lighting: some are in good repair; others in various stages of broken roof and crumbling wall, others mere traces. For in Khans, as in every other kind of building, Eastern custom or superstition forbids repair, and prefers to supplement the injuries of time or accident by a new construc-

tum is to alongside, rather than attempt the restoration of the old one once decayed. Hence, among other causes, the frequent vestiges of deserted houses, mosques, and the like, that cumber the lines of traffic everywhere in Eastern Turkey, and convey to the traveller's mind the idea of even more ruin and decay than is really the case, being in fact the symbols of translation as often as of desertion.

Little shops, mixed up with the Arabas, offer eggs, sour apples, coarse tobacco, cigarette paper, matches, nuts, cheese, and such like articles of cheap consumption to the caravan drivers and other passers-by. All around the hillsides, here more moderate in their slope, and patched with corn, maize, and tobacco, are studded with rubble-built cottages, each one at a neighbourly distance from the other, these, taken collectively, form the village of 'Khosh Oghlan,' or the 'Pleasing-Boy.' Such is the name, though who was the individual boy, and in what respect he made himself so particularly agreeable, were vain now to enquire. It is the first stage of the inland journey, as, obedient to the usage of which our attendants have not failed with a broad African grin to remind us, we alight at one of the booths for a cup of coffee, over-roasted and over-boiled as all Turkish coffee is, yet refreshing, and then go on our way. Seven or eight miles more lead us at last up the same 'Beyer-ovasi' valley, past some pretty Swiss-like wooden bridges, and many fine points of mountain view, past the straggling hamlet of 'Yeni-Oghlan' or the 'Son of the Prince'—a Prince and a Son now no less forgotten by history and tradition than the 'Pleasing-Boy' before mentioned—and where, being arrived two Frenchmen, tasked and teased past with their continual demands of the meal-times being usual to their

tribe among strangers, till we reached the high stone arched bridge called of 'Maturajik,' and, crossing by it to the other side of the valley, climb aloft above the torrent as it forces its way through huge clusters of columnar basalt, piled up tier over tier of rusty brown, then descend to the little plain known, as are also the many scattered houses that jut the green or brown mountain sides all round, by the title of 'Jevezlik,' or the 'Place of Walnut-trees': these last stand before us, green and spreading by the water's edge. Here again the road runs the gauntlet between slopes and Arabas, for we have now done eighteen miles, the ordinary day's march of a caravan from Trebizond. Besides, Jevezlik is a place of some note, partly as the residence now of a district sub-governor, formerly of a dreaded 'Derch-Bey,' or 'Lord of the Valley,' a euphemism for Lord of Robberies—but more so from its central position, which renders it the meeting-point of three great tracks, and which would in classic Italy have insured its consecration to 'Diana Trivia': the winter road to Erzeroum, the summer ditto, and the road of Sumsoun or Marsamana. Of these routes, the first follows the main valley south-west up to where it culminates in the far-off snow-flecked summits of Zigana-h, the second, or summer road, scrambles rather than climbs due south across the dreary heights of 'Kara-Kapan,' or 'Black-Covering,' so called, I conjecture from its almost perpetual veil of cloud and mist, whence—but it must have been on an unusually clear day—Mr Layard, if memory serves me right, makes Xenophon and his Greeks shout their Θάλαττα, Θάλαττα, the third path, that which leads to Sumsoun, goes off south-east by a side gorge that here falls into the Devermend valley. The sun is now high and hot, so we halt for a two-o'clock

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the monks to assure you, without too violent a contradiction of your own ocular evidence, that it is not copper, but silver; the costly gift—so continue the same chroniclers—of the famous Sultan Murad IV. himself; who, when on his way from Constantinople to Bagdad to fight the Persians, seems to have led his army—Heaven only knows how or why across the Kolat mountains, and to have encamped, horse, foot, and artillery, on the goat's perch of the ravine here opposite. That Sumelas lies hundreds of miles away from the route which the said Sultan really took, and that Hannibal or Napoleon I. himself would have been puzzled to drag a mammoth field-piece among these precipices, are considerations which matter nothing in legend. Accordingly, so continues the tale, when the ferocious Murad first turned his bloodshot eyes on the convent, he enquired of his Beys and Pashas what that building might be; and, on their answer that it was the abode of Christian monks, gave immediate orders to his artillerymen to batter it down. But lo! no sooner were the cannon pointed at the consecrated edifice than they spun round self-moved, and began firing among the Sultan's own troops. Herein Imperial amazement and further enquiry, met by the information that all this was the doing of the miraculous Virgin, the Panagia, who, or whose picture for in popular orthodox as in Roman devotion the distinction between the symbol and the original is inappreciable to any but a controversialist tenanted the monastery. Murad, deeply impressed, and no wonder, by the miracle and its explanation, at once abandoned his destructive intentions, did due honour to the Panagia and her ministers, and amongst other offerings presented the silver roof in question. Truly he never did anything of the sort, as it is really copper.

Looking up, we now perceive that the rock above, which here overhangs sanctuary and court in an almost threatening manner, supports in one of its darkest recesses a little Byzantine picture, the Theotokos of course. Dingy and faded, till at first sight hardly discernible from the damp stone against which it rests, this painting occupies the exact spot—we have the monks' word for it—where in the fifth century some goatherds discovered the original Panagia, the work of St. Luke, here placed by angelic agency seemingly in order to keep it out of the way. Now, however, it is deposited for more convenient veneration in the sanctuary below, where we will visit it a little later; but the copy has itself, like iron near a magnet, acquired a good share of useful efficacy by juxtaposition. From the rocky brow above, in front of the picture, fall without ceasing drops of water, which to the eyes of faith are always three at a time, neither more nor less; but for all I looked I could not detect any special numerical system in their fall; these drops carefully collected in a little cistern below possess miraculous virtues equal to any recorded of the same element in the veracious pages of Monsegneur Gaume.

While we have been thus gazing and listening, the four church bells, hung outside in a pretty little open belfry of four light columns and graceful arching the work and its costs having been alike furnished by the devotion of a wealthy Russian pilgrim have been ringing a very respectable though untunable peal in honour of our arrival; and the monks invite us to enter the sanctuary without further delay. But it is near sunset, and the monotonous chanting of the priests inside warns us that vespers are even now going on, and the church full of worshippers. Unwilling to disturb the congregation, we defer our visit,

and, adding that we are somewhat tired by our day's journey, we are conducted by our hosts across the courtyard, and up a neat stone staircase to our evening quarters, namely, the chief apartment in the 'new buildings.'

These, completed only three years since, rise seven stages in total height, vaults included, from the precipice below to the bretling crag above, the front faces east, and its white-painted masonry, its four tiers of large square windows, and its handsome open gallery supported on slender stone pilasters that run along the whole length of the topmost storey, are what first attract the admiration of the traveller as he reaches the opposite point of the ravine. The edifice is eight rooms in length and only one in thickness throughout, but the great solidity of the stone work, and the shelter of the hollow rock in which it nestles, neutralise the danger of overweight. From foundation to roof a narrow space, protected from the weather by the wide eaves above, is left between the building and the crag behind, and here winds an ingenious zigzag of galleries and staircases, or stone, that afford entrance to the several chambers of each storey. Beneath, and partly built into the living rock, are cellars and store-caverns to which the monks alone have access, besides a large reservoir of excellent water, fed from the outer face of the inner mountain. The entire work, whether considered in itself or in the difficulties of small ledge and construction where not a spare inch is left of the narrow shelf on which the building stands balanced as it were hundreds of feet in mid-air, is one of no small skill, and its well-considered proportion of wall, window, and gallery, with the just adaptation of every part to the practical purposes of domestic use, claim high constructive praise, and evince a degree of good taste not always to be found among the house-architects of Western Europe. Yet the builders of 'Mariamana' were from no European, not even from the Constantinopolitan school; they were mere indigenous stone-cutters, 'Greek' the most, from the adjoining villages of Koroom, Mejid, and Stavros.

We stroll along the top-storey corridor, the openings of which are guarded by high iron railings, and look across the dizzy depths below, whence rises the ceaseless roar of the Melas torrent, and beyond the dense masses of beech and pine that cluster on the ravine side opposite, to the lonely peaks of Kolat-Dagh, seemingly close in front, and rose-tinted with the last rays of the setting sun. Soon the evening air blows cool, at this elevation — 4,100 feet above the sea, as my aneroid informs me — the night temperature is rarely such as to detain one long out of doors. Five months of the year on an average the convent snow lies unmelted, and for five more of the remaining seven mist and rain are the rule, not the exceptions. The very cats of the establishment, large, tame, and well fed bear witness by their long fur and bushy fox-like tails to the general coldness of the atmosphere in which they live. Still the site is healthy, and in proof of this an old centagenarian monk presents himself to view hale and hearty among his comrades, who, to judge by appearances, are mostly themselves in a fair way to rival his longevity. But besides, absence of care, and indeed of brain-work in general, has all to do with this prolonged and vigorous vitality. Nor have they many privations to endure, except what the numerous fasts and abstinences of their antique ritual impose, the convent is wealthy to a degree that might have long since moved the greed of any but a Turkish Government, while the monks in residence

are not over numerous—fifteen indeed is their average. However, besides its regular inmates, this convent contains also several members of distant monasteries from different parts of Anatolia, Roumelia, and even Syria, sent hither to a quiet retreat, or mitigated prison, or both, thus to expiate some past breach of discipline or to prevent some menaced scandal. Lastly, a large number of the monks though how many my grizzled informant could not, or perhaps would not, say—are scattered on longer or shorter leave of absence without the walls, in quest of the temporal welfare of the community, or superintending the numerous farms belonging to it, some by purchase, more by legacy. For in the Orthodox, no less than in the Latin Church, the passports of the rich to a better world are seldom countersigned 'gratis.' As a natural consequence the hills and havings of the Sumelas Panagia lie thick scattered along the entire South Euxine coast from Trebizond to Constantinople, and bring in revenues sufficient for a moderate-sized duchy. Nor is all this wealth consumed in selfish indulgence, or hoarded up by miserly precaution. While the monks establishes content themselves with the narrow and cranky lodgings of the original convent, the handsome and commodious lodgings of newer construction, the cost of which cannot have fallen short of 4000*l.* at least, are freely abandoned to the great thousand pilgrims or guests who, on a rough calculation pass from twenty-four hours to fifteen days, some more, some less, year by year within these walls, free of board as of shelter. Nor should we forget the neat pathway, solidly constructed and well kept by the same care and cost of the monks, along many difficult miles of mountain ravine, which else would be not only dangerous but almost inaccessible, a path, thanks to the self-taught workmen of Mariamana, now safe, and even, comparatively speaking, commodious—qualities estimable in roads and creditable to the road makers anywhere, most creditable, because most rare, in Anatolia.

Escorted by our hosts we re-enter our night's lodging. The large and handsome room—neat still, because new—is garnished with divans, carpets, and a supplementary stove for cool weather in the centre; over the fireplace hangs conspicuously a pictographic print of Russian manufacture, representing an apocryphal act of Cretan heroism, wherein a priest is enacting, torch in hand, an imitation of 'Old Minotti's' suicidal exploit in Byron's *Siege of Corinth*. Perhaps it is meant as a hint on occasion for the 'Economos' of Sumelas: if so, let us hope that he will be slow to take it. The period of strict abstinence, which among the 'orthodox' precedes the great festival of the Virgin has already commenced, and as the hour for supper draws on, we own to a horrible anticipation of tasting once more, indeed among the eaters of olives and unseasoned vegetables, poor restoratives after a long day's ride. But such treatment of their guests forms no part of our hospitable entertainers programme. Soup, flesh, fowl, eggs, caviare, butter, and so forth, soon cover the table; and the wine, produce of conventual vineyards, is good enough to show how excellent a liquor might be afforded by the Anatolian grape under more skilful culture. Coffee and tea follow, and when time comes to rest we recline on well-stuffed mattresses beneath quilted coverings of silk, embroidered with gold and silver thread not unworthy of the state-bed of Elizabeth at Kenilworth, or of James at Hatfield.

Next morning we pay our promised visit to the church, and entering by the narrow door at the

angle of the sanctuary, to [illegible] which is a basement for [illegible] in large [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

by this document the privileges and exemptions of the Sumelas convent and its possessions; and, amongst other precious tokens of Imperial liberality, bestowed on them the right of defending themselves as best they could against the Turkoman inroads, which the sham empire was unable to check, even at but a day's distance from the capital. At the head of the 'Bull,' a long narrow strip of rolled paper, appear the portraits of Alexius and his wife, the Empress Theodora, holding between them on their joined hands a small model church, much as ecclesiastical donors love to appear in Western monuments of a corresponding age: the characters of the writing are large and fine drawn; the Imperial autograph, in huge red ink letters, sprawls below; but the gold seals once appended have long since disappeared from the foot of the scroll. The most remarkable feature in this memorial of later Byzantine times (published at full length by Fallmereyer in 1843) is the inflated verbosity of the style: a verbosity subsequently adopted with many other vices of the degraded empire by the victorious Ottomans.

Of more real importance, though inferior in antiquity, is the paper next unrolled before our eyes, namely, the firman of the Sultan Selim II., also confirmatory, but this time to good purpose, of all the old monastic rights, privileges, and exemptions. It is remarkable that in this document the handwriting conforms to the stiff and old-fashioned Nashkee of Arab origin, instead of the elegant semi-Persian Divanee of later official use. The quotations from the Koran that garnish it from first to last exemplify a tone frequently adopted by the Osmanlee rulers in their day of power. Certainly no miracle is needed to account for the conversion of this fanatic one in outer association with Turkish and even with Mahometan usage everywhere. The Sumelas monks have, however, a legend ready to hand, and thus it runs: Once on a time Sultan Selim came on a hunting-party to this neighbourhood, and while pursuing his chase up the Melas ravine beheld for the first time the great monastery. To become aware of its existence and resolve its destruction were one and the same thing in the mind of the tyrant. But before he could so much as form his guilty thought into words of command, he was stricken with paralysis, and laid up a helpless sufferer in a village close by. There he might have remained to the end of his wicked life, had not the Panagia graciously appeared to him in a vision, and suggested the expiation of his crime and the simultaneous recovery of his health by means of the document in question, further accompanied by the douceur of the great circular chandelier that we have already seen suspended before the sanctuary; and, to borrow Smith the weaver's logic, the firman and the chandelier are both alive at this day to testify the prodigy: 'therefore deny it not.' Anyhow, the firman of Selim II. proved a more efficacious protection to the monastery and its land than the 'Bull' issued by the Comnenian emperor; and its repeated renewals by succeeding Sultans, from Selim II. to Abd-el-Mejeed, form a complete and not uninstructive series in the Marianana archives, to which we refer the denouncers of Turkish intolerance and Islamitic oppression.

Here were also many other curious documents and manuscripts laid up, say the monks, but a fire which some years since consumed a part of the convent, and pilfering archæological pilgrims, are assigned as the causes of their disappearance. A Greek Testament, supposed to be of great antiquity, was shown us, but the parchen which it is written, and the form of the characters,

bring its date down to the fourteenth or thirteenth century at earliest.

We go the round of what else remains for notice in the cavern—a fine carved reading-desk, eagle-supported, for the lessons of the day, three or four more Panagias, all miraculous, more church-plate; a painted screen, and the like; but these objects have no exceptional interest and we soon find ourselves again in the dazzling sunlight of the paved court outside. Next we roam about the 'old buildings,' timber the most, with huge overhanging eaves, and something of a Swiss cottage appearance. But nowhere do we any inscription, carving, or the like indicate date or circumstance of construction, nor has any diary or 'log-book' of events ever been kept within these walls. The memories of the monks, mere uneducated peasants they, form the only chronicle, and memory, like other mental faculties, has but a narrow range when deadened by the monotonous life that unites age with age in conventual monotony. Little is here known of the past, as it is little is uncertain in speech as it appears plain in detail, if not in substance. Nor has the estate almost ever undergone what, had it taken place, would have been of all other things a sign-mark in its annals—the protestation of the spoiler. Roving bands, Kurds or Turkomans, have indeed been often tempted by the report of hoarded treasures to prowl about the woods of Sumelas, and have cast wistful eyes at the Panagia's rock-perched eyrie, but the narrow path that winds up the precipice is available only at the good-will and permission of the convent authorities themselves, and from all other sides, around, above, the rocks that flap their wings against the sheer crag of a thousand feet and more count as the full access to Maremamara, while a blockade, if attempted, would be infinitely hampered by the capacious store-rooms and cisterns of the fabric. From the Ottoman Government itself the monks, like most of their kind in other parts of the empire, have experienced nothing but protection, or, better still, non-interference, and the freedom of their hospitality, while it does credit to the convent, bears also good witness to its inviolate security. This hospitality is indeed proportioned in some degree to the rank and social position of visitors or pilgrims, but no one is wholly excluded from it, nor is any direct recompense exacted or received from rich or poor, 'Greek' or stranger. Of course the shrine gets its offerings—small ones, as a rule, from Greeks; larger from Russians and Georgians, most munificent in any case when prayers are believed to have been heard. The birth or convalescence of a child contributes to the wealth no less than to the fame of the Panagia. But payment for board and lodging is unknown, however numerous the guests, and however long their stay. Indeed, so scrupulous are the monks regarding the gratuitousness of their welcome, that when, after having deposited our offerings at the church, we visited before leaving the convent, some hours later, to make an additional and more general donation, it was at first absolutely refused, and I was at last only accepted under the assurance that it had been originally meant for the sanctuary, where its presentation at the foot of some shrine or other had been, as I we, unfortunately omitted.

Yet hospitality is after all a virtue that has no necessary connection either with present civilisation or with future progress; one that to fail in is a reproach, but to possess no very high praise. Besides it is, with comparatively rare exceptions, a quality too common in the East for special commendation. Kurdes, Turkomans, Arabs, Armenians and

by this document the privileges and exemptions of the Sumelas convent and its possessions; and, amongst other precious tokens of Imperial liberality, bestowed on them the right of defending themselves as best they could against the Turkoman inroads, which the sham empire was unable to check, even at but a day's distance from the capital. At the head of the 'Bull,' a long narrow strip of rolled paper, appear the portraits of Alexios and his wife, the Empress Theodora, holding between them on their joined hands a small model church, much as ecclesiastical donors love to appear in Western monuments of a corresponding age: the characters of the writing are large and fine drawn; the Imperial autograph, in huge red ink letters, sprawls below; but the gold seals once appended have long since disappeared from the foot of the scroll. The most remarkable feature in this memorial of later Byzantine times (published at full length by Fallmerayer in 1843) is the inflated verbosity of the style: a verbosity subsequently adopted with many other vices of the degraded empire by the victorious Ottomans.

Of more real importance, though inferior in antiquity, is the paper next unrolled before our eyes, namely, the firman of the Sultan Selim II, also confirmatory, but this time to good purpose, of all the old monastic rights, privileges, and exemptions. It is remarkable that in this document the handwriting conforms to the stiff and old-fashioned Naskhee of Arab origin, instead of the elegant semi-Persian Divance of later official use. The quotations from the Koran that garnish it from first to last exemplify a tone frequently adopted by the Osmanlee rulers in their day of power. Certainly no miracle is needed to account for the concession of this favour once in entire accordance with Turkish and even with Mahometan usage everywhere. The Sumelas monks have, however, a legend ready to hand, and thus it runs: Once on a time Sultan Selim came on a hunting-party to this neighbourhood, and while pursuing his chase up the Melas ravine beheld for the first time the great monastery. To become aware of its existence and resolve its destruction were one and the same thing in the mind of the tyrant. But before he could so much as form his guilty thought into words of command, he was stricken with paralysis, and laid up a helpless sufferer in a village close by. There he might have remained to the end of his wicked life, had not the Panagia graciously appeared to him in a vision, and suggested the expiation of his crime and the simultaneous recovery of his health by means of the document in question, further accompanied by the douceur of the great circular chandelier that we have already seen suspended before the sanctuary; and, to borrow Smith the weaver's logic, the firman and the chandelier are both alive at this day to testify the prodigy: 'therefore deny it not.' Anyhow, the firman of Selim II. proved a more efficacious protection to the monastery and its land than the 'Bull' issued by the Comnenian emperor; and its repeated renewals by succeeding Sultans, from Selim II to Abd-el-Mejeed, form a complete and not uninstructive series in the Mariamana archives, to which we refer the denouncers of Turkish intolerance and Islamitic oppression.

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the rest are all hospitable after their kind, some profusely so. What particular merit then shall we assign to the monks of Sumelas to stay the current of such precedent? Is it the sanctity of their character, or their well-ordered domestic, withdrawn from the natural current of life, and the strong growth of the canon law? Or learning these monks certainly neither store up in their cells, nor encourage in others? Or is it that, in age of general idleness they do not exceed the average of dull time-killers? Or that, in many points of view they represent a still more primitive state of society, and are worthy of being treated with respect? Indeed, I believe, they have been, however, they have a system peculiarly their own, and one which I do not remember to have met with elsewhere. At least from this like these we are to take the measure of the degree of the Levantine monk. It is not to these words to the Turkish governor's eyes, or by the Mayor at Trebizond, was the rule of Anthony, the Greek and eastern patriarch of Sumelas, a wild hermit, who, in the most strict, the most rigid of the monastic orders of the West. Whatever may be the Latin gown, the veil of the Ottoman priest, the Turkish or Greek monk and Greek monk is more than a name, and on the rocky side of the Byzantine coast, between wide-waving pines and the long-rolled sea, Mariamana tend to reverse, rather they deepen and confirm the sentence.

It is now mid-day; and before we redescend into the valley, thence to attempt a rude sketch of the picturesque beauties of the opposite side, we stand a few minutes in the gallery, and take a last look at the lovely scene before us, now bathed in the clear spring sunlight. Northern Far as the eye can stretch the bare snow-streaked heights we have passed the summer track to Baiburt and Erzeroum; below the dense trees are perched here and there by twos and by fours, sometimes by tens, sometimes by scores, detached cottages, from the prosperous appearance of ten of these grey roofs in the very depth never would by so many the white walls; they are belonging to the Mussulman population, in each of them, when the large plate arrives every comes round, the festival of the Assumption, Eng. John, the Greek Christian spiritual governor of Trebizond, is duly celebrated by the Russian monks of Sumelas. Far beneath rushes and foams the Aspe torrent, the waters of which we have thus traced backwards from their marshy exit at Trebizond, as it to their fountain-head.

The monks with unabated hospitality press us to stay, and when we insist on the necessity of returning that night, they entertain us before we depart, with Turkish coffee, and warm milk. 'You will see your English friend,' says with an accent of respect, the old monk who has been our chief attendant, we promise, and thus we accept our word.

W. Gifford Palgrave

PRUSSIA AND GERMANY

By [illegible] Professor of Greek at [illegible]

IT has been well said that Germany is the country of the future, and always will be so. Ever since the days of Charlemagne the German Empire has been the great object of ambition to the princes of Europe, and the centre of all political combinations. Its central position, its military genius, its vast population, its wealth in the precious metals, its industry, its science, its literature, its art, have all contributed to make it the battle-field of Europe, and the prize of victory. Its internal divisions, its want of political unity, its weakness as a military power, have been the chief causes of its misfortunes. The Germans are naturally a peaceful people, and have never sought foreign conquests. They have been content to defend their own country, and have rarely carried their arms beyond its borders. Their history is a long record of wars waged by foreigners upon their own soil, of battles fought for the benefit of others, of victories which have brought them no advantage, of treaties which have sacrificed their interests to the ambition of their neighbors. Their country has been the battle-field of Europe, and their people have been decimated by wars in which they had no concern. Their princes have been the allies of every power that could purchase their services, and their subjects have been sold like cattle to fight the battles of their masters. Even the Thirty Years' War, which began with the struggle of the Bohemians for their religious liberties, soon became a contest for the possession of the German Empire, and ended in the establishment of the political supremacy of France.

[illegible] a very long period [illegible] of the Empire, which [illegible] the Peace of Westphalia [illegible] Germany [illegible] Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation, was a shadow of its former self. It was a confederation of States, each of which was practically sovereign, and which had the right to make war and peace, to form alliances with foreign powers, and to coin money. The Emperor was elected by the princes, and was usually chosen from the House of Austria. The Diet, or Congress of the States, which met at Ratisbon, was a mere council of ambassadors, without any power to enforce its decrees. The Imperial Chamber, established at Wetzlar, was the only court of appeal for the whole Empire, and its decisions were frequently disregarded. The Aulic Council, which resided at Vienna, was entirely subject to the Emperor, and rendered justice only to those who could afford to bribe it. The Empire was divided into ten circles, each of which had the right to maintain an army for the common defence, and to levy troops for the Imperial service. Each circle had its own Diet, which met at Frankfort, Ratisbon, Augsburg, Nuremberg, Leipsic, Dresden, Munich, Stuttgart, Cologne, and Vienna. The Diet of the Circle of Upper Saxony met at Leipsic, that of the Circle of Lower Saxony at Hamburg, that of the Circle of Upper Rhine at Frankfort, that of the Circle of Lower Rhine at Cologne, that of the Circle of Bavaria at Ratisbon, that of the Circle of Franconia at Nuremberg, that of the Circle of Swabia at Augsburg, that of the Circle of Austria at Vienna, that of the Circle of Burgundy at Brussels, and that of the Circle of Westphalia at Munster. The Diet of each Circle had the right to make war and peace, to form alliances with foreign powers, and to coin money. The Emperor was elected by the princes, and was usually chosen from the House of Austria. The Diet, or Congress of the States, which met at Ratisbon, was a mere council of ambassadors, without any power to enforce its decrees. The Imperial Chamber, established at Wetzlar, was the only court of appeal for the whole Empire, and its decisions were frequently disregarded. The Aulic Council, which resided at Vienna, was entirely subject to the Emperor, and rendered justice only to those who could afford to bribe it. The Empire was divided into ten circles, each of which had the right to maintain an army for the common defence, and to levy troops for the Imperial service. Each circle had its own Diet, which met at Frankfort, Ratisbon, Augsburg, Nuremberg, Leipsic, Dresden, Munich, Stuttgart, Cologne, and Vienna. The Diet of the Circle of Upper Saxony met at Leipsic, that of the Circle of Lower Saxony at Hamburg, that of the Circle of Upper Rhine at Frankfort, that of the Circle of Lower Rhine at Cologne, that of the Circle of Bavaria at Ratisbon, that of the Circle of Franconia at Nuremberg, that of the Circle of Swabia at Augsburg, that of the Circle of Austria at Vienna, that of the Circle of Burgundy at Brussels, and that of the Circle of Westphalia at Munster.

However, a number of causes were at work which [illegible] any real power. First of all, the Empire never admitted any kind of [illegible] representing the popular will. It presented in its own person a union which, all its members, and even the most powerful, [illegible] to adopt at least some of the [illegible] forms of government. [illegible] the actual weight of the different States was not [illegible] regarded. [illegible] had [illegible] about [illegible] as each State for ordinary purposes, and every [illegible] equal vote—[illegible] Lichtenstein or Hamburg [illegible], not much larger than the county of [illegible] or Kinross, the same as

[illegible] read before the [illegible] on the [illegible] at the Public [illegible]

Austria and Prussia? In the *Plenum*, that is the full meeting of the Diet, which had to transact the more important business, some proportion, it is true, was aimed at by giving two, three, or four votes to the larger States, and by combining the tiny ones in fixed groups. But even then the kings of Bavaria, Wurtemberg, Saxony, and Hanover enjoyed perfect equality with the two preponderating governments. Thirdly, the Bund, which amounted to a perpetual defensive alliance, guaranteed by all Europe, had to act more in an international than a national character. The main source of all its defects and incurable faults was the irremovable antagonism of its two chief members, representing not only considerable German States, but European Powers. Hence our federation continued entirely unfit to create organs of common administration, of judicial, diplomatic, military and commercial centralisation, which should really be at once German and national. Individual sovereignty was obtained by each State, especially those which owed their modern existence more to the grace of Napoleon than to the grace of God. Each member of the Confederation, as far as it could, chose to retain its own independent tribunals, despatched its own foreign ministers, supported its army, or at least some plaything under that name, and painted its turnpikes in the colours of its Serene Highness.

And yet the framers of the Vienna settlement were no fools. On the contrary they dealt rather cunningly with the dynastic and importance and the other much more influential centrifugal powers by which the population in its various sympathies has been distracted from the very beginning. There were certain members of the Confederation linked to foreign states, as Holstein, Luxemburg, and down to 1837 Hanover. Two only possessed in themselves the ability of either growing out of or growing into federal Germany.

Look at Austria, at that strange cluster of multifarious dominions and races, around the German centre on the Danube. Has any method of keeping them together proved successful except ruling by division except setting the Hungarians, the Germans, the Slavonians, the Italians against each other? The House of Hapsburg, by calling in the aid of the Jesuits during the Reformation period and by submitting to concordats in more recent times, had blocked up the natural channels of intellectual and social progress. Hence the intercommunion of the German kindred, and as a consequence its cultivating expansion all along the great river, were checked during centuries. Prince Metternich adhered to such traditions but too faithfully. In his opinion the safety of Austria required that her preponderance in the Bund should be continued, although his master in 1814 had refused the reassumption of the imperial crown. For this reason no liberal, truly constitutional government was allowed to the single States; and when after all it struck root here and there, when the national spirit grew with a national literature, the Frankfort Diet was obliged to act as the supreme police court against what was considered dangerous for the community at large. Kings, dukes, and princes-lings of every description were indulged in the gratification of their dynastic ambition; and in pursuance of her purpose Austria, in spite of the original Vienna draft, never to the very last would yield to Prussia a turn in the presidency of the Diet, but opposed her with a majority of votes thus cleverly obtained, though Prussia had entered the Bund with about sixteen, and Austria with only eight millions of Germans. According to Prince Metternich and his successors, Ger-

many, like Italy, was to be nothing more than a geographical expression.

Is it not amazing, that a great people, one in blood and speech, endowed with the same centripetal disposition as Englishmen and Frenchmen, yearning though in its very individual and unpractical style for political unity, should ever have lingered on during such a state of existence? Often enough its end seemed to be at hand, in 1813, 1848, 1859, when European convulsions threatened to break asunder this tottering assembly of States. But again and again the rents and seams were patched up as well as possible, so that the song of Goethe's student was as suitable as of yore

> The dear old Holy Roman Realm
> How does it keep together?

A chain of historical events through the long and somewhat sluggish life of the German nation led to this condition of things, but there is one cause among the rest which at the same time has contributed to its prolongation, and in our days has cut it short at last. I mean of course the rise and progress of Prussia.

Nobody will understand the singular combination between absolute power and a tendency towards constitutional even democratic progress in the political conduct of this State, unless it be first of all perceived that Prussia is mainly the creation of three marches. These Hohenzollern Margraves of Brandenburg, ruling a border land which stood in very close connexion with the Empire, recruited from their cousins the Burgraves of Nuremberg planted amongst the Prussians by the Teutonic Order in this point in they developed two qualities, by which they kept their territories and their subjects in much better order than many other princes of the Empire, who were situated in a pleasanter clime and in the midst of a purely German population. First, as Margraves, as Electors, and ultimately as Kings, they always were the same frugal economists their ancestors had been when they dwelt close to the gates of the thrifty citizens of Nuremberg. They stored their exchequer at all times, whereas the Habsburg Archdukes and Emperors and the Austrian Empire at large appear to be doomed to chronic bankruptcy. The second quality, so dexterously made use of by this dynasty, is, as it were, the heirloom of the Teutonic knights. From them they seem to have inherited the secret of colonisation, by not only Germanising the fragments of other races, but by absorbing small kindred independencies and entire provinces, which by themselves never would have attained any real political existence. Though all the world may condemn the participation in the spoliation of Poland as a moral crime and still more as a political mistake, who can deny that the Grand Duchy of Posen and the Vistula districts are turning rapidly into German provinces? On the other hand, see again Austria, where at the very time Italian speech is pressing up the Adige into the Tyrol, where the Slovenian encroaches upon Styria and Carinthia, and the German settlers in Bohemia are daily losing ground against the Czechs, a disgrace which, most remarkably, is not shared by Switzerland, also a polyglot country. Another dissimilarity may be observed in the conduct of the rivals as to the German quest on. Austria, as we have failed in repeated attempts to subjugate the Bavarian and Swabian population of the south, trying to substitute her will by the assistance of vassal Princes, collected in a Bund. Prussia absorbing and annexing German tribes and their dynasties together. Both have counteracted each other, and the federal principle, undoubtedly the more ancient and traditional in

German affairs, is gradually being superseded by the principle of union of territories moulded into one form by wary and vigilant monarchs. It is a recent process, not much older than two centuries, commencing with the general collapse in the Thirty Years' War, and not unconnected with the example given by Louis XIV. And yet the personal power of the Sovereign in hands like those of the Great Elector, of Frederick William I., called by your Austrian prudent 'a rugged man of genius, a nation's husband,' and of Frederick the Great, became a permanent blessing under such circumstances. Each of them managed, as well as he could, to have his elbows free on German soil against Swedes and Poles, against Imperialists and Frenchmen. They swept away anarchy and created order instead. The turbulent gentry they had to deal with decided to Magna Charta, no fundamental law was embraced by, or secured to the privileges not only of themselves, but of every freeborn man in the land. On the contrary, the Sovereign had to lean on the humbler classes of the citizens, who for their services derived more material advantage after the victory, and left the burghers, the Protestants, in every corner of the land in the most abject state. Sweden, on the other hand, rebelled against the Sovereign who would have made her a country like Austria or Prussia, according to the Magna Charta of the contest between the aristocracy and the Crown, the Swedish nobles, the Swedish Diet, the Swedish Parliament, with the whole power of the State in their hands, ... and the Crown ... and the people ... and ... and ... and

itself in Church and State, in school and literature. The nobles and the knights were preferred in provincial government, and since the first united Diet in 1847 more than ever in the administration of the realm. These very elements, formerly the most anarchical, promoted as it were against all traditions of this monarchy, were apparently transformed into the staunchest supporters of arbitrary government, fostering the idea of a State Church and grudging to the German mind its dearest domain, an unbounded progress in learning and science. Fortunately the King himself felt deeper and warmer sympathy for everything grand and beautiful in literature and art than most other crowned heads. He was the personal friend of the highest liberal and learned minds, a great enthusiast for German independence in his way. Thus his own mistakes being partly neutralised by himself, he could not prevent the common liberalism spreading from those States which followed the French model in representation and administration. In these places people talked a great deal of German unity, and yet by habit clung most tenaciously to their own limited forms of existence. Upbraiding Prussia vociferously on account of her reactionary policy, they totally forgot that here was the only State which thirty years ago had summoned the enthusiastic forces necessary to throw off the French yoke.

Public opinion all over Germany was consequently in a very unsatisfied state, when all on a sudden the tempestuous year 1848 shook nearly every throne on the Continent, and hurled over to the populations for a short period in profusion all liberties so long withheld from them. You know what use we Germans made of this precious opportunity. A National Assembly with almost republican features supplanted the unfortunate Diet, and spoke in strong terms to the royal and princely members of the Confederation. One liberal constitution was to embrace the whole wide fatherland. But unfortunately the deputies stuck too long to the discussion of abstract fundamental laws and never were able to create an executive supported by political power as its backbone. The governments, recovering from the revolutionary shock, especially Austria and Prussia, each jealous of the other from her own interest, began to stand in the way of the proposed plan. The imperial crown, though tendered to the King of Prussia by the majority of the assembly, was refused by him because he disliked the democratic ingredients of the constitution, regretted the entire exclusion of the Austrian territories even then a necessary condition of a united Germany, and never had the courage to agree to rule other princes, whose lord he was not by the grace of God.

Need I allude to the monstrous schemes, by which hot-headed politicians and profound professors of public law, first in the debates at St Paul's, in Frankfort, and afterwards in long-winded dissertations and stout volumes, vied in solving the national problem? There were some visionary enthusiasts for a General Republic or for a Republican Union. Others seriously thought of the North American model with two Houses of Congress, a union chiefly composed of monarchies and presided over either by an hereditary Emperor, or by an Emperor elected for life, or limited to a twelve years' term. Need I mention how, after the disruption of the Frankfort Parliament, Prussia faintly tried to introduce her separate Erfurt scheme, and having in defence of it appealed to arms without venturing a blow, how she submitted at last to the dictates of Prince Schwarzenberg, to the reactionary policy of Olmütz, and to the reinstalment of

the old Diet as the only possible vehicle of a statecraft at present conducted by Austria?

Living in England during those years, fresh from college, I recollect as if it were to-day the almost universal verdict of all your parties against the negative results of our political struggle. With your innate common sense you condemned the conduct of our Government and the frustrated schemes of the popular movement in plain English words, viewed with mild contempt the endeavour to create a German navy, and the suspension of the entangled Schleswig-Holstein business, and saw without much sympathy Prussia humiliated both morally and materially. How often did I hear my best friends say, and I have never known firmer friends than in this country: 'Why, you Germans have ever been transcendental dreamers, whom your own poet Heine justly derides: "The French rule the land and the British the sea, leaving to the Germans nothing but the air!" ' However, by its very reverses the spirit of German unity was roused anew and gathered fresh force, eager to succeed better the next time.

There was one definite gain, also, to a certain extent the offspring of the year of revolution in Prussia had a constitution like the other States, and retained it during a period of reactionary temper, whereas various representative experiments in Austria failed one after the other. Its structure was adopted and copied far too closely from the Belgian prototype, this Prussian Constitution overlooked altogether the material and social elements grown up with the history of the State itself. Full of contradictions, with a very complicated election system and an imperfect Upper House, the playground of universal and other antiquated fancies, it was and still is exposed to the attacks of the equivocal and hypocritical of all those who consider themselves exclusively the guardians of dynastic loyalty. Some of its articles evidently do not square with actual public life in Prussia; some, in a cloud of abstract wording, have little or no practical efficacy. But, after all, it was in the Prussian Diet that, for the first time, the debates exhibited to German eyes the spectacle of a serious Parliamentary combat, aiming at Constitutional progress in a great State, and very different from the barren squabbles in the Chambers of the minor Principalities. General attention increased to an uncommon degree, when, in the beginning of the present reign, the new Ministers were chosen among the ranks of the old Liberal party, the Crown itself dispelling the misty romantic dreams with which feudal reaction and Lutheran orthodoxy occupied themselves much more than with the highest interests of the State. The Cabinet of the new era was but of short duration. The present King insisted on what afterwards appeared in connection with a supreme plan of State policy the reorganisation of the army.

This measure was of the greatest consequence, on it depended whether universal military service, which, in the place of professional and mercenary soldiers, allows by far the greater part of a highly drilled population to follow its avocations, should be a boon or a bane to the country, and whether Prussia, surrounded by the most powerful rivals, could hold herself upright. With new and far more courageous advisers King William carried his plan in the teeth of a radically inclined majority, which feared to make Ministers subservient to the House, and would have refused the supplies had the principal portions of the estimates not been consolidated. This conflict, however, Bismark and his colleagues violating the letter of the Constitution, the Opposition on the other hand trying to

stop the working of the Government, —was in truth merely a gigantic battle of words. The Crown never thought of damaging the Constitution; the Liberals of the House of Deputies persevered obstinately, though every day proved that, with all their resolutions and declarations, they had no substantial power whatever to back them. Moreover, they committed the great mistake of refusing the grants for enterprises which, in the bottom of their hearts, were cherished by all true patriots. Neither did the increase of the young fleet find favour with them, nor did they support the Ministry, when, after the attempt of the late King of Denmark to Germanize Holstein was resented by the German Powers. At last, at least even the great German war was undertaken against the protest of the Prussian Opposition, overcome by the modern statesman, the master of the conflict, whose real aims were already perceptible to keen eyes.

All the world by this time knows more or less of Count Bismark, perhaps with mixed feelings of admiration and reverence. I believe that posterity will agree in the main in recognizing the great qualities of the statesman and patriot. Though not to the taste of more sentimental observers, who regard every step of the Government which has not immediately in view the liberty of the press, the right of meeting, and the like, as a step backwards, Bismark's policy has been, from the first, a policy of progress. When he undertook the task of reforming Prussia, the Liberals were protesting that the German question was a question of power, and that Germany could only be united by the Austrians meeting with a crushing defeat. When, after Sadowa, Prussia had become the leading German State, they declared that the German question was a question of liberty, and that Germany could only be united by the Prussians meeting with a crushing defeat. Which was right? Which was nearer to the truth? Was it not rather the case that the two Nations, Prussia and Germany, had to be conquered, the majority of the States, of the nation, and even of the House of Deputies at Berlin, with Austria at their back, were in favour of establishing north of the Elbe a new dynasty? It is not so long since that Prussia, by resisting such projects, the federal hobbies of the great multitude of small governments, was almost universally execrated as the champion of selfish despotism and military reaction. The popular party, more or less, all over Germany had cried liberty before unity, even the most advanced Radicals with an ostensible provincial preference adhering to their native kingdom or duchy. Musical festivals and national shooting matches, addressed by eloquent ministers of state and presided over by reigning dukes, were to supply the popular element wanting to the Confederation. If it were possible to raise a nation on its feet by singing, toasting, speech-making and war-cries alone, we Germans indeed would have been great and powerful long ago without striking a blow. Who was right in doubting if after all it were to be accomplished without 'blood and iron,' and preferring decidedly to begin with some practicable unity, liberty being a point of continuous growth, and destined in modern times another branch to thrive in?

Well, all of us, if only as by-standers, have witnessed the German war of 1866, and been thereby surprised, so very astonishingly, to observe in the affairs of the Continent. In every phase of the Prussian victories, the Federal Diet, that ridiculous symbol of an intolerable lethargy, has been a word to the wise. As the progressing power has been invited to mind, henceforth, her own business. You will remember, that as a matter of the peace of Prague, which deprived her of territory, but no province, though a larger tract of ground, the German nation, also was precluded from any political union with Germany proper, as had been predicted would be the case by all sincere patriots for more

than twenty [illegible] knowledge [illegible] Stuttgart [illegible] Hanover, the Electorate of Hesse, Nassau, and the Free Town of Frankfort, were [illegible] made with the [illegible] great interest that the Main, the Southern States have [illegible] entirely [illegible] preserve [illegible] their [illegible] geographical [illegible] position [illegible] by the [illegible] Prussian [illegible] Hanover [illegible] Hesse-Cassel [illegible] Nassau [illegible] Frankfort [illegible] Hesse-Darmstadt [illegible] Baden [illegible] Wurtemberg [illegible] Bavaria [illegible] Saxony [illegible] Saxe-Weimar [illegible] Saxe-Meiningen [illegible] Saxe-Altenburg [illegible] Saxe-Coburg-Gotha [illegible] Reuss [illegible] Schwarzburg [illegible] Lippe [illegible] Waldeck [illegible] Anhalt [illegible] Brunswick [illegible] Oldenburg [illegible] Mecklenburg [illegible] Schwerin [illegible] Mecklenburg-Strelitz [illegible] Lubeck [illegible] Bremen [illegible] Hamburg [illegible] Schleswig-Holstein [illegible] Prussia [illegible] Austria [illegible] Hungary [illegible] Transylvania [illegible] Croatia [illegible] Dalmatia [illegible] Galicia [illegible] Lombardy [illegible] Venetia [illegible] Tyrol [illegible] Salzburg [illegible] Styria [illegible] Carinthia [illegible] Carniola [illegible] Bohemia [illegible] Moravia [illegible] Silesia [illegible] Upper [illegible] Lower Austria [illegible] Switzerland [illegible] Belgium [illegible] Holland [illegible] Luxemburg [illegible] Denmark [illegible] Sweden [illegible] Norway [illegible] Russia [illegible] Poland [illegible] Turkey [illegible] Greece [illegible] Italy [illegible] Spain [illegible] Portugal [illegible] France [illegible] Algeria [illegible] Tunis [illegible] Morocco [illegible] Egypt [illegible] Abyssinia [illegible] Nubia [illegible] Sahara [illegible] Timbuctoo [illegible] Senegambia [illegible] Guinea [illegible] Ashantee [illegible] Dahomey [illegible] Benin [illegible] Calabar [illegible] Loango [illegible] Congo [illegible] Angola [illegible] Benguela [illegible] Mozambique [illegible] Zanzibar [illegible] Natal [illegible] Cape Colony [illegible] Hottentots [illegible] Kaffirs [illegible] Zulus [illegible] Matabele [illegible] Bechuanas [illegible] Damaras [illegible] Ovampos [illegible] Great Namaqua [illegible] Little Namaqua [illegible] Orange River [illegible] Transvaal [illegible] Limpopo [illegible] Zambesi [illegible] Shire [illegible] Nyassa [illegible] Lake Ngami [illegible] Victoria Falls [illegible] Kilimanjaro [illegible] Mount Kenia [illegible] Mount Elgon [illegible] Mount Gaga [illegible] Mount Mfumbi

fiance, silencing for the present every complaint.

Before I enter on the last and greatest trial of my country, let me briefly sum up some other gains we owe to the North German Parliament. First, there is a commercial flag to cover our ports, which, though the tonnage coming after the British and the American, is already entirely unprotected on the high seas and in foreign ports. The young German navy, created mainly by Prussian energy, has, during the struggle for the sea-board, to emulate the powerful fleets of our maritime and interior Continental as we are, and coming too late, to use Germanic to establish spot was left in either hemisphere which we could venture on colonising independently. Yet innumerable flocks of emigrants have been leaving our shores and are finding, during two generation past, new homes wherever the Anglo-Saxon race has settled, in America, Asia, and Australia. It is touching to read how men who frequently entertained themselves, in cities and portal congregation to the Main, unanimously hail the Bund-wehr, and stop whenever they pass, as a symbol that national unity, that great moral influence which peoples of the same blood, have gained a guarantee at last. Harmony of purpose and action has been found over the world, since all separate Germanic states have been transferred into the hands of the North German Confederation.

The same has been done with the Diplomatic service, which of late many most curious forms with a view to military and commercial policy. The Consular service continues as before to exist, as a matter of course, quite distinct from Ministers there in London, Madrid, or St. Petersburg. A Bremen or Hamburg merchant may have to transact public business in the character of plenipotentiary of his sovereign, Count Bismark, being the King of Prussia's Premier and Minister of Foreign Affairs, presides at the same time as Chancellor over the Foreign Office of the Confederacy, and signs all political despatches. The privilege to conclude international treaties and to make war and peace has been yielded altogether to the leading Power as the trustee of the Union.

Next to these matters we enjoy henceforth the uniform direction of all establishments promoting general communication over the whole for the Confederation with a single and the low postage, one administration of the telegraph. In future no Jew's swindle traced, as certain a sum commanded his contractors to do, so as that his State alone should profit by the line to the prejudice of his neighbours. The general creation of the currency, the interests of the nation and of the workmen, are not to be sacrificed any longer. Without new taxes, merely by seclusion and protection never existing; free intercourse with free trade in its wake comes on. A few months ago the Lübeck merchant, who lived on the river Lübe, had always cared for ever.

Lastly, there is a number of valuable group of social and literary forms, which I must not omit in this catalogue. One law of naturalisation, one State and army for forty millions of Germans make them in future a home where they may go to the other, and without special permission of the power of their own to marry. They may now settle within the Federal territory where they like, may buy property or go into trade without any restriction whatever. Their progress in life, their preferment in Government or Church has become entirely independent of religious examination. The intricate poor-law question touching the place

of residence where support is to be given based on [illegible] and [illegible] solution. A [illegible] Parliament [illegible] just opened at Berlin [illegible] same [illegible] legislature. It is [illegible] that, in a few years [illegible], the constitution of the [illegible] will be extended as well to [illegible] criminal code, [illegible] by the Legislature and [illegible] by the King as protector, is a very remarkable book, showing [illegible] progress in the principles of humanity and freedom [illegible] punishment is restricted to [illegible] punishment are [illegible] each other more [illegible] than ever before. Liberty of [illegible] and liberty of the press are [illegible] by the very interests [illegible] of intellectual [illegible] and [illegible] have been [illegible] to [illegible] on the [illegible] of Munich, or even Prussia [illegible] that [illegible] are [illegible] that [illegible] security, security of [illegible] and liberty of conscience are [illegible] care of in [illegible] Germany [illegible] any country of the [illegible] it [illegible], with [illegible] exception of a few [illegible] which [illegible] to [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

to trust to the innumerable difficulties, which partly sprang from the situation, and partly were raised by Prussia herself.

She had cautiously stopped at the river Main, had cut in two the Grand Duchy of Hesse-Darmstadt by receiving into the Confederacy only its northern portion, and firmly withstood the repeated endeavours of the well-affected Grand Duchy of Baden to become a member of the new German State. There were no signs that Prussia intended to yield one inch more of her own policy for that of the common fatherland; on the contrary her Conservative Government, in spite of the dismissal of two unpopular ministers, was to all appearance determined to rule the provinces newly incorporated under her sway with the same red tape as was traditional in the old ones. In consequence dissatisfaction and heartburning in many places were on the increase, since the National party, undoubtedly Count Bismark's safest support in the North German Parliament, felt most uncomfortable in the Prussian Diet, where it had to continue the opposition against some of his colleagues. And, indeed, the older and more complicated representation appeared as if specially designed to retard and to neutralise everything that was achieved by the ready and truly patriotic activity of the younger and more general legislature. Many people were of opinion that the Prussian Government, being more or less the same as the Federal, must be actually in possession of two souls, the one liberal, inspiring all true friends of unity, the other retrograde and still clinging to the support of the landed interest of the eastern provinces.

Truly, no other country at this period was encumbered with such a multifarious apparatus of representations. What was wanting altogether some twenty or thirty years ago we had now in superabundance. As soon as the Prussian Diet, usually sitting during the winter months, had done, the Federal Parliament, many members of which are also members of the Diet, stepped in for a couple of months more, to be succeeded instantly by the Parliament of the Zollverein, that is to say representatives of the South German States joining the Federal Assembly at Berlin exclusively for the affairs of the custom league. This abnormal and monstrous succession of parliamentary business occupied three quarters of the year, with much injury to the physical and mental qualities of members and ministers. But the excess of parliamentary development was a symptom of transition, sure to disappear when, in this respect as in so many more, the process of national combination had drawn nearer to its goal.

A few words may suffice to explain the great problems which were to be solved. Look at the Prussian Diet with two Houses, the one partly hereditary and partly nominated by the King for life, the other elected by a classified and indirect suffrage, its members being paid for attendance. It is not only the motly composition of the 'Herrenhaus,' which serves as a drag to many an urgent reform, contesting with almost provincial stubbornness the addition of any more privileges to the Federal representation. Owing to the system of class election, it is supported by very confirmed allies in the other House. These are the members drawn from the gentry, still very powerful in the eastern chiefly agricultural districts, and a considerable group of government officials, for whom seats are easily obtainable. These men, though in most cases gallant patriots and hard-working servants of the State, are too apt to consider themselves as the only faithful

guardians of the good old order of things. They profess to stem democracy, which has its strongholds in the great cities, in commerce and industry, predominating in the Rhenish and in some of the newly acquired western provinces. They claim representative privileges far too exclusively either for the benefit of their own order or for an unchangeable system of Conservative policy. On the other hand the Liberals, split into a number of fractional divisions and holding their extra-parliamentary sessions, suffer largely from a mischievous club discipline, which at the same time saps and unnerves the personal conscience. Even their best men find it therefore next to impossible ever to command simultaneously the confidence of a majority of these sections. Is it to be wondered at if so few statesmen with an available party at their back have arisen on this side, ready to step in whenever a change of system should allow? In a word, we have to rival parties alternately coming in and going out, with acknowledged leaders to whom the Crown may entrust at any moment the direction of public affairs. Our nobility and gentry, being a caste, cling most jealously to their social privileges, our democrats and radicals proclaim the most advanced doctrines; yet on either side there is a decided want of political discipline and of personal experience. Modern society or the world deals more with classes than with distinct orders of estate, which expressed the social outlines of a former age. Still, even in a country like Prussia, where State organization tends to pervade all functions of life, you will find a vastly increasing number of individuals who by unjust laws make their fortune and accumulate wealth, by the association of capital and education, as well in the material professions as in trade and commerce than by government, therefore, nothing that of a party, but still centring in the King, is sure to succeed best by satisfying society at large, which appears to be several degrees more democratic than society in England. Hence it is apparent, why certain of Count Bismark's reforms have been successful, whereas those with which the House of Deputies is entrusted, are apt to make no advance whatever. Take for example a Government bill for the better self-administration of rural districts, and another one regulating elementary education. The knights and their friends protest that agriculture, local police, and the administration of roads, of schools, and other common institutions never will prosper if shared in the full extent by the villages and the multitude of small proprietors; that the new gratis labour exacted will not be worth the time and the money expended upon the reforms. The Liberals object to the education bill because it does not come up to their cherished notion of dropping all denominational distinction with regard to religious instruction. No doubt ministers also are to be blamed that such highly desirable measures have not been carried. Their hesitating and pusillanimous behaviour had the effect of introducing in each case endless amendments, and of finally smothering the bill. There is a very great amount of internal policy still left to the Prussian Diet as its special domain; but it is to be feared that, from the reasons I have alluded to, matters of the highest importance to the country will remain unfurnished, unless Government acts as resolutely in the interest of its own State as it has been taught to do with respect to the Confederacy by the North German Chancellor.

Proceeding to the Federal representation, you know why it has justly risen to much greater popularity. Already embracing by the constitution the majority of the

army and navy, of diplomacy, of all ways and means relating to general intercourse, voting by far the greatest amount of the estimates, the North German Parliament threatens to abstract much more from the domain of the Prussian Diet, and to reduce it at last to a mere ornamental nullity. However, the flourishing upstart establishment is not without its weak parts and its hitches, the common lot of all mortal creations. First a House of Representatives is elected from numerically equal districts by universal suffrage, a most unusual and not sufficiently attested experiment in a highly monarchical country, yet fortunately and almost wisely counteracted by the non-payment of members. In the second chamber or House of Lords exists, there are no peers of the German realm but the Federal Council, representing as in the old *Bund* the sovereign governments, and though somewhat resembling the American Senate, perhaps more like a Privy Council. There, again, as there is no upper chamber, there is likewise no regular federal ministry legally responsible as it ought to be in a constitutional state. Instead of it we have the Chancellor, Count Bismarck, the personal minister of the King of Prussia, who is also Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and the Prussian Minister of War, of Finance, and of Justice, all together the same departments in the federal government. Now, the most essential features in these three arrangements are entirely different from Prussian, where, in fact, the King is the head of the executive, and the Parliament has only a control

direction. This democratic institution, however, required a safer counterpoise than the Federal Council will ever be, and, at any rate, a complete governing board at the head. Was Prussia to sink gradually, until it might please the Princes, sovereign or mediatised, to enter a German House of Lords, until the Prussian entirely merged into a German Ministry? It was not likely that there would always be a great statesman bold enough to fill the gap quite alone. Wherever we looked we met this unfinished state of public affairs, moved as it were by a strong centripetal current. Hence the restless activity of all political parties during a session and out of it, because the days of peace, as everybody felt, were sure to be but short. Hence the endless speculations with regard to the more federated South, which, full of distrust and anger, was lamentably hanging back in all its parts, and which we could not possibly do without, if there was ever to be a German State, call it a Union or a Realm, for better for worse.

Besides these purely political questions, however, we had constantly to face certain embarrassments arising from different quarters, which are more or less intimately mixed up with the situation. The community of commercial interests would certainly in every future allow an arbitrary geographical boundary, and it could not at least continue to embrace North and South. But the position of the working people, ever increasing in intensity, organising themselves and fascinated by the widest socialistic dreams, is daily more to our disadvantage as it does in your own and in every other country. What is to them the question of a subdivision or the unity of the German Empire? What have they to do with aristocracy or democracy as represented by the landed interest and the middle classes? Possibly, the

danger of a social convulsion in Germany is not indeed, but by the general improvement of the people among whom social classes are very homogeneous, is perhaps less than in almost any other country, and the assertion of the brotherhood of labour as one of the principles of the Empire, the movement they represent is not hostile to the existing state of things. The people of Germany, at least for the present, are practically happy and contented. They have political institutions which, though not perfect, are yet in advance of those of most other countries. They have a national literature which, though not equal to that of England, is yet one of which they may be proud. They have a system of education which is the admiration of the world. They have a religion which, though not free from superstition, is yet pure and simple in its character. They have a Church which, though not free from corruption, is yet in many respects a model for the Church of England. They have a Government which, though not perfect, is yet one which is in advance of the Governments of most other countries. They have a people which, though not free from faults, is yet one which is in advance of most other peoples. They have a country which, though not free from defects, is yet one which is in advance of most other countries. They have a history which, though not free from blots, is yet one which is in advance of most other histories. They have a future which, though not free from dangers, is yet one which is in advance of most other futures.

[illegible] the Pope ever [illegible] with a movement which, [illegible] freedom of thought and [illegible], will not rest until the political unity of the country has been a fact in the form of the Empire? As we have seen during the last year the revival of what seemed to have been buried for ever in the past centuries, an Ecumenical Council at St Peter's, declaring, [illegible], and [illegible] thing; and the temporal power of the Pope [illegible] by the time of the Council, [illegible] from the Vatican and [illegible] of the nineteenth century. The [illegible] men's [illegible] of an [illegible] [illegible] by the [illegible] of all [illegible] to the [illegible] of the Holy See [illegible] to St Peter, directed [illegible] to the troops [illegible] to the troops of the [illegible] must, to [illegible] from [illegible] at the time [illegible] Need I [illegible] to the [illegible] of the [illegible]. [illegible] to any [illegible] in the evil [illegible] Let us hope that the dark and [illegible] has been [illegible] and that wherever [illegible] at work as in the [illegible], that is to say even in Protestant countries as in Protestant society, they will [illegible] with the same defeat.

In the mean time I do not [illegible], there is very much to be learned by all true friends of freedom. Namely can

tell as yet, whether our Lutheran and reformed churches, sprung simultaneously and grown up side by side with their separate territories, will also coalesce, in harmony with the Union of the States. Is it possible after all, that religious life may best be revived and strengthened by a process, which does not exactly square with the Protestant individualism inherent in our different German confessions? Happily political centralisation does not absolutely exact that spiritual and intellectual interests should likewise strike into the same direction. We are not in the condition of France, where provincial life in politics as well as in education is nearly extinct. On the contrary our provinces are likely to retain within the boundary of a common nationality many distinct centres of individual culture, balancing healthily the centralisation of the State.

Besides the subjects I have enumerated, my countrymen during last spring were busily discussing their immediate prospects. Hoping for the continuance of a frail peace, we began to speculate on the general elections for our various parliaments, which were to come on before the end of the year. A great majority was unanimously bent on preserving the benefit of better security already obtained, and on diminishing the heavy burdens exclusively in accordance with national exigency, when, as you all know, we were suddenly and most ruthlessly roused from our peaceful meditations.

A frivolous pretext was seized upon at Paris for picking a quarrel, though the resignation of the Hohenzollern candidate for the vacant Spanish throne under ordinary circumstances would have removed at once any offence given. The Emperor Napoleon knew that in addition to drawing off much furious animosity from his domestic difficulties, no other war could be so popular. The entire French nation, therefore, more than ever in Parisian leading strings, is collectively responsible for the folly and the crime it unanimously sanctioned. Our neighbours grudged that we should live together as one people. Frenchmen without any distinction of age, of education or of party, deemed it expedient to undertake a war principally for the re-establishment of our ancient state of disunion. Probably too they were startled by the rapid increase of population in the territories of Prussia and her allies, whereas the slow advance or nearly total cessation of an increase in France, as proved by their own census, pointed clearly at certain social or moral causes of degeneracy. So it was literally true, that since Sadowa they pined after an opportunity not only to upset the political arrangements we owed to that year, but to destroy for ever by a finishing stroke the slender tie between North and South that still held out the dearest hope to all sincere German patriots.

France declared war. What was the result? All the jealousies of courts, all the intrigues of ministers, the plots hatched by demagogues or ultramontane agitators were blown away on a sudden by the most significant victory of a single idea in modern history, to which the nation had clung with popular devotion. As the young King of Bavaria proved loyal to his country, and to his pledge given in the military convention with Prussia, the hitherto untrustworthy government of Wurtemberg did not even attempt to assert neutrality. Napoleon had calculated wrongly alike with regard to these southern States as to any disaffected elements in Hanover or elsewhere in the North. France herself, indeed, had been most perversely the chief promoter of German unity, and had now to engage in war the whole country

outside the Austrian dominions under the supreme command of the King of Prussia.

. . . . . .

Great difficulties generally accompany the termination of a war, but in this case they appear at the moment almost insurmountable. They spring, as it is well known, in the first place from the fiery temper of the French nation. Call it rapacity or passion for glory, by which our neighbours have been impelled from their Gallic ancestors down to this very day, they will hunt blindly after a phantom—the vanity that they under any circumstances ought to enjoy military supremacy in Europe. Granting them a change of their own government as often and as radically as they like, we can cede them no more right than to any other foreign power to prevent the internal reconstruction of Germany. But unfortunately this would have been a departure from a systematic policy much older than even the days of Richelieu and Louis XIV., though the respective positions of both nations had recently undergone considerable alteration. When the second French Empire attempted in vain to stop our national progress, and when it went to wreck with awful rapidity, the Government of National Defence suffering without scruple the republican banner persisted in claiming for the soil of France the same integrity, which her lawful kings, her tyrants, or her commonwealths alternately, would never allow to other nations. To such illusions shared by the statesmen of all parties, and to the incessant but systematic mendacity of a demoralised press, we owe this barbarous state of warfare, and the terrible feud between the Teuton and the Gaul, from which only the greatest caution can extricate the victor. As the war is waged exclusively between the two nations, all other Powers standing aloof, the Germans, satisfied with having been left to deal single-handed with their enemy (though fighting in what they believe to be the cause of Europe as well as their own), will thank all bystanders for observing the strictest neutrality. Nevertheless we welcome any friendly mediation, especially if based, as it was by the British Government, on the condition that both contending parties ought to possess such representatives as supply the indispensable responsibility for negotiating a peace. Yet this was decidedly not the case when M. Jules Favre held his conference with Count Bismark, for he had in no way the power sufficient for the purpose. Though both sides were anxious to ascertain where that power rested, France was neither in the mood nor in the condition to accept the most moderate proposals for an armistice. By this time Paris had been invested as closely as Metz, and a few days later Toul and Strasburg, which were demanded as pledges during the intermission of hostilities, had both surrendered to the Prussians. Since all the generals after each defeat or capitulation uniformly were made responsible by an exasperated population, it is but natural that the politicians of the new distracted republic should likewise decline responsibility for a disadvantageous peace. Nor will anybody wish to blame the French for a gallant perseverance after disasters without parallel. But still their advisers are culpable, because they stubbornly stimulate their more ignorant countrymen in a contest originally begun, where success has become hopeless, by appeals to a sense of honour as something quite peculiar to themselves, and as though the French were a people with rights and examples belonging to no other race on earth.

Germany on the other hand, fighting strictly for peace and not

the least affected by the change of government in Paris, that she herself entitled to demand such terms as are needful to secure her legitimate object. How is it possible to rely henceforth on mere humanities, which have been practised with exceptional indulgence towards rivals? Who is ever ready, trusted to the phrase 'When France is strong, Europe is safe'? Under all circumstances rather requires some strong demonstration against a discontent with to a certainty, under any political system whatever, will make the cry, 'Revenge for Sedan, for Metz, for Paris!' Certainly to prevent, at least for a long time to come, the reunion of a provocation as well as a menace to the general peace of Europe, the German nation exacts that its rulers will remain bound together with certain strategical barriers, pushing to the frontier a district with the smallest possible area from France. This Prussia must have as if they but bear us, as they did. Are it long ago, when the same demand was frustrated by the combined Government of all Europe against Napoleon I. Its circumstance that the present new family compact is directed by our own statesmen to some extent does not alter the matter, as it is certain to be a temporary one, and we believe, a very weak one at best. We see no better means of securing South Germany, and with them, essential as we believe, our own and protection to our countrymen, than for a thirty years' peace in the war. Less, we are convinced this by the statesmanship of our military organization, hitherto of course perfection, would be turned effectually into a 'boundary fence,' as Mr. Carlyle calls it for the lasting benefit of the Continent. Whatever it is necessary to occupy a single inch of territory inhabited by a French-speaking population, and whether Metz as well as Strasburg ought to remain in our hands, depends, it is agreed, solely on strategical considerations. It is a misfortune, indeed, that we should have to calculate with them, and not exclusively with the necessity of drawing a purely ethnographical border-line.

You will remember that the Government of National Defence peremptorily declined treating on any basis like this. Adhering most tenaciously to a Gallic superstition that France may take but cannot lose territory, and looking out without reason for the active sympathies of some neutral Power nowhere to be found, they refused to yield an inch of land or a stone of a fortress.

Let me leave, however, these partial contemplations, and ask what are the political advantages derivable by Germany from the issue of a conflict without parallel? Military unity for the very purpose the Prussian armaments had in view has undoubtedly been most successful. But it by no means follows that the internal embarrassments will be removed just as quickly. The numbers of sympathizers with the new Empire's chances of reputation, or of prejudiced and unprincipled admirers of success, that the annexation of old German property, were, indeed, very great. Each neighbouring Southern State from choosing more intimate ties with the North. The Grand Duke of Baden was but too happy to remain on his own terms, so that the so-called mediatized Princes and Darmstadt could not stay behind. And even the two larger States were strongly inclined to share in common the blessings of peace as they have been sharing valiantly the hazards of war. At all events they had to

[1] Letter to the *Times*, November 28, 1870.

come soon, and will at the least instigation of the Northern Alliance. But could it be supposed that a kingdom like Bavaria, with between four and five millions of subjects and a splendid army, would stand quietly by and see the power of Prussia increase to such a degree as to threaten the existence of her own independence, by which the King of Prussia has the supreme direction of the great property of the entire German army? Bismarck and his adherents in every part of the North-German Confederation

events, by the accession of the Southern States one encumbrance at least becomes superfluous instantly—the separate Parliament for the Custom League is already shelved for ever.

Nevertheless, the element of monarchical unity, which, as we have seen, marks distinctly the constitution of the North, will have to deal more than before with federal tendencies. As two more kings with their dominions have entered the national state, it has been necessary to settle definitely the competency of the central authority. The new provisions securing military unity will certainly not injure this authority. But is it the same case with a separate committee in the federal council for foreign affairs granted to Bavaria, Saxony, and Wurtemberg? If I am not mistaken, this clause rather involves a beneficent guarantee, a new moral weight against any rash proclamation of war. Count Bismark, at all events, knows perfectly well what, in the interest of the community, has been conceded.

And is there not to be an extension of the monarchical principle, after all? The King of Bavaria having handsomely proposed the assumption of the Imperial crown by the King of Prussia, and all other princes and governments having joined him, there is to be the Emperor and a German realm in official style, as sanctioned by the very last decree of the North German Parliament. Now, a great many Prussians and educated men all over Germany are not exactly enamoured of a title to which stick so many melancholy, unhappy, and unnational traditions. They would decidedly have preferred the King of Germany, if he could in any way fit in with the coexistence of three other kings. But, as these cannot be reduced again to dukes and counts, there is no other alternative but to raise the King of Prussia in dignity, implying, it is true, another concession to our southern brethren, who have always retained a predilection for Imperial attributes. The dream of 1848 has become a reality in 1870, by the combined demands of the princes and the people. This will never conjure up again the empire of the Middle Ages, nor that of Charles V., for the Imperial crown on the head of the Hohenzollern signifies a strict national policy and the consolidation of a firm substantial German power in the centre of Europe. The spirit of monarchy, as it still pervades public life in Prussia, will be necessarily infused into the entire body politic, so that federal exemptions and privileges will never be able to raise obstructions, as in the days of the old *Bund*. The only protests against this settlement are uttered by those, who either on principle dislike unity, or are the inveterate enemies of national honour. The conservatives, on the contrary, hope that the time is approaching, when the gaps in the constitution will be filled up by a national Senate, perhaps eventually by a House of Peers of the Realm in addition to a responsible ministry. To the united Parliament of Germany will certainly be opened a legislative area of vast importance, in which the representatives may exercise their talents for the benefit of national progress.

As for our neighbours, they may be assured on all sides, that the military character of the State must remain what it has been—essentially defensive, though they will have to deal in future with a German Realm instead of a Confederacy. Nobody is more deeply impressed with this conviction than the honest old sovereign and conqueror, to whom Providence has allotted, with the support of the German people, what his most illustrious ancestors could hardly have dreamed of. The imperial diadem to be worn by

William I. and his successors has scarcely anything in common with French imperialism, nor will German soldiers ever be Prætorians. An organisation by which the whole people are most effectively entrusted with the defence of the country cannot deviate from its purpose, so as to become a standing menace to a peaceful world.

In all probability we have arrived at an important turning-point in the history of our race. Perhaps, to a period of about two centuries, during which France more or less aspired to European supremacy, an epoch of Germanic predominance is to succeed. Strassburg, once the prey of Louis XIV., but still a German city, much more than it may appear at a hasty glance, is in our hands again; and the siege of Paris, as well as the reconstruction of a new Germany, have been conducted from the Royal German head-quarters in the favourite palace of the Grand Monarque.

Yet the great moral reason derived from the territorial acquisitions of our forefathers would be lost entirely, if Germany and her rulers were ever to be dazzled by the same passionate love of military glory and unjust aggrandisement which in a former age were inaugurated from Versailles. May the patient and even temper of the Germans guard them successfully against the committal of such a fatal and irrevocable mistake. May they never forget, that by adhering to everything that has been pure and legitimate in their cause, by an impartial faith in the rights of nationality, they best fulfil their duty towards mankind. A succession of wars within seven years has secured but the bare walls of the house we live in, leaving hitherto very little time to furnish it comfortably. Naturally, we pray for a long and permanent peace, by which alone the cruel wounds inflicted on all sides can be healed. We pray for it in order to use our independence in the only justifiable way, that is to say, by taking up sincerely and manfully the huge mass of internal work before us, if possible with the sympathy and the good wishes of other nations.

REMEMBRANCE.

From the French of Alfred de Musset.

When back I ventured to this sacred spot,
I thought to suffer, while I hoped to weep;
Thou dearest of all graves, yet mindful not,
Where only memories sleep.

What feared ye then, friends, of this solitude?
Why sought ye thus to take me by the hand,
Just when old habit and old charm renewed
Led me to where I stand?

I know them in their bloom, the hills and heath;—
The silver fir-falls on the silent ground,—
The quiet walks, sweetened by lovers' breath,
Where her arm clasped me round,

I know the fir-trees in their sombre green;
My giant-friends that, murmuring along
The careless byways of the deep ravine,
Once lulled me with their song,—

The copses, where my whole youth as I pass
Wakes like a flight of birds to melody,
Sweet scenes, fair desert where my mistress was,
Have ye not looked for me?

Oh, let them flow, I love them as they rise
From my yet bleeding heart, the welcome tears;
Seek not to dry them, leave upon mine eyes
This veil of the dead years!

Yet will I with no vain lament alarm
These echoing woods that in my joyful part;
Proud is the sweetness of the tranquil charm,
And proud, too, is my heart

In the moonlit solitudes where the hours,
With kiss and pressed hands in love-lorn order,
All in the past have fled, the churchyard flowers
Grow not more lonely.

Ah! sweet the lady-bird, bright moon, I see thee,
Thy face is veiled yet, fragrant of myrrh,
But from the cloud that wraps thy head so free,
Wearing no light!

As fresh thy rose, though earth yet moist with rain,
Its petals [illegible]
So [illegible]
[illegible]

The troubles of my life are past and gone,
And age and youth in fancy reconciled:
This friendly valley I but look upon,
And am once more a child

O mighty Time! O light years lightly fled!
Ye bear away all tears and griefs of ours;
But ye are pitiful, and never tread
Upon our faded flowers

All blessings wait upon your healing wing,
I had not thought that wounds like mine could wear
So keen an edge, and that the suffering
Could be so sweet to bear

Hence, all ye idle names for frivolous woes,
And formal sorrow's customary pall,
Parted over bygone loves by those
Who never loved at all

Dante, why saidst thou that no grief is worse
Than to remember happiness in woe?
What satisfaction there that bitter verse,
Inducing misery so?

Is it less true that there is light on high
For night we day, even as night's wings are spread?
Is it the greater mock, mere wanton cruelty,
Is it the devil who thus hast said?

Nay, by yon torch whose splendour lightens me,
Never did thy heart such baseness prove,
A heavy memory on earth may be
More even than happiness

H. C. MERIVALE.

KAYE'S INDIAN MUTINY.[1]

THE events by which Englishmen, to adopt the phrase of an eminent author, have been of late amazed and 'bewildered' are not opportune for a consideration of the literature of past wars. Attention is naturally absorbed by the multiplicity of harrowing details given by a whole army of war-correspondents. The proportions of the present struggle are gigantic. Its issues are complicated and vast. Its effects will influence the social and national feelings of generations not yet born. And in contemplating the enormous hosts, the ancient methods of destruction, the outpouring of life and treasure, and the deadly grapple of two great military Powers, we feel tempted to forget all previous contests for empire or frontier, and to say with Dr Johnson, 'Let me never hear of the Punic wars again.' Yet the story of the Indian mutiny, or the Sepoy war as Mr Kaye prefers to call it, is one of surpassing interest to all Englishmen who rightly value their Eastern possessions which will live as a glorious confirmation of [illegible] while [illegible] hundred years ago at Plassey and Buxar from the Carnatic and the Deccan wars. Every page, with varied feelings of sorrow, pride and admiration at the [illegible] of Englishmen in whose veins [illegible] better blood [illegible] to the [illegible] as the [illegible]

Mr Kaye has got the task a variety of qualifications not often united in the same individual. He has a great command of language and a full and flowing style. The story of the Afghan war, as told by him in two goodly volumes, has all the power and significance of a Greek Trilogy. His biographies of such statesmen as Metcalfe and Malcolm have been welcomed by the Indian administrator at his desk as well as by the English student in the library. No writer is more jealous of our national reputation as conquerors or rulers, and none has shown greater willingness to recognise the merits of those from whose policy he may have reason to dissent. But many readers who know the author only as the first of writers on Anglo-Indian subjects or as Political Secretary at the India Office, may not be aware that Mr. Kaye was, in his early years, a lieutenant in the Bengal Artillery. He left India about a quarter of a century ago, on account of failing health. But even at that time he was favourably known to the Anglo-Indian public as a writer; and his early prose sketches and [illegible] contain graphic and truthful pictures of social and domestic life in India, and stand out in happy contrast to those vulgar tales and flashy novels which [illegible] a sensational [illegible] unfaithful [illegible] in the [illegible] an admirable [illegible] by [illegible] or [illegible] borrowed from a [illegible] Russian [illegible] Mr Kaye's [illegible] at the [illegible] Bengal Artillery [illegible] and in Armenian, is a guarantee for his ac-

[1] [illegible] by John William Kaye, F.R.S. [illegible]

curacy in military and political details. He has even more than that knowledge of every section which Scott acquired from service with the Edinburgh Volunteers in 1797, and Gibbon from a commission in the Hampshire militia. He presents us capital engravings from an insight into everything of importance with regard to our Indian policy, our treatment of Indian feudatories, and the principles which now actuate the Viceroy as the immediate representative of the Queen of England and the Mogul Emperor. He has lived in constant communication with statesmen and administrators of every rank. Large masses of familiar and private correspondence have been freely placed at his disposal. He has freely access to the vast stores of information which the official pen of viceroy and secretary has sent home to be stored up at Westminster. And, consequently, when we regard his past associations, his present employment, his experience in literature, his acquirements in collecting and arranging information, and his practical training, it may easily be conceived that no writer has commenced such a task with greater advantages, or is more likely to produce an historical narrative which shall be accurate without being wearisome, and full without overwhelming, which shall illustrate the most striking differences in the British and Asiatic character and which shall elevate to the true level of the great argument all the exciting topics with which the historian of 1857 must necessarily deal.

The first volume of the work was published five years before the second. As we often happens in these literary ventures, the author has somewhat underestimated the extent of his materials and the prospective size of his work. In the volume just closed in 1865 he had given us his own view of the causes and origin of discontent among the Sepoys. This led him to examine narrowly the very foundations on which our Indian Empire rested, the motives which had actuated successive rulers in undertaking wars, in annexing provinces, and in governing the population, and the general effect on the minds of princes and people of the measures which had tended to feed national vanity or to build up individual reputation. And though some critics and administrators did not wholly concur in the strictures of the author with regard to particular statements, or were not prepared to endorse all the inferences which he drew from facts stated with fairness and not disputed in essentials, yet all men agreed in reading and praising the work as one in which a mass of information was collected and set out with undeniable ability, and which was a valuable record of the efforts of a dominant Power to do justice to the most solemn trust ever delegated to any nation distinguished both in commerce and in war.

Mr. Kaye, at the close of his first volume, left his readers on the tip-toe of expectation at the outbreak of Meerut. It was then understood in literary and Anglo-Indian circles, though perhaps with not any solid grounds for the belief, that the task of the author would be accomplished in three volumes. The second was to contain the whole history of the outbreak, battles, sieges, and revolutionary operations. The third and last was to be taken up with an account of the changes in the Constitution, and in the revenue measures by which Lord Canning endeavoured to substitute order for chaos, and generous trust and loyal submission in the place of feverish alarm or inveterate disaffection. It seems, however, to be already clear that the original limits of the work on the above programme must be exceeded. That a good deal of ground is yet to get over in the present

volume, and that it is full of life and interest, we readily admit, but a series of vast and connected operations remains to be described. Delhi is not taken; Lucknow is not relieved; Lord Clyde is never mentioned; Sir Hugh Rose has not appeared in Central India, or even at Bombay. The author, not unnaturally, is perplexed by the multitude of similar and thrilling events occurring in the course of a week in half a dozen quarters of the empire. Tacitus, in his Annals, because he adhered to his plan of compressing into each year all the events which belonged to it, had, we know, to rush from the Rhine to Egypt, and from a conflagration in the City to an embassy from the Parthian king. Mr. Kaye, in the same way, has to explain to his readers how, during these well-remembered months of May and June 1857, in different parts of the empire, treasuries were 'looted,' prison bars burst open, gray-haired colonels were shot down while haranguing their pet tted Sepoys, and mothers and children were exposed to insult and pitiless attack. There was a horrible likeness in many of these fractional outbursts of Asiatic devilry. But Mr. Kaye has managed his awful but material with much discrimination and method, and has, practically, divided his second volume into three main parts. One series of events reaches from the outbreak at Meerut and the seizure of Delhi. Another series is taken up with the awful massacres of Cawnpore and the retributive march of Neill and Havelock from Calcutta. The third division treats of the siege of Delhi, and, as a consequence, of the strenuous efforts which were made by Lord Lawrence, then Chief Commissioner, not only to preserve order in the Punjaub, but to make that province the base of operations against the rebel city. The arrangement strikes us not only as judicious, but as the best that could be made. But the upshot is that we hold Mr. Kaye to be committed to four volumes; nothing less can do justice to the gallantry of his countrymen and to the firmness and policy of Lord Canning.

A review of the main features and of some of the principal topics of this volume is due to Mr. Kaye, as far as space will permit. Mr. Kaye explains with perspicuous brevity the circumstances under which the old East India Company had allowed Delhi to remain the residence of the successors and descendants of Tamerlane. In the commencement of this century the ambition of the French was shattered and the Mahratta Confederacy broken up by Wellesley in the cabinet and by Lake in the field. But with a respect for fallen royalty which was closely allied to weakness, we permitted three generations of puppet kings to retain something of the external pomp and pageantry which appertain to kingcraft. The allowance for the royal family was left at more than 100,000*l.* a year. Certain districts were exempted from the operation of the ordinary laws and courts, and were attached to the royal person. Residents and agents, and even secretaries on the part of the Governor-General, went through the degrading ceremony of presenting offerings of loyalty to the Great Mogul. Until a comparatively recent period money was coined in his name, and the royal era was current in public proceedings and in legal transactions. It is true that these acts of apparent homage and submission were not conceived without some opposition on the part of clear-sighted and independent officials, or without deserved misgivings in the mind of British statesmen. The palace at Delhi became a seething cauldron of corruption and intrigue. Gradually, however, one exemption after another was taken

away. The rupee of the Company took the place of the gold mohur of the Emperor. The old royal era no longer headed formal proceedings. The loyalty persisted, was not diminished, nor was the substantial comfort impaired, but men of divided views and uninstructed prescience began openly to discuss the propriety of extinguishing the titular dignity of those in whose emperors, and even of removing them from a place which was replete with tempting historical associations, and which might, at any moment, become a source of positive mischief to our power. At length, a minute which had the great merit, though only, to such minds as Lord Metcalfe and Lord Ellenborough, ascribed, in the vigorous and trenchant minutes of Lord Dalhousie, the following proportions and shape. Recognising fully the evils, moral and political, to which the retention of the king at Delhi gave rise, Lord Dalhousie boldly proposed that, on the death of the present incumbent, the kingly title should be abrogated, that the palace should become an arsenal and be kept as a British post, and that the royal family should go forth to reside at the Kootub, some eleven miles to the south-west of Delhi, remarkable as the funeral-place of members of the royal family, and in which for the young prince or princess, the richest and the most exciting in the world.

The receipt of Lord Dalhousie's proposal was followed by a sharp discussion between the Directors and by a conflict of that body with the Board of Control. The despatch was framed by instructions that the Governor-General should consult the Board, but, through the Court, empowering him to act on his own views. But Mr Kaye is not at what Lord Dalhousie learnt in what a hotbed of contents the despatch was being prepared, how many hesitated to act on its contents,' and, 'to his honour,' 'deferred to the opinions expressed by the majority of the Court, and by others not in the Court whose opinions were entitled to equal respect.' Now the facts lucidly given by the author lead, to our thinking, to a very different inference. Mr. Kaye has expressed in no measured but in just language the iniquities and the abominations of the palace. He has deliberately recorded his conviction that the social humiliations inflicted on the inmates of the palace were the inevitable consequences of British supremacy, that it may be questioned whether a single man, to whose opinion any weight of authority can fairly be attached, has ever doubted the wisdom of those concessions—to wit, the abolition of the kingly era, of the royal rupee, and of the degrading obeisance; that, in the interests of humanity, we might have done even more; and that there was undoubted wisdom in that portion of Lord Dalhousie's minute which pointed out the dangerous position of a fort at Delhi, dominating over the city, tempting intriguers, and menacing the great magazine. Yet Mr. Kaye apparently rejoices in the triumph of the majority of the Directors who had opposed Lord Dalhousie and the President of the Board of Control, and to whose opposition it was mainly due that the wise suggestions of the Governor-General were not acted on, and that in the end they fell through after further discussion. He describes this party as 'powerful in numbers, more powerful still in its unfeigned honesty and candour, and in its unmistakable sense of justice.' That the conservative party, which always musters strongly at an Oriental court, at a board like that in Leadenhall Street, or at a council like that now sitting at Westminster, contains many honest, upright, and intellectual men, who in their

day have done admirable service to the State, we are quite ready to admit. But if we admit their candour and respect their motives, we must demur to their sagacity and statesmanship, and must look on them as quite incapable of taking in those changes in public policy and internal reforms which had been rendered not only expedient but imperative by the sheer progress of events. There are always some excellent men whose thoughts will not widen with the process of the suns. It is quite certain that Lord Canning, with but a few months' experience of India, not only came to some conclusions identical with those of Lord Dalhousie, but saw, with even greater distinctness, the social, military, and political dangers arising out of our injudicious retention of a paying-point for intrigue. But the events of 1857 are a commentary on the whole contest far more eloquent and decisive than any argument or weight of authority which we could adduce. Early in 1857 [illegible] was the very centre of disaffection and treachery, and how the emissaries at Meerut and elsewhere fled to the capital, used the king's name and standard, and made the palace a rendezvous for intrigue, is known to everyone, and is the subject of some of Mr. Kaye's most brilliant chapters. The delusion, then, was thought to follow from the obstructiveness of some of the old Oriental Directors in, it is said, not allowing the Governor-General to make treaties with the Native Princes, but that we should boldly declare the duty and determine to put down, wherever we find them, existing wrongs, when the opportunity has arisen, and have introduced the Italian principle of [illegible] war.

Mr. Kaye, in his preface, tells us the position in which he has situated himself in regard to recent events, and from which he will not swerve. As we subject his remarks, he speaks freely of all, but with marked forbearance in the case of those who are dead and can no longer defend themselves. Yet in no place has he been neglectful of the first duty of an historian, ne quid falsi . . . ne quid veri non audeat. It is impossible even now to read his account of the vacillation and helplessness of the officials at Meerut, or of the inconceivable folly which selected the spot for the entrenchment at Cawnpore, without a feeling of indignation or shame. We have no time to go minutely through the accounts of the successive outbreaks by which the country either fell into the hands of the rebels, or became a mere reflection of anarchy and chaos when the representatives of our authority were withdrawn.

But Mr. Kaye brings out very ably and clearly the important part which individual character played at this crisis. Where there was incompetence, hesitation, or credulity the rebels did exactly as they pleased. The same hideous programme was played out at stations very remote from each other. The details varied, the chief features were identical. Where there was incapacity, others gray in the service, or mere boys, were shot down by troops wearing medals or decorations which they had gained while serving in our ranks, the houses were burnt and plundered, the treasury was sacked, the convicts of the gaol and the refuse of the city or bazaar fraternised, all external symbols of British rule and authority were blown more or less down, and the men with white faces either lay dead in the gutters or were seeking shelter in the jungles. Where, on the contrary, there were two or three men who feared no responsibility, and who had healthy courage and tact to execute, the whole scene was changed. Intriguing ministers were disarmed, wavering were brought over, disaffected Mahometans or

Hindus were awestruck by timely and wholesome exhibitions of severity, public authority was hardly interrupted for a day, nor was an ounce of silver taken from the public till. Here, on the one hand, we had to deplore the catastrophes of Meerut, Delhi, Ludhiana, and above all of Cawnpore, there was something to command admiration and to restore confidence in the splendid tenacity and the rapidity of execution which were displayed by soldiers and civilians at Lahore, Peshawur, and Benares. Nowhere have Englishmen performed deeds so calculated to vindicate the natural claim to ascendency and empire, or to impress the natives with a humiliating but very fortunate sense of their inability to act long in concert or to shake long from our grasp.

Enlightened public opinion has never been divided as to the merits of the officials in the province of Punjaub, who, from the very first, took in the whole danger and devised the remedy. But the services rendered to the State by Lord Lawrence, while at that time Chief Commissioner, and by a band of his trusted subordinates, appear, on calm reflection and after the lapse of years, even greater than they are usually represented. It is quite true that there were some special circumstances in the administration of the province and in the character of the people that favoured our cause. The Sikh had an old grudge against the Poorbea soldier, or 'Down-Easter' as this epithet might be rendered. The government of the Punjaub, for eight years after its conquest and annexation, had been entrusted to very able hands, had been controlled with great vigour and tact, and had been signally encouraged and encouraged by the Supreme Government. A considerable portion of the English military force serving in India occupied Peshawur, the cantonment of Mean Meer near Lahore, and other important stations. The influential chiefs on the Sutlej, who had been protected by the diplomacy of Metcalfe from the aggressions of Runjeet Singh, warmly espoused our cause and kept open the communication between Umballa and Delhi. But it would have been quite possible for feeble hands and hazy intellects to have thrown these advantages away. The intrepid soldiers and civilians stationed by the Indus, the Ravi, and the Sutlej, pressed them to their utmost, and generally seemed to know exactly where audacity terminates and mere rashness begins. It was a happy moment when the local authorities conceived the idea of a movable column, and when it was placed under the command of such a dashing officer as Sir Neville Chamberlain. The effect of this was that a compact body of troops, thoroughly equipped and splendidly led, was ready to move at once wherever mutiny was threatened, instead of waiting till treasuries were invaded and bungalows in a blaze. In truth, as Lord Lawrence forcibly pointed out in one of his letters to General Anson, there is no period of Indian history when rapid and bold action has not been successful. The celebrated maxim of Danton has, in India, served many a hand and filled many a bright page in history. Once crossing the river at Plassey, Wellesley rushing on the Mahratta batteries at Argaum, Gillespie galloping to the relief of Vellore, Fitzgerald charging round the British line of Seetabaldi, Hardinge and Gough attacking the Sikh lines at Ferozeshah on the afternoon of a brief winter's day, as soon as they were joined by the brigade under General Littler; these and many others are instances of that self-confidence and that supreme contempt of difficulties which, when joined to some strategic skill, have proved

as effective as our arms of precision, our rigid discipline, and our serried ranks. To these fine chapters must now be added several others, and no Englishman can read without a glow of satisfaction those animated pages in which Mr. Kaye narrates the spirited doings of the council of war at Peshawur, and the great disarmament of the Sepoy regiments at the morning parade near Lahore. O, si sic omnia! Mr. Kaye is fully justified in saying that it rested with the Chief Commissioner not only to save the province, but to save the empire; not only to anticipate anarchy and rebellion in the mixed population of Sikhs and Mahometans, but to collect and send forth troops beyond his own sphere of action, who should confront rebellion in its head-quarters and should recapture the city. And here Mr. Kaye lets the general public, perhaps for the first time, into the secret of one point which was hotly debated. In the eyes of the Chief Commissioner the recapture of Delhi was of such paramount importance that it dwarfed by comparison every other object. To effect this Lord Lawrence was prepared to give up the Peshawur valley to the Ameer of Cabul and to retire to the Indus. Such a decision could perhaps be only justified on the ground that in this way and in no other could Delhi be taken. But able men, on the other side, pointed out the extreme value of that outpost or bulwark, and the impolicy of any retrograde movement which would turn friends into waverers, and waverers into active foes. The arguments for not yielding an inch of ground were put forward with great point and earnestness, and we have no doubt that they were sound, and that the absolute retreat of the frontier across the Indus would have been a desperate measure, to be resorted to when everything else had failed. But the opponents of the secession went much too far, on the other hand, in thinking that the siege of Delhi might be raised without irretrievable disaster. Fortunately, the progress of events and the determined front shown solved the difficulty without compelling a resort to either alternative. Peshawur was not abandoned, and Delhi was eventually retaken by British and Punjaubi troops without the addition of a single bayonet from England. But Lord Lawrence was essentially right in attaching immeasurable importance to a successful siege. The eyes of all India were directed to the imperial city. The rebels, strengthened by almost weekly additions from revolted brigades in divers parts of Upper India, seemed to taunt and defy our forces. Neither enemies nor adherents had forgotten that, half a century previously, we had been compelled to raise the siege of Bhurtpore. There was no doubt in the minds of men who took not a local but an imperial view of the situation, that to take the Mogul capital was to strike a blow at the very heart of the rebellion, and to satisfy friends, enemies, and those who faced both ways, that the final extinction of the revolt was a mere question of exertion and time.

In the volume before us, however, that decisive blow is not struck. The situation of the British army before Delhi was in every sense peculiar, and the story of June, July, and August 1857, as told by Mr Kaye, is one of gallant struggles but deferred hopes. Within less than a month from the outbreak at Meerut, in spite of heat and the incompetence of the commissariat, a compact force had certainly taken up a striking position before the walls. A brigade under General Wilson set out from Meerut, twice routed the mutineers by the Hindun river, and effected a junction with the columns of General Barnard, when the combined forces

were again completely successful in a third action, which was known as that of Budlee-ka-Serai. That the mutineers, though outnumbering our forces, should not withstand the well-directed fire of the Royal Artillery and the rush of the British infantry, and that they should leave their camp with all the rest of the capital, was just what everyone expected. But when we had once overpassed the ridge and the old cantonments, the aspect of affairs was entirely changed. The mutineers had powerful guns, inexhaustible stores of ammunition, the traitor rajah to encourage them, and numbers under which to fight. The consequence was that the story of Sobraon was repeated. The besieging army found itself almost besieged. It is still a question amongst military men whether our little army could not on arrival have taken Delhi by a coup-de-main. And it is quite certain that the practicability of this step was urged on the General in command by a knot of gallant young officers; and that on more than one occasion active preparations were made for an assault. But from want of resolution on the part of our officers, from a variety of cross-purposes, and other grave causes, the hazard was not run, and for three months the operations, which are detailed with great force, accuracy, and animation, took somewhat the following shape. The mutineers from their batteries assailed and shelled, at long ranges, into the very midst of our camp. Our artillery, though served excellently, was wholly unable to answer this fire, or even to reply to it with effect. Our force was numerically small, it was subject to heavy losses, while some part of it was not to be trusted. The rebels, as we have remarked, were receiving frequent additions from regiments and even brigades which had revolted at large stations, and which, after the usual circuitous, had marched straight to the capital. As these new allies flocked to the city they were sent out to have their 'baptism of fire,' with the double purpose of proving their fidelity and prowess, and of affording us no respite. It mattered not that they were invariably routed and had to get back to their cover. Our men, meanwhile, had no peace. They were disturbed at the bath and at the midday meal, when the sun was at its fiercest; attempts were made to attack our rear and to interrupt our convoys; our pickets were shot at from gardens and nullahs; mistakes occurred from the similarity of dress, bugles, and accoutrements; and it became evident that until reinforced we could not hope to save the inside of Delhi, even if we could calculate on maintaining our position in the teeth of serious losses, and against the attacks of an emboldened enemy. To those who were then in India, and who look back on the history of the mutiny, there was no darker period of distress and danger than the first three weeks of August. Delhi had not fallen, Cawnpore had indeed been recaptured; but Lucknow was not relieved. Reinforcements were only just arriving from England, and were on the seaboard. We were making no progress; and, at such a crisis, and with an Asiatic people, not to advance was in reality to go back. But by the end of August our prospects brightened. Nicholson with his movable column had arrived in camp, and had fought a splendid battle in the rear of our forces. One of the most successful of our engineers had taken the exact measure of his antagonists; the siege train, protected by the loyal Sikh feudatories in the Sutlej, was at hand, and the exertions of Lord Lawrence had collected a force which, however small when compared with that of the rebels, proved itself adequate to the task of as-

saulting batteries, though manned by skilled and desperate artillerymen; and, what was of even greater importance, of clearing out and holding the city whenever the walls might be gained. It will be for Mr. Kaye, in his next volume, to tell us how the victory was won, to be dimmed by the loss of such a general as Nicholson. But the great episode of the small force that resolutely kept the Flagstaff Tower and the Observatory with unfailing courage and unimpaired cheerfulness, with all its incidents of personal prowess and chivalrous daring, may be read by all with pride and admiration, especially at a time when a display of the same qualities may, at any moment, be required from many who are now calmly sitting by their firesides or lounging in the streets.

It was a natural consequence of the total disruption of intercourse, and of the scope which such a Hydra as the mutiny afforded to individual energy and talent, that the figure of Lord Canning is less prominent in this volume than those who honour his memory would desire. The statesman from England was in the Gangetic India, and it became impossible for him to retain the supreme control or even the partial direction of events which succeeded each other in distressing waves of bloodshed and fire. When telegraph wires were cut, early posts had ceased, and intelligence could only be transmitted by stray messengers, officers had constantly to act on their own judgment, and to hope for confirmation or subsequent indemnity. It may, however, be fairly questioned whether all the measures taken by the Supreme Council at Calcutta were judicious and suited to the crisis. It was unquestionably a mistake to receive with marked coldness or indifference the spirited and timely offer of the inhabitants of Calcutta for the enrolment of a corps of volunteers. It was also a mistake to treat the press conducted by Englishmen just as we treated the mischievous productions emanating from disloyal and seditious natives. But of the dignity, fortitude, and calmness shown by Lord Canning there should be but one opinion. After a brief tenure of office, and without having paid a single visit to any part of Upper India, he was suddenly called on to face one of the most terrible ordeals that had ever tested human foresight and skill. And we see him, in these pages, straining every nerve to reinforce Benares and the Doab of Hindustan, to procure troops from Ceylon, China, and England, to narrow the circle of the mutiny, and to limit the spread of discontent. Men keeping important posts, or watching densely-crowded cities, were cheered or rewarded by a few lines written by the hand of the Governor-General, in that language which he wielded with such stately dignity and grace. By edict and by example he firmly checked the effusion of innocent blood and the excesses of retribution; and to his efforts, if to those of any one individual, it is owing that the mutiny did not bequeath to his successors an undying legacy of religious antipathies and of national hate. But the subsequent volumes will, in all probability, be more fitted to bring out the really noble points in Lord Canning's character; to show how he could reward devotion and cast a veil over error; and how he shaped the outlines of a grand and a regal policy which was at last rendered possible by the quelling of the mutiny and by the assumption of the Government in the name of the Queen.

Mr. Kaye's service in India has evidently guaranteed him immunity from attacks of misconceptions of Anglo-Indian style and phraseology, but it has imparted a lively and a picturesque character to his de-

scriptions of scenery and to his estimates of men. It was said of Lord Macaulay that his celebrated essays on Indian generals or administrators derived interest from the local knowledge which such a mind as his must have acquired and digested in a four years' residence, during which, though he visited the North-Western Provinces, he never went much higher up the river Hooghly than Barrackpore. Mr Kaye is not troubled with any elevated Englishman who can't tell whether Hurdwar is a Hindu or a Mahometan, or whether the battle of Buxar; and therefore he can't be credited with a knowledge of the subtle distinctions existing between a Rajput and a Kurmi, and between the Karkoons of the Board of Bombay and the Moonshees of the Bay of Bengal. Some of his descriptions of celebrated British stations and states may be accurately given. The beauty of Benares with its temples, tanks, ingeniously carved stone screens, the picturesque old Mahometan palaces at the foot of Asoka's huge, dusty, and straggling capital of Oujein, with its ancient observatory, built in late years and somewhat disused in its interior. Delhi with its mosques, its tombs, its stately palaces and its wide streets, its private Benares depositories from ancient ages to all the workable portions of later periods, with their endless carvings in stone, are all of them very graphically described. Nor is the work wanting in anecdotes illustrative of character, whether of Europeans or natives, designed to rise with the occasion, and to throw light upon the more important events of the history. Of the latter class is the story of the heroic Wheeler, how he sent a letter to the rebel chief, Nana Sahib, with regard to the fate of Hervey Bellasis, the magistrate, Jenkins, and other fugitives of Jhansi. Nicholson, born to rule wild tribes and to win battles—and of Havelock, the God-fearing Puritan, who was the first to stem the tide of rebellion, and to prevail against enemies by pure strategy, appear to us excellent specimens of literary workmanship. Whatever opinion Anglo-Indians may entertain regarding Mr Kaye's political bias or personal prejudices, there can be no doubt of the skill which he manifests as a painter in the grouping of materials, or in the use of colours on the canvas. The facts and figures buried in a multitude of books all have their interest, but have all been digested, while private correspondence, personal recollections, and far more intercourse, have supplied the animation and life. In the background the picture is burdened with the flames or dark with the smoke of rebellion and anarchy; in the front, stand out prominently those exiles of unsullied honour, many ladies, and engaged in science, who, under God's providence, preserved from dishonour and murder, and elevated the character of their nation in the eyes of the world.

As it is not our duty to note a few literary blemishes which mar what is in the main of the work. There is always a difficulty in blending the temporary events and in making the petty and familiar [illegible] with the [illegible] style of history. Not that we object to the introduction of [illegible] but we are at once struck with any [illegible] of the dignity of history. But we could have wished more things to have been recalled by their own simple names. Have we not the right of a free [illegible] to call the [illegible] "Yet when General Neill had to recruit

his exhausted physical energies, we are very properly told that he had to drink champagne and water, and not that he sustained himself by resort to what Mr. Tennyson calls 'the foaming grape of Eastern France.' Then again we have in the siege of Cawnpore an example of translation from ordinary language into the 'grand style' which Mr. Matthew Arnold would scarcely approve. The guns of the unfortunate garrison suffered damage from the enemy's fire; and from this and other causes the canisters could not be driven home. The difficulty was overcome, we are informed, by the 'gentlewomen of Cawnpore, who gave up perhaps the most cherished components of their feminine attire to improvise what was needed.' On turning to a foot-note extracted from the narrative of one of the few survivors of the massacre, we find that, in plain language, the ladies gave up their stockings, and that these articles were charged with the contents of the shot-cases and rammed down the guns' An amusement common enough at stations in the interior of Indian Presidencies is elevated into dignity by the following remarks. 'Accompanied by his daughters, Lt. (Sir H. Wheeler) often went out in pursuit of a jackal, with a few imported hounds which he kept for the purpose; and there was still enough of the true spirit of the sportsman in the soldier of the veteran, to make him in the crisis of the early mutinies, to enjoy the pleasures of the chase.' A Western poet of great genius would have treated the subject of the fox-hunt. The general conception would have been the same, but how different the treatment! Now and then the rustic reader will be startled by the use of a word which he has never met with before, but which he will find in the dictionary. Thus he will learn that they have a rugged ground. The troopers of the 3rd Cavalry, who commenced the outbreak, were hastening towards Delhi on the memorable night of the 11th of May, with, we are reminded, the sound of carbines and rifles and 'the roar of the guns, with their *deadly* showers of grape and canister,' ringing in their ears. From this a casual reader might have imagined that the mutineers had got away from Meerut after experiencing severe loss. But the truth is, that nothing practically was done towards attacking the rebels protecting the station, although the authorities had at their disposal artillery, rifles, and carabineers: and only a few pages before we had been informed that even when our troops had turned out equipped for a fight, 'a few harmless rounds of grape were fired into the obscurity of the night.' A more splendid soldier than General Nicholson scarcely existed, but we can hardly credit what the author gives as a report, namely, that during the pursuit of the mutineers from the Fort at Hote-Mardan, 'the tramp of his war-horse was heard miles off.' We do not see how the hoofs of one horse should make a much greater sound than the clattering of two rough-shod ponies, nor are we able to credit General Nicholson with a seat like that of the Wild Huntsman, or the Demon-lover in Scott's version of Burger's *Lenore*, who went 'tramp, tramp, across the Land; splash, splash, across the sea.' The expression 'tramp royalty,' though perhaps applicable when applied to the festering corruption of the palace of Delhi, is hardly suited for a history, though it may be used in a trenchant speech or an indignant article. And Avatar is hardly applicable to an expected Mahometan prophet, though it was used to the wonderful Explosion of Mussulman dynasties. Avatar as Mr. Shakespeare perfectly well knew, is a pure

Sanskrit word, originally used for the periodical appearances of the incarnate Vishnu on the earth, of which nine are passed and the tenth is yet to come.

The above blemishes do not seriously detract from the merit of the work. A few actual errors of fact or orthography must now be noticed. The name of the civilian who gave evidence at the trial of the King of Delhi is Saunders, and not Sanders, and this gentleman is now our able Resident at Hyderabad. The intriguing queen was *Zeenut*, and not *Zeemut*. For Mr. T. C. Wilson read Mr J. C. Wilcox. The magistrate of Delhi at the time of the outbreak was not Sir Thomas, but Sir John Theophilus Metcalfe; and though we do not ask for Oriental pedantry in the spelling of Eastern names, we protest against metamorphoses of Oriental nomenclature into genuine Anglo-Saxon. Nor Supply's name could be Bridge-Melvin. 'West' is meant is, no doubt, Mr Melvin. A well-known missionary at Benares is Leupolt, and not Leupelt. One of the officers slain at Cawnpore was Vibart, and not Vybart. A platform is described as 'chabootree,' but chabootra. Mutiny, wickedness, or disloyalty would be found, and not found. The Holy War, so often preached by Mahomedan fanatics is Jehad and not Jaulad. This latter phrase is not, indeed, 'Heaven knows what' a thing of nought, but it bears properly an accusative to the hand, and has nothing to do with battles and sieges. The deputy commissioner of Loodiana was Mr G., and not Mr M. Indeed, though we are loath to state that the wrong is obtained by means of a formal protest, Mr M. R. was not only appointed the officiating commissioner at Simla pro tem. The late Mr Barnes was [illegible] at Jyepore, the beautiful city just visited by the Viceroy, and not at Jaipoor. But the error appears to originate with Colonel Sleeman in his *Rambles of an Indian Official*. Many people would imagine that an English officer whose 'skull' was 'clove to the brain' by a despairing trooper could not have survived. The officer to whom we allude is Colonel James Hills, who figures nobly in one of the most stirring episodes of the camp before Delhi, and who is, we are happy to say, still alive and wearing the Victoria Cross for his gallant conduct. It is fair to state, however, that in a foot-note Mr. Kaye quotes from Colonel Hills' own account of the occurrence. And as Colonel H. is not an Irishman he could not have written about his own death. But the phrase 'clove to the brain' applied to an officer still living strikes us as somewhat sensational. We trust that Mr Kaye may have an early opportunity of rectifying the above slight errors or misprints in his second edition.

There are some other statements and remarks in regard to which critics familiar with Indian topics may have ground of objection. At page 123 Mr Kaye admits that there are many things which in the month of May 1857 'might have been done better if the future had been clearly revealed to those who had the conduct of affairs.' And he then proceeds to say that we 'must judge men according to the light of the day which shone upon them, not the light of the morrow which had not yet broken when they were called on to act.' This strikes us as a rather pernicious doctrine to be applied to the conduct of statesmen, the Earls of Ministers or statesmen at a national crisis. Statesmen are selected, elevated to post after post paid by the Treasury, and trusted by the people, precisely on the supposition that they are wiser and more prescient

than other people. We credit them not only with lofty purpose and good faith, but with insight into motives, with calculation of consequences, and with some provision of events. We applaud their political sagacity when they come up to this standard, and we cease to believe in them when they signally fail. Even a *ex post facto* may be wise after the event, and we all know what is proverbially said to be the master or teacher of fools. Why, it may be asked, when General Hewitt had mismanaged matters at Meerut, was General Lloyd allowed to retain the command at Dinapore? And why, if disarmament had been successfully carried out at more than one station by the Punjaub authorities, was the same measure not resorted to by those of Calcutta in regard to native regiments in Behar, while we had English bayonets near Patna? We admit that had this been done, as it easily might have been, history would not have had to record the splendid defence of Arrah by its garrison of civilians and Sikhs. But Lord Lawrence and his subordinates did not wait for 'to-morrow's light.' They acted boldly on the occurrences of to-day, and their success in crushing rebellion or in arresting it suggests the enquiry why policy should charge with the latitude, or why what was done on the banks of the Ravi or the Jhelum should have been unattempted on the banks of the Ganges. The country would not resound its belief in the firmness and decision of Lord Granville at the present moment, if it thought that he was waiting for some revelation of the future, independent of that which can be gathered from his own mind put into character and his powers of drawing correct inferences from the position of Calcutta and the course of events.

We are unable to accept, in the literal or the broad sense which the words imply, the author's statement that in parts of the Empire other than the Punjaub there 'might be seen something almost amounting to fusion between the Hinduised Mahometan, and the Mahometanised Hindu.' The Hindu may ape the dress and imitate the manners of Englishmen, but between Hindu and Mahometan there is, in all parts of India, still as wide a gulf as ever. Not a year passes in which the peace of a great city or a populous mart is not endangered by some riot about a mosque near which a pig has been slaughtered, or a temple into which beef has been thrown; and were it not for the staff of the policeman and the presence of the English magistrate, there would be broken bones and bloody heads on both sides. That Mahometan chiefs or landholders may have Hindus for their agents and managers, and *vice versâ*; that men of different creeds may, under our levelling rule, meet on the same council and sit on the same committee; and that, like Shylock, the one may buy, sell, talk, and walk with the other, is all very true. But the Hindu makes no proselytes from other sects, and the Mussulman still preaches the spread of his own creed by sword and fire. The angularities which Mr. Kaye alludes to are still, we think, sharp and protruding, and union by the social board or the altar is just as far off as it was in the days of Akbar or Shah Jehan.

We might also be permitted to doubt whether the number of mosques — not temples — in the Hindu city of Benares is as many as 272, had not Mr. Kaye quoted Mr Sherring as his authority, and we have pored over the excellent map of the Cawnpore Station at page 288 without finding the Subahdar's Tank, so often mentioned in contemporary accounts, indicated by name, although those who are familiar with the locality can make out its position. Hurdeo, we beg to

...erve, is not the Oriental equiva... for fisherman. The Temple of ...deo is the Temple of Siva, the ...troyer in the Hindu Triad, from ..., an epithet of that deity. We believe that Mr. Kaye himself is perfectly well aware of this, but the ...ulation of words used by ... might lead the unwary to think ... fisherman is the translation of ...deo. We suspect that, as so often happens all over India, a temple to Har, Hara, or Siva, had been erected at the expense of a fisherman, or of a number of persons of that caste, in a fit of piety, or on a ... lucky windfall.

But, with these criticisms, we are ready to give all praise to Mr Kaye for the spirit in which he writes, for the honesty of his endeavours, for his dispassionate estimate of characters and measures, for his general fidelity and liveliness, and for his high moral tone. By no writer have the heroism, the endurance, the energetic views, and the noble deaths of Englishmen and Englishwomen, been so worthily commemorated. Nowhere is there a trace of exultation such as might escape from the lips of one who was telling the story of unsuspecting confidence requited by foul treachery, and who might rejoice in any retribution which overtook a fiend incarnate. Stories of mutilation (which, indeed, disappeared before the investigation of the late excellent Lady Canning who herself saw every lady that passed through Calcutta from the Upper Provinces examined by Mr Kaye) are treated as to be discredited, and the same fate as Mr Kaye's sarcastic notice of the report of writings said to have been discovered on the walls of the slaughter-house at Cawnpore. They were bungling forgeries made by excited soldiers. The extraordinary inconsistency of the mutineers, and instances of their romantic attachment and even chivalrous courtesy, are well brought out in contrast to their deeds of ferocity and violence. Due praise is given to the princes who adhered to our cause, from the Sikh chiefs down to the Afghan pensioner Jan Fishan Khan, whose name, it may readily be conceived, was speedily metamorphosed in the English ranks into John Fisher. And in his earnestness not to palliate retribution exacted by young men of hot blood and ardent imagination, Mr. Kaye even condescends to quote such a work as the *Travels of a Hindu*, by Bholanath Chundra, a writer who never went near the scene of the mutiny when it was raging, who is singularly inaccurate in his account even of places which he has visited, and who writes just as a Bengali might be expected to write.

We take leave of Mr Kaye with a feeling of gratitude that the events of the great mutiny have found an historian who writes in a spirit worthy of the fine corps to which he belongs, of the noble services whose annuity in civil or political administration he is daily criticising and reviewing, of that literature to which he devotes such hours as can be spared from the pressure of official duties, and we may safely anticipate that no rash hand will rush in upon the ground which he has trodden with so firm and dignified a step, and that the history of the great mutiny will not be rewritten.

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THE ORANGE SOCIETY.

NOTWITHSTANDING the rapid and triumphant progress of legislation for Ireland during the past two years, we strongly suspect that the power is hardly yet in existence which will draw the conflicting elements of Irish life into harmony, or soothe into repose its endless agitations. It takes a long period to school a people so divided by force as well as tradition into a sense of civil responsibility. For we find, on the side of the Catholic population, that the spirit which the Penal Laws first exasperated has continued to act, though with diminished power, long after the original stimulus has been withdrawn; while, in the case of the Orangemen, once described by Sydney Smith as the [illegible] of the country, they are as strongly wedded as ever to their old creed of Protestant ascendancy, but so deeply exasperated at the course of recent legislation, that, in spite of all their boasted loyalty, they have shown a disposition to coquet even with anarchists who would overturn the very foundations of society. We all know how the progress of statesmanship and the force of circumstances have carried all parties ahead: in the past twelve years every party, even the old Tory party, once the object of Orange worship, having become as extinct as the Jacobites, who are now only to be found existing in the pages of novelists. The Orangemen themselves have not been without proof against the unbounded contempt of [illegible] with which everywhere they are regarded, but they have [illegible] were, for years, proof that they could be made by the State to [illegible] progress [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] than that professed by their fellow-subjects. There is unfortunately no class of people in these kingdoms less accessible to reason. Their dullness is so impassive and impregnable that all the weapons of controversy are quite thrown away upon them; and we suspect that we are undertaking a perfectly useless experiment in attempting to convince them by argument of the folly of their principles and conduct. The unconquerable pertinacity of opinion which has always distinguished them in the face of the most overwhelming proofs is certainly less honourable in debate than in war.

The Orangeman believes that the whole progress of the last forty or fifty years is a mistake, and he declines to accept the reforms, either political or ecclesiastical, of this fruitful period. He can look back over the seventy-five years of his history without the slightest fear of being reproached with the recollection of a single generous or liberal deed done by Orangemen; for no measure of toleration or liberality was passed during that long period that did not meet with his most unreserved resistance, however [illegible] being [illegible] but [illegible] effort to [illegible] all the [illegible] [illegible] of law, to secure in the hands of a [illegible] [illegible] monopoly of power [illegible] [illegible] and to restrict and [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

of the Orange system, even if we are to make no account of the ill-will which such exclusive associations are sure to engender, the resistance they provoke, and the counter associations they infallibly call into existence, to the manifest injury of the country. The recent history of the institution involves some points worthy of consideration, especially in connection with a liberal development of Orange opinion in Ulster, and it may not be unprofitable to take a brief historical survey of the Society, with the view of understanding its present tendencies and its services.

The first Orange Lodge in Ireland was formed on September 21, 1795, in the house of a man named Sloan, residing in the village of Loughgall, County Armagh. A fierce battle had been fought on the previous evening at the 'Diamond' near the village, between the Protestants of the district and a large party of Roman Catholics from four neighbouring counties, who had come to avenge the banishment of seven Roman Catholics from a certain locality in the spring of the same year. The Protestants were victorious in this conflict, and left many of their antagonists dead on the field. The organization of the Society proceeded rapidly from the time of that battle, and it soon spread over nearly all the counties of Ulster, embracing the Protestant body in general, at a moment when it required its ranks greatly to be recruited from the United Irishmen. The object of the new organization was to establish permanently that ascendancy of one class in the law and in fact, which, partly by means of the Penal Laws, and partly by the operation of the Penal Laws, the Orange Society was in fact the [illegible] It has been customary for the apologists of the Society to dilate on the services rendered by the Orangemen in crushing the insurrection of 1798; but it is only fair to remember that their own atrocities—carried on year after year with unrelenting cruelty, and without the slightest hindrance from the Government—had the effect of directly stimulating the insurrectionary spirit. We have the express testimony of O'Connor, Emmett, and Nevin, the leaders of the United Irishmen, that the Armagh persecutions caused the union of Irishmen, and that 'wherever the Orange system was introduced, particularly in Catholic counties, it was uniformly observed that the numbers of the United Irishmen increased most astonishingly.' It is equally fair to state, that in the year of the insurrection large numbers of the United Irishmen, recoiling with horror from the cruel murders of the Protestants in Wexford passed over into the Orange ranks, and became, as an impartial witness testifies, 'the worst and most violent of the party.' Thus was the origin of the Orange Society.

It is a suggestive fact that, though the system had a tendency from time to time to die out, it was always quickly revived at those particular periods when the Governments of the day were about to make some concession of political rights to Roman Catholics, or when the Roman Catholic Church itself seemed to take some step threatening the integrity or security of the United Church. We have already seen how the insurrection of 1798 [illegible] by the Wexford massacres tended to strengthen the organization. Dr Doyle admitted that in 1824, it was dying out, but that it was revived. It was the all but universal conviction of the Catholic peasantry at that period, founded upon the extraordinary Arrangements [illegible] of the

Bishop Walmsley, under the above-mentioned title, that the year 1825 would be signalised by the simultaneous disappearance of Protestantism and the English rule from Ireland. So deeply had the prophecy influenced the Protestant mind, that Archbishop Magee, of Dublin, advised the Government to make no concessions to the Roman Catholics till the fatal year was passed. The agitation for Catholic Emancipation caused the Society to be re-organised in 1828, after it had been dissolved for three years. Lord Mandeville, a leader of the Orangemen, testified before a Committee of the House of Commons, in 1835, that the Society contained 160,000 members in December 1831; but four years later the numbers had risen to 220,000, which represents about the present strength of the organisation. The rapid increase in this short period is easily explained. This was the time of the great Parliamentary agitation on the Irish Church, when ten of its bishoprics were swept off, and a great effort was made to appropriate its surplus revenues to national purposes, and the establishment of the Irish System of Education, which was the destruction of the monopoly out of the hands of the Episcopal Clergy, and committed it in part to the clergy and people of all denominations. It was, therefore, a period of universal excitement. The Protestants were, indeed, greatly startled, especially during the summer of 1832, by numerous fiery meetings, mostly held by night, which were convened by signs from one Catholic house to another over the whole country. The meetings were remembered to have preceded the 1641 massacre. In that year 1835 the leaders of the Orange Society voluntarily dissolved it in deference to the express wish of the Crown. Twelve years of tranquillity followed. But, in 1845, when Mr. O'Connell was enlarged, to the great indignation of the Ulster Protestants, and Lord Roden took the responsibility of re-organising the Society in the autumn of that year. The bloody conflict of Dolly's Brae took place in 1849. The Government superseded Lord Roden and two others in the commission of the peace for their share in that disgraceful affair; but, after a very short period, the fury of the Orange party subsided. During the year or two following these events Ulster was the scene of a powerful agitation among the tenant-farmers to secure from the Legislature the recognition of their well-known Tenant-Right custom, which their landlords were then gradually undermining by capricious increments of rent, or by wholesale ejectments through ejectments, and a portion of the Orangemen entered into the movement with extraordinary energy and spirit. Their ardour temporarily demoralised the Society. But the Papal aggression came in 1851, and drove the Orangemen back under their natural leaders. The vitality of the Society has known almost no decline since that period, in consequence of the progress and demands of the Ultramontane party in Ireland. Dr. Cullen became Archbishop of Dublin in 1852, and also Papal Delegate, an office which gave him a controlling power over the whole Catholic clergy, and we need hardly say that it has been his special mission to use the words of Mr. James Lowry Wilson, a Liberal Catholic, "to develope, if not create, Ultramontanism" in Ireland. The policy of Dr. Cullen has ever been watched by the Orangemen as a matter vital to their existence.

Before we proceed to enquire how far the Orange Institution has succeeded, or is likely to succeed, in arresting Romish or Ultramontane encroachments, it is only proper to remark briefly upon the strange and all but unparalleled perversity of

historical judgment which selected King William III. as the 'patron saint' of the Society. The current Orange idea of the Conqueror of the Boyne is that he hated the Pope of Rome as the greatest sinner in Europe, that he regarded the Irish Papists as vermin only fit for extermination, and that his leading purpose was to perpetuate the Episcopal Church in England and Ireland as the great work of the Protestant religion. The Orangemen entertain the further delusion that he was a Tory, and the friend of the Tories. Without doubt, the governing spring of all William's actions was his attachment to the Protestant faith, and the deepest hostility to France and her ambitious and persecuting King. It was under the influence of these views that he was the prime, though concealed, mover in those arrangements for mutual defence which were embodied in the Treaty of Augsburg, July 1686, but when the power of England was already wanting to give energy to the powerful confederacy, which united the Princes of the Empire and the Kings of Spain and Sweden, William at once obtained his true position by placing himself at the head of the Protestant interest in Britain. The French monarchy, as Lord Macaulay says, was to the King of England on account of its tyranny and aggression, what Carthage was to Rome or Rome to Hannibal, and that when the battle of the Boyne decided the fortunes of the Protestant cause in Ireland, a treaty between the courts of Spain and Austria was secretly hatching to support the Catholic interest in Europe; but Pope Innocent XI. knew, when Louis XIV. had begun to succeed as well as he feared, and rejoiced at the downfall of James II. and at the success of William III., the champion of the Reformation. The curious parallel of the Papacy had only another singular parallel in the history of the Thirty Years' War, when the Pope of Rome, jealous of the irresistible and haughty power of Spain, celebrated the victory of the Protestants at Leipzig under Gustavus Adolphus with public rejoicings, and secretly rejected the application of the Spanish King to levy subsidies from the clergy. The Orangemen are not aware that King William was a far greater friend of the Papists than James II.; for the ambassador from Spain wrote from London at the time to his Government that 'no English Papist need be afraid, for that the danger arose from the conduct of James, and that William had saved them from a horrible persecution.' Harris, the biographer of William, says that 'he often declared that he came over to deliver Protestants, not to persecute Papists;' and Lingard himself tells us that no less than 4,000 Papist soldiers fought in his army, and that the officer who commanded the Dutch guard was a Papist. The Orangemen have always approved of the Penal Laws, which sorely distressed and degraded the Irish Catholics for about eighty years, but they forget that William used all his influence in vain against the Tories of his day, who were resolved upon crushing the Catholics by penal enactments. Harris informs us that 'he was so true to his principle of liberty of conscience that he restrained the heat of some who were proposing several Acts against the Papists. He made them apprehend the advantage which it would give the French to alienate all the Papists of Europe from England, who thence might hope to set on foot a new Catholic league, and make the war a quarrel of religion, which might have very bad effects, nor could he pretend to protect the Protestants in many places of Germany and Hungary unless he could cover the Papists in England from all severities on account of their religion.' We can easily see to what excess the zeal of the Orangemen

would have taken on the policy of Catholic Emancipation, which they themselves opposed so strenuously, from the words of Sir James Mackintosh, in his *History of the Revolution of 1688*: 'William was on a level with the principle of religious freedom, but was restrained by antipathies from espousing it before, and by a hostile Parliament from establishing it after, he became King' (p. 415). It is a well-known fact that not only was he disposed to grant the fullest toleration to the Catholics of Ireland, but Harris informs us that he would have allowed the Catholic clergy a moiety of the churches and church lands for their maintenance. And so far was he from designing to perpetuate the Episcopal Church of England and Ireland, as it was in his day, that he actually contemplated the establishment of a thoroughly liberal institution on a truly reformed basis, and intended to comprehend in it Presbyterians and Evangelical Nonconformists of all classes. And yet this is the man—so liberal, so tolerant, so wise—an object of the most undeserved opprobrium and hatred to the friends of Protestant ascendancy at the present day, sixty years ago—when all the objects of Orange Societies and whose name has become associated with the most illiberal, unjust, and purely sectional organisation known to the present age.

Let us now briefly enquire whether there is any necessity for such a Society; next let us see how far it has succeeded in its objects; and then we shall trace the effects of its operations on the community, morally, politically, and socially. The popular justification for its existence is usually stated in words like these, which have been heard every day in Ulster: 'We must keep out Papists, lest the upper hand of us.' Now Protestant ascendancy has always been an unmeaning phrase, retained by the defenders of the Protestant religion against Catholic encroachments, but practically the political supremacy of Protestants over Catholics; and what the Orangemen dread is that these positions may be reversed, to the permanent injury of Protestantism. There are just three ways in which, it has been said, Catholics might get the upper hand: one is by force; but it would surely be paying them a great compliment to say that five millions of Catholics could subdue twenty-five millions of Protestants. The other is by argument; and if they should succeed in converting the Protestants of the United Kingdom, with all their learning and intelligence, they would deserve to succeed. And the last mode is by stratagem: but surely the Protestants of the three Kingdoms, including the Dissenters, will not all be asleep. Orangemen, however, cannot see the force of these observations, and continue to repeat those parrot-like phrases about maintaining the Constitution in Church and State, which still have the names of so many people with a secret and sovereign charm. But what is really meant by maintaining or defending the Constitution in Church and State? Does it consist in mere loyalty to the person of the Sovereign? This cannot be the Orange interpretation, for the Revolution was in that sense founded in disloyalty, though the predecessors of many of the Orange clergy of our day were many of them loyal to King James to the last; praying that 'God would give him the hearts of his enemies and the necks of his enemies,' just as most pious, as our Irish bishops use the prayer backwards and forwards four times in a year for William and James, just as either was in the ascendant. It cannot mean loyalty to Queen Victoria, for forty years ago Ernest, Duke of Cumberland, brother of the reigning King, who held the position of Field-Marshal, was at the head of

the Brunswick Club, which demanded to secure for him the succession to the British throne, to the exclusion of the Princess Victoria, and perhaps some of our readers may remember the excitement which occurred some years later at the birth of the present Prince of Wales, which had for its object to prevent the Hanoverian succession. A Committee of the House of Commons was in 1835, at the instance of Mr Joseph Hume, M.P., to investigate the nature and design of the Orange Institution, with the view of ascertaining its disloyal tendencies, and if on it the Duke of Cumberland declined to appear for examination, there was sufficient evidence to prove that, contrary to law, warrants had been issued to many leading members of the association, and such was the spirit evoked by the persecution of the Committee, that at the Duke of Cumberland's request it was agreed to refer to Her Majesty, and Colonel Fairman has been struck off the list altogether from having refused to do so. What, then, did Orangeism mean by maintaining that the Constitution of the Empire was based upon the principle that the Sovereign should be subject to statutes passed without her consent? Why, as well as We have been informed from time to time, a great many improvements have been made in the details of the Constitution. But the Constitution is enshrined in the Throne, however strongly it may be by the existence of the maintenance of the laws of the kingdom, we are aware that the Roman Catholic [illegible] of these years, have their Irish allies in the Orange ranks. Let Mr Butt, who declares that they will be [illegible] two years ago in spite of the law. But surely there is no need at present for an organisation like the Orange Society to a cure disobedience to the laws. The police and the military are perfectly competent to [illegible]. They crushed the Smith O'Brien rising in 1848 and the Fenian rising in 1865 without the aid of any such body. We have taken account of the strong constitutional [illegible] which exist to [illegible] of the people, even of the most loyal kind, with their extraordinary manifestations of physical strength, to [illegible] as they do to supersede the regular action of the law or usurp the authority of Government. If the Government is strong enough to uphold the supremacy of the law, then the Orange system, is quite superfluous for any good. It may be, as has been [illegible] to recommend, a pretext for [illegible] of the worst kind. It may be the most miserable [illegible] of mankind who [illegible] such [illegible] of private [illegible]. But, perhaps, the Orangemen will argue the necessity of an organisation [illegible] to counteract the [illegible] of Popery. It is a singular fact, however, that the Orange leaders [illegible] voluntarily dissolved the Society because it failed in the very point. Immediately after the Report of the Committee of the House of Commons already referred to had been published an address was presented to the Crown by the House of Commons, urging the dissolution of the Society, because it was known as to the discipline of the British army, and dangerous to the peace of the realm.

The Grand Orange Lodge proceeded at once, in April 1836, to dissolve the Society by the following resolution: "It seems to this Grand Lodge that the ends for which the Orange Association was originally framed, namely, the pro-

motion of the interests of the Protestant population of Ireland, will no longer be served by the further continuance of that institution; and that, in conformity with the expressed will of the Sovereign, the Orange Association ought to be and is hereby dissolved.' It surely stands to reason that the Orange Society should be a permanent injury to Protestantism, because, as Lord Gosford remarked before the Committee in 1835, 'it divided the Protestant interest, and whatever caused a schism weakened it.' Besides, every student of history knows that an alliance with a political sect is sure to corrupt religion; that a political parson has not a shred of either moral or religious influence to conciliate opponents; and that the Church of Ireland failed to convert the Irish Catholics precisely because it was a political institution—because, to use the words of the present Bishop of Winchester, it was 'made for three hundred years one of the worst and meanest instruments of English misrule.' The Orangemen may think that it is their destiny to stop the encroachments of the Church of Rome; but, judging by their policy and their acts, they never intended to convert Catholics. It was supremely foolish, if they ever entertained such an idea, to irritate and annoy them. Politically and religiously, the Orange system has been a terrible mistake, for it has only driven the Catholics to unite and concentrate their political efforts on one object; it has removed all causes of weakness among them; it has forced them to forget their differences, or not allowed their differences to develop themselves, for the sake of resisting Orange aggressions. In fact, the Orange system has made a Liberal party in Irish Romanism impossible; it has organised by its intolerable insults and pretensions the whole Catholic population, till each man has become a partisan, and it has alienated by its extremeness and folly the support of all moderate Protestants.

The late Dr. Whately, in a letter to the Bishop of Llandaff, written in the year 1832, made the following remarks: 'I think it not unlikely that the Orange party spirit, if called into action in the manner you speak of, may crush the opposite party for a time; but the permanent pacification of Ireland through the Orange spirit can only take place by the total extermination of the Roman Catholic population. This is not so generally *acknowledged* here as it is in reality *known*; and in England it is not understood.' He then proceeds to observe that the Irish Protestant differs from the English on the point of implacability: 'The English are turbulent, violent, unjust when their passions are roused; but they would not go on year after year, and generation after generation, trampling on, insulting, and tormenting a fallen foe. Here *parcere subjectos* is unknown. They are never weary of tyrannising over the conquered. The very name of Orangeman is a type. It is chosen on purpose to keep up the memory of a civil war which every friend of humanity would wish to bury in oblivion. It is doing what among the heathen was regarded an accursed deed, keeping a trophy in repair. The English would have too much, if not of Christian feeling, at least of good taste, to assemble in Paris to celebrate the battle of Waterloo. Here we parade Orange flags, and decorate King William's statue, and play the tunes of insulting songs, under the noses of the vanquished, till they are all goaded to madness, and it is curious that they are more studious to provoke than to disable their enemies: they are like sportsmen who preserve foxes on purpose to hunt them. Many instances have come to my knowledge of the

most fanatic Orangemen stripping their estates of a Protestant tenantry who have been there for generations, and letting their lands to Roman Catholics (who can afford to offer, at least, a higher rent from being accustomed to a poorer style of living) for an advance of a shilling per acre."

It has been the custom of Orangemen, as we have seen, to boast of their supreme loyalty, and especially of their attachment to the British connection. But surely they are not such fools as to imagine that the dismemberment of the Empire would be for their advantage in a country mainly Roman Catholic, or that a rebellion in which they would themselves be the first victims would advance the Protestant cause. They may well be loyal, indeed, so long as the British connection secures them the possession of equal rights and privileges with their Catholic fellow-subjects, but loyalty we know was a far more profitable thing and more in fashion to them in the old days of Protestant ascendency, when the Orange faction was always safe, when information against Orange offenders had to be sworn before Orange magistrates, bills to be found by Orange grand juries, juries to be empanelled by an Orange sheriff, and the verdict given by an Orange jury, upon prisoners wearing Orange lilies in the dock. But in these more just and reasonable times, when their fancied privileges are trenched upon, we find Orangemen, even Orange chairmen, not afraid to declare their resolution to "back the Crown into the Boyne," and the leaders of the faction—at least for a time—open fraternising with Fenianism. We all know that in 1850 the oath of the Orangeman was avowedly anti-Papal: its exact words were "That we will bear true allegiance to her Majesty Queen Victoria, her heirs and successors, so long as he or they support the Protestant ascendency." The words were afterwards changed, for they had a dangerous tendency, and it had become daily more obvious to some of the leaders that the assumption of ascendency by any one class of Irishmen over another, in virtue of their political or religious opinions, was a fact repugnant to the spirit of the British Constitution. But though the words were changed, the old spirit remained.

The question may now be asked, how far the Orange Institution has succeeded in its objects. It had confessedly failed in 1836, when the leaders voluntarily dissolved it, on the ground that its continuance could no longer "promote the interests of the Protestant population of Ireland." We ourselves know that it has not succeeded in obstructing or stopping a single one of those various reforms, political or ecclesiastical, which have lifted Roman Catholics to the same level with their Protestant fellow-subjects. The Constitution, in Church and State, has been greatly modified and improved, notwithstanding all their speeches and processions. The Orangemen have not succeeded, as they must themselves admit, in converting the Irish to Protestantism; for after seventy-five years of witness-bearing, Ireland is still the most Roman Catholic country in Europe, driven by the pressure of Orange opinion into the most compact Ultramontane unity. Can they have the audacity still to declare that they have succeeded in accomplishing a single one of their various objects?

But we must now proceed to notice the effects of the Orange system on the welfare of the country. It cannot have the credit even of being patriotic, and has become even less so with the exception of a small Democratic party during the last ten or fifteen years. There was a time, for example, when the Orangemen, who were mostly of

the agricultural class, took a deep interest in the Land question. Forty years ago, Ulster was distracted by 'Tommy Downshire,' who was the 'Captain Rock' of his day, and carried his flag of orange and green over the counties of Down, Antrim, and Armagh, demanding for Protestants and Catholics alike—'half rent and no tithe.' The Orange magistrates, who were then mostly landlords or their agents, were very anxious to arm the yeomanry against them, but they could not trust them to act against the party, for they were Orangemen too, on account of their connexion, sympathies as tillers of the soil. But in 1815, when an attempt was made to obtain for the Ulster tenant-farmers compensation for improvements, the Orangemen held aloof from the agitation, and agreed, with the single exception of Lord Donegall, to oppose the measure. In the Orange month of July, 1835, when the Duke of Abercorn had the command of the Orangemen of Belfast, the peace and the security of tenure was violated by an Ulster-Protestant mob, the leaders of the Society actually succeeded in having their 'walk' over apart from the Catholic workmen, in effect—Belfast and the Ulster system that rose up from the ashes of '98, if you can only succeed to crush the Catholic workmen who have assisted to destroy your old privileges of monopoly and exclusiveness. But the attempt of a portion of the Protestant tenantry of Ulster for right has been met, by a legal and practical bar in all the courts of law. It was a rule of the Orange Society in 1814: 'We will not countenance, protect, or in any way patronise any person who shall have taken a farm from which any person has been unjustly evicted, or who will not relet the same to the former tenant, if required so to do by the Society, unless such person shall first satisfy the Society that he has been evicted for the non-payment of rent only, and that he refused to accept the fair value for the tenant-right.' Such was the Orange law, and it was in its own history in endless outrages, murders, burnings, and riots. An Ulster magistrate declared, in 1835, before the Committee of the House of Commons, that 'the 12th of July, to the best of his recollection, in any year, from the commencement of Orangeism till the present period, when a breach of the peace had not occurred, and frequently lives had been lost as a consequence of those processions.' The Earl of Caledon testified, at the same time, that 'so far from a disposition to execute the laws, the Orangemen in County Tyrone were the very people who were the most active in infringing the laws.' Recent events tell the same story. Unhappily, too, the system tends grossly to the injury of morality. Lord Donegall described, in 1835, that the Orange Lodges led to drunkenness and disorder, as they usually met in public-houses; and it is very well known that during the last thirty years they have largely demoralised the humbler classes of the Protestant population. The evil effects of the system on the administration of justice have almost—though not altogether—passed away, through the vigorous determination of successive Governments to weed out Orangemen from the magisterial bench. The conduct of the Whig Government in 1841, in removing Lord Roden and the brothers Beers in the Commission of the Peace, and remodelling the number of county magistrates, has had the best moral effect upon the country at large, for, in former times, the Orange system prevailed to a form of the law, not only by the open countenance of the partisans, but by the fear of the party it encouraged, that Orangemen were never to be punished. Nothing can ever be pleaded in the favour of a society which fosters and nurses traditions are not destroyed in the sentiments of its young and impa-

trates, for the party-cum system vitiates and corrupts everything, but a more extended view

We have already alluded to the existence of a Democratic party in the bosom of the Orange Society, which has at times made its power felt at the last election for East Antrim when Mr William [illegible], the great Orange hero, was returned for that district after a contest, the truth of the old Orange motto. The charge that has been brought against the Society and its members, of being a political party, is a mere assertion, and not proof that now relations may be formed in the future that would, in some degree, influence the power and position of the country. The Orange Society has been a strong and determined opponent of the Land Bill and every measure of a similar character, especially as it was evident that the Government in introducing it were pursuing a line of policy directly opposite to that which they had pledged themselves to adopt. Indeed, the Orangemen and the Land Bill [illegible] to the Government, and the Orange Society, as a body, was [illegible] to the Government, and the Orange Society, as a body, was [illegible] to the Government, and the Orange Society, as a body, was

country, but not uttering a word in denunciation of Fenianism, or expressing a word of rebuke against the aggressive bigotry of Orangemen. It would have been a far more patriotic course to strive to dissolve religious animosities, which threaten—at least at present—to burn hotter than ever, and to bring together men of all sects to labour with a common understanding for the good of a divided land. We should like to know what good the 'No Popery' cry has ever done from the days of Lord George Gordon downwards, and especially what triumphs have been made under its banner to the interests of true religion.

These Orange demonstrations, regarded from another point of view, are not an altogether unmixed evil. They warn all Governments alike of the danger of attempting to play into the hands of the Ultramontane hierarchy; for there is a deep and formidable Protestant feeling behind them which our statesmen would do well not to provoke. The object of the Roman Catholic bishops is at present to obtain such a modification of the system of Irish education, both primary and collegiate, as will hand over the whole Catholic population to an exclusively clerical or denominational training; or, to use the language of Mr. James Lowry Whittle, who protests warmly against any tendency to make Ultramontanism the principle of State dealing with education—'To take the Catholic body, and ere it has half shaken off the misery, the ignorance, the prejudices, the superstitions of bygone ages, to hand it over bodily to the emissaries of Italian fanaticism, would be wickedly to defer the resurrection of the country, and, as regards the empire at large, to strengthen a system pregnant with disorder and mischief to our social organisation.' The danger hinted at is immensely increased by the attitude taken by the Episcopalian members of the Royal Commission on Primary Education, for they are completely in accord with the Catholic members in recommending such a modification of the existing system as the Ultramontanes desire. If Mr. Gladstone is indisposed to tamper with the broad principle of religious equality and justice which he avows, he will shrink as much from Catholic as from Protestant ascendency. He will decline to retrace his steps by the proposal of any plan of disguised concurrent endowment. He knows Ireland well enough to understand, that the policy of equal justice, without bribery or favouritism, will in the end disarm disaffection and extinguish religious bitterness, but to seek still to govern Ireland through the clergy of either denomination will bring down upon the Government a Protestant agitation of which the Orange demonstrations are but a feeble precursor. We trust that the time will soon come when Orangemen will see the wisdom of withdrawing from organisations so anti-social and sectarian; for they are in conflict with the claims of good citizenship and good fellowship, and are capable, by their secrecy, of being perverted to the worst political ends, and that they will soon learn that the charity that ought to govern all human relations is no respecter of persons, and is not limited or circumscribed by obedience to the rules or conformity to the views of any political sect.

AN ULSTER PROTESTANT.

THE CRISIS IN FRANCE.

IN our last article (November 1870) we accompanied the German 3rd and 4th Armies to the walls of Paris, leaving the 1st and 2nd still engaged in the blockade of Metz. After the catastrophe of Sedan the French possessed no organised field force whatever, with the exception of the two corps d'armée under Generals Vinoy and Ducrot which were shut up in Paris, and therefore the German forces investing the capital had little to fear from without, being protected by a cordon of fourteen strong cavalry divisions from any sudden attack that might be attempted against its rear.

There has been much speculation as to the causes which delayed the active prosecution of the siege from September to December, when the capital was invested, till December 27 when the first great gun was fired against it, and many very erroneous conclusions have been drawn from the apparent hesitation on the part of the Germans to storm, which has been frequently represented to be a combination of weakness. Now, however that all the published facts enable us to form a correct judgement, we can see very well that the determination, wonderful patience and perseverance of Count Moltke with which the second Paris and army was conducted from beginning to end, has been equally remarkable as the energy and rapidity with which the campaign had been carried on up to the end of August 1870, no time and no strength necessary to effect this object having been grudged. The question of Alsace and Lorraine as a potential consequence of the campaign then just commenced, rose up to September 3 that these days lighting in the neighbourhood of Sedan would leave France without a government and army strong to make peace or able to do anything else than proclaim a war à outrance. The whole course of subsequent events was, however, in reality governed by these two wholly unexpected complications; and whilst Count Bismark acquired the conviction that the unification of Germany would eventually depend on the annexation of Alsace and Lorraine, the members of the Government of National Defence and the leaders of all political parties in France saw in the same annexation the best and only chance of retaining or conquering an ascendency for themselves, and they therefore all joined hands to carry it out.

These two political programmes when handed over to the respective military authorities on both sides imposed on them most difficult and arduous tasks: on the French Ministers that of organising, out of very imperfect materials, new armies, on the Chief of the German staff, first, that of counteracting by the immediate investment of the French capital the measures of the French Ministry, and, secondly, of securing such a footing in Alsace and Lorraine as would, come what might, ultimately leave these provinces in German hands. It was therefore a question of time on both sides, and if, as we are told, it is our duty to learn lessons from the events of this war, here we have one to begin with, namely, that it takes more time to organise armies and get them really for field work, even in an essentially military country like France, than to carry out the most difficult operations with an army that is really well constituted and led.

The reader will, however, find in the facts stated above a satisfactory explanation of the whole question, and also, as we believe, a tolerably safe guide towards esti-

mating the probabilities of what is likely eventually to take place. Of course it will be understood that the possession of some of the fortresses was highly desirable, if not absolutely necessary, for the maintenance of the communications and the bringing up supplies of all kinds from Germany; but if the retention of the provinces so often named had not been determined on very early, many of the fortresses which have been bombarded and taken would have been simply blockaded.

In the *Times* of January 5 there is a very interesting and important letter from a correspondent, dated Paris, December 30, in which it is said, that if the Prussian army had proceeded at once to the attack of Paris after the engagement at Chatillon of September 19 they would have found it unarmed and unable to offer any resistance; and the writer goes on to show how this might have been done. It will be remembered, however, that precisely the same thing has been asserted with regard to Sebastopol, although this has never been more than a matter of opinion; and nothing is more natural than that a person who comes to compare the state of a fortress after months of active preparation with what it had been before these had commenced, should arrive at a similar conclusion, especially if he altogether ignores the political motives of the enemy and their influence on the military plans. The question presents itself therefore Was it, under the circumstances, desirable for the Germans to take immediate possession of Paris, supposing that to have been possible, and that they were aware of this? Now it will be remembered that, just at the very commencement of the war Prince Napoleon and Count Bismarck had an interview with each other, which gave rise to the report, that at that meeting the French Government nor any other likely to succeed it for months to come would, or perhaps could, entertain for a moment the idea of ceding Alsace and Lorraine. Supposing, as we have said, that Count Bismarck had determined, for political motives, and Count Moltke, for military reasons, that the two provinces must be annexed; and taking the whole political situation of the moment into account, it seems highly probable, or at least possible, that it was better military policy to invest Paris than to run the risks of failure in attacking and trouble in keeping it in order when taken. The balance between the number of troops required to garrison this unruly capital and that actually disposable for the investment might have been absorbed in a premature attack, whether successful or not. If, as we suppose, the securing possession of Alsace and Lorraine appeared to be the primary, and that of Paris only a secondary operation, then it is easy to understand why the Germans might have preferred to remain outside the walls rather than encumber themselves with garrison work, for, be it remembered, Metz was still holding out, and Bazaine had an efficient army under his command within its walls.

It seems reasonable to enquire into the motives which probably led the Chancellor of the North German Confederation and the chief of the staff of the federal armies, to concur in the necessity of making the operations in the east of France primary, and those in the west secondary, at least for a time. We cannot imagine either the one or the other of these two personages to have been blind to the facts that a final cession of these provinces would create a permanent feud between France and Germany, and a renewal of hostilities as soon as the former

should have given real strength enough, and also that they would inevitably prove themselves very [illegible]. On the other hand, they may have fairly wounded that French dignity, honour, vanity, and self-esteem have been so utterly compromised and wounded by what has already occurred at Wörth, Metz, and Sedan, that an attempt at retaliation is inevitable. In that respect we can scarcely be worsted than we are, but the [illegible] of the two promises well, at least in a military point of view, render us better able to meet what is coming than we should otherwise be, and our enemy, in nearly the same proportion, less able to do us mischief, therefore let us take possession and begin!

It is scarcely necessary to say that we do not hold ourselves responsible for these views, still less to have ever taken into Count Bismarck's confidence on the subject; we are, in fact, simply endeavoring to find a rational explanation for what has occurred, and we have come to the conclusion above on a careful perusal of the facts. We may be mistaken, but we think that despite a [illegible] as many other [illegible] that the real [illegible] has been [illegible] and that [illegible] will [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

compensated for by simple courage. And so it came to pass that Prince Frederick Charles, Von der Tann, and the Grand Duke of Mecklenburg closed in by degrees on De Paladine in a great circle, and he, knowing how unequal his poor, gallant, but totally undisciplined, countrymen were to sustain such a combat, withdrew them across the Loire as the only chance of saving them; bringing thereby a most unjust and cruel stigma on his own name. Orleans was reoccupied by the Germans on December 4, and the great sortie made by Vinoy and Ducrot on the 29th and 30th of November, after costing thousands of lives, finally came to nought.

While this was going on south of Paris, Manteuffel with his two corps d'armée was in the north steadily progressing towards La Fère, which was taken on November 27, Amiens being occupied by his troops on the 28th. Pushing still farther forward, his troops reached Rouen on December 5, and finally Dieppe and Abbeville, and even momentarily St Valery. Paris was thus encircled by a second cordon of troops at several days' march from the besieging army, but still so located as to be enabled to concentrate for mutual support on any point that might be threatened. From this time forth the whole of the Prussian operations were directed to two points, to observe the sieges of Paris and of Belfort, everything else being considered (by the Germans) as the efforts of the French were directed towards bringing relief to these two fortresses.

After the defeat of the Army of the Loire it retreated in three different directions. Two corps d'armée (18th and 20th), under Bourbaki went up the valley to the south-east, and having been most severely handled in the previous actions were for a long time not heard of, till at length in the beginning of January they turned up in the Besançon district co-operating with Garibaldi in an attempt to raise the siege of Belfort, of which we shall have more to say presently. A weaker column of the Loire Army took the road directly south towards Vierzon, leaving behind it on the roads and in the bivouacs numerous evidences of disorganisation. The main body (15th, 16th, 17th corps d'armée under General Chanzy, who is undoubtedly a very excellent officer and has shown great skill—retreated down the valley of the Loire to the south-west by Blois; the delegated Government having meanwhile removed to Bordeaux. M. Gambetta is said to have planned these movements: if so, he has been probably dabbling in Bulow's strategical theories, this being a very pretty exemplification of what is technically termed 'an excentric retreat.' In fact, there was a moment when it appeared as if Prince Frederick Charles had suffered himself to be led a dance after the central or weaker column, but if so he soon discovered his error. Those swarms of German cavalry, the eyes and ears of the army, obtained to ascertain how things really stand.

General Chanzy dodged along the Loire, followed by Von der Tann and the Duke of Mecklenburg, at last in a very favorable position in the forest of Marchenoir, at Beaugency, and other places. Prince Frederick Charles rapidly brought the bulk of his army to the assistance of the above-named generals, and Chanzy was compelled to retreat behind the Loire to Le Mans, Vendôme being occupied by the Germans, who allowed front to the west on a line reaching from Blois on the Loire to Rouen on the Seine, and Orleans becoming once more the centre of the German forces covering the siege on the south.

In reviewing these events one is naturally led to enquire whether a different turn might not have been given to them by the French leaders adopting some other line of conduct. Mature reflection cannot, however, fail to show that no one event was independent of a preceding one, and the web of adamantine chain of circumstances may be traced back to its first link, the having attempted a gigantic enterprise with wholly inadequate means and in profound ignorance of the real state of things in the enemy's country. The entire conduct of this war affords a curious subject for philosophical and political speculation. One can scarcely resist the temptation of penetrating the French diplomatic documents, official reports, and newspaper correspondence to ascertain [illegible] into the vernacular of the entire staff, into something very like what we always have heard, and were late than ever to the subject. The wild and empty promises, the contempt of suffering and death, the entire want of sentiment being essentially [illegible] and [illegible] all true in a word to [illegible] awakening a moment's thought [illegible] [illegible] and [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

hibited in 1866 and at many other periods of Prussian history, 1806, however, forming a remarkable exception and being accepted as a great lesson never to be forgotten.

To return to the attempts made by the French to relieve their capital. General Faidherbe had undertaken the task, declined by Bourbaki, of leading the Army of the North, 22nd and 23rd corps, from Lille to Paris. It consisted at first only of three divisions, two of these composed like those of the Loire Army and commanded by generals; the third was formed of sailors and commanded by the Port Admiral of Dunkirk. At a moment when Manteuffel's troops were scattered all over the north from Montmedy to Rouen and Dieppe, General Faidherbe undertook a rapid march from the neighbourhood of Lille towards Ham and Chauny, with the view of approaching Paris from the north-east. His vanguard did in fact reach Ham, taking some prisoners there; but the ever-watchful Prussians got timely notice of the movement, and Faidherbe was compelled to withdraw to a position on a tributary of the Somme, near Amiens, where he fought two engagements on December 23 and 24. He claimed a great victory, which was, however, scarcely consistent with his immediate retreat to Arras, followed by the Prussians to Bapaume and farther north. At all events it was a useless victory, except for the purpose of raising the spirits of his troops. He was enabled, at any rate, to bring them once more into action on December 2 and 3 to the north of Bapaume, in which engagement he admits having lost 4,000 men, but asserts that the Prussians lost quite, that is, almost the whole number which they brought into action. They themselves state their losses at 1,500 men, including everything. It is quite certain that Faidherbe's attempt to relieve Paris was on both occasions a failure.

As was the case when De Paladine attempted a relief, the garrison of Paris made a sortie on December 21, this time on the north-east side of Paris, evidently with the intention of opening up a communication with Faidherbe, should he succeed in approaching the rear of the investing army in that direction, and perhaps in the hope that this had been weakened by detachments sent to oppose him.

This attempt was equally unsuccessful, but it was followed, nevertheless, by very important results, namely, the commencement of the bombardment of Paris, which happened in this way. Mont Avron is a hill situated in the angle formed by the Strasburg and Muhlhausen railway, which forms a junction at Noisy-le-Sec. Lying in front of Fort Rosny, and having its approaches on the south and north commanded by the forts of Nogent and Noisy, it could not be occupied by the Germans, and was therefore strongly fortified by the French, being armed with seventy heavy ship guns. It was under the protection of the works of Mont Avron that the sortie of December 21 was effected, and there were indications that another sortie was premeditated towards the end of the month, for the French marine artillerymen had been trying, under the inspection of General Vinoy, the range of their guns for some days previously. The Germans, however, determined to anticipate this, and 12,000 men (Fortress Artillery) having arrived from Germany to work the siege guns, thirteen batteries, with seventy-two guns, many of them, however, being of comparatively light calibre, opened, quite unexpectedly on the morning of the 27th, so heavy a converging fire on Mont Avron and the forts already named, that the

French were compelled to abandon the position with great loss, leaving some of their guns spiked in the works, and a panic ensued amongst the troops in bivouac near Neuilly and other positions, causing them to retreat in great disorder.

In our article in the November number of this Magazine, we ventured to predict that the main attack would probably take place on the south front, and this has been verified. The fire of the German guns on the east and north, which, commencing on the 27th, was continued on the 28th and following days, proved so superior to the French fire, that all the forts on that side, except Rosny, which continued to reply feebly, ceased to fire, blinding their batteries. This great apparent success emboldened the Germans to open their fire on January 4 against the whole of the southern front, the forts Issy, Vanvres, Montrouge, the new field works at Villejuif, constructed in front of the forts Bicêtre and Ivry, and also against the gunboats on the Seine, in the bend of the river near Charenton. The first works fired at produced but little results: the French forts and batteries at first replied briskly, but by degrees their fire slackened, and finally ceased nearly altogether.

The west front was particularly unfavourable, there being alternately water and marsh between it and the lines of investment, or rather encirclement, which the Prussians took the Petite Batterie of Saint Cloud de Garches and turned it against the city. It was one of the new works constructed to cover the gap between forts Issy and Montrouge, in which batteries the barracks were found to afford shelter and continued to burn for several days. The gradual slackening of the French fire could not be taken as a proof of the guns having been dismounted or the casemates destroyed, but it was quite evident that the French artillery was at least not superior to the German, rather the contrary, and the losses sustained by the latter were in the first encounter very small indeed.

In a former article[1] we called attention to the fact that the fortifications of Paris had been constructed for the old-fashioned short-range artillery. As a general rule guns can only be pointed at right angles to the breastwork that protects them, or with a very slight deviation to the right or left; and works of fortification necessarily forming a number of angles, some salient inwards (re-entering), others outwards (salient), it is easy to see that the fire of the guns will be accumulated before the former, leaving before the latter a space nearly if not altogether destitute of fire, technically termed the dead angle. The besiegers batteries are placed, if possible, in these dead angles, and the more numerous and the larger they are, the better for him. The dead angle may be looked on as a triangle, the base of which is occupied by the besieger; with short range artillery this base lies near the salient, and therefore very often under the fire of some other work. With modern long-range artillery at three or four times the distance, and being of course much larger, as also the assailant a much greater extent of main front. Another change has also taken place, the old art they was very inaccurate in its aim, the besieging guns which aimed at the forts often passing through the embrasures without hitting them, but by degrees hitting the whole of the parapet or

[1] November 18[illegible]

wall on both sides was destroyed and a huge gap made; the accuracy of modern artillery is such that shell after shell may be put through the embrasure, the range having been once ascertained, and it is to be remarked here that all the Prussian siege guns are now served exclusively by trained artillerymen, while the French guns are probably worked under the old system, a few skilled hands being combined with common soldiers. Under these circumstances it is easy to understand why the Prussian artillery should have an advantage irrespective of the quality of its guns. The *Times* correspondent, Mr Russell, has, however, called attention to an important fact with regard to the French marine guns with which the forts are armed. It appears that they are constructed to fire only forty rounds with the full charge of powder, after which it is unsafe to use more than two-thirds that quantity. The forts, however, have been 'peppering away' for nothing during the last two or three months, and it is surmised that the guns have become unserviceable in consequence. If this be so, it is quite possible that it has been found necessary for this reason to suspend the fire, and if General Trochu has a sufficient supply of fresh guns of superior power, it may be that the Prussians will be surprised to a certain extent, especially now that the position of their batteries is known to the besieged. Some of the forts on the south side—for instance, Vitry being built on old quarries, they have beneath their foundations extensive subterraneous caverns, affording perfect shelter to the garrison, and will therefore not be easily subdued. It is, however, evident that the Prussians can, if they please, bombard the city itself, even from their first positions, their shells are said to have reached the garden of the Luxembourg, and the bridges over the Seine in the heart of the city.

General Trochu has, it seems, constructed an entrenched camp under the guns of Mont Valerien, as some suppose with the view of withdrawing thither as soon as the city itself has become untenable. It is, however, quite possible that his object was to organise a great sally towards the south-west, in order to meet General Chanzy, who during the first week in January endeavoured to advance from Le Mans through the Forest of Vendôme towards Versailles. Prince Frederick Charles, however, brought up the whole or the greater part of his army to meet Chanzy in the direction from Vendôme to Le Mans, whilst the Duke of Mecklenburg pushing forward in the direction from Chartres to Nogent le Rotrou, the united efforts of the two generals had up to January 12 succeeded in frustrating this fresh attempt at relieving the capital, and the bombardment of the forts having meanwhile taken place, this combined movement was evidently defeated, General Roye having been also driven back into Normandy by General Bentheim.

Leaving for the present the detail of these hostile operations, let us turn our attention to what the consequences would be to France, if compelled to hand over Alsace and Lorraine to Germany by treaty or by simply abandoning them to the armies that now hold them. It is unnecessary to dwell upon the general political consequences of loss of territory and prestige that must necessarily follow, as this must be sufficiently apparent to everybody. We shall therefore confine our remarks to the change that would be thereby effected in the relative military position of the two Powers, for this is precisely what Germany seems determined to effect, and evidently considers of the greatest

importance to obtain the whole of the negotiations for peace, when the happy moment for them arrives, will turn on this very point.

When the annexation of Nice was demanded by France in 1859, it was said, and with truth, that an army marching from Genoa towards Turin would be effectively on France from the moment it crossed the Var, whereas an army marching in the opposite direction would not be ready in Italy until it had reached Savona at the very least, in fact, the first Napoleonic great campaign was adduced in evidence of the truth of this assertion, and admitted to be conclusive. And just in like manner, a French army marching across the Rhine at Strasburg or Brisach has in fact a ready gained a footing in Southern Germany, whereas a German army even when in possession of Saarlouis and Saarbrücken is a long way from being in France. It is also understood that the French have very frequently taken advantage of their strategical frontier for the purpose of invading Germany, and it may be said with equal truth that the spread of the Reformation and the unification of Germany two things which have never really existed that are generally admitted were seriously interrupted and retarded by these frequent invasions. Louis's avowed object for undertaking the present war was to get possession of Mayence and Coblentz, and thereby put a very short distance between North Germany as a pendant to that which Strasburg and Brisach had already applied to the case of Southern Germany.

The Germans have long protested strenuously against this state of things, and having at length got the matter into their own hands, are very evidently determined to make an end of it. There are probably many thousand of people in this country who are violently indignant, perhaps because they fear that it will be a serious hindrance to the further propagation of the principles of 1793, that is to say, of course, as the French understand it. We confess that we cannot adopt this view of the subject, because, as we do under what we deem sound principles, we will perhaps presume to be a stupid people, believe that the Reformation of the sixteenth century, even taking Republicanism into the bargain, as one of its ultimate consequences, was on the whole a better thing for mankind in general, and even for Great Britain in particular, than the glorious principles of 1793 fore-wed up by Ultramontanism, taking as regards ourselves Archbishop Manning and Cardinal Cullen into the account with all their virtues. We may be wrong, but we certainly prefer the Reformation to the Revolution of 1793, which in the end became a powerful engine in the hands of the Vatican even up to 1870.

What would be the effect of annexing, in the interests of Germany, what was done to regard Nice in the interests of France? If our supposition is correct, the new frontier line would have Thionville for its bodkin, as we should translate it, have to call it, for its northern, and Belfort for its southernmost "pointe d'appui". Metz, Nancy, Epinal, being probably the uttermost stretch. The result of this would undoubtedly be that a German army covering this line to the west would be at once strategically in France, whereas a French army covering it to the opposite direction would be far from being strategically in Germany, and this is precisely what the Germans con-

[1] So all this came to pass. But it must be remembered as we go along.

sider to be their only chance of safety from future incursions.

Again, is it true that the whole of the French nation to a man is firmly resolved rather to fight on to the last drop of its blood, than consent to the cession of the provinces in question? This is very generally and loudly asserted, indications are, however, not wanting which point to a very opposite conclusion, and it therefore becomes our duty to lay these before the reader. Some short time ago a letter appeared in a German newspaper from a correspondent at the seat of war, stating that the 'General Council' of one of the Southern Departments of France had expressed not only its desire for peace, but also its conviction that a greater number of the other 'General Councils' would, if appealed to, unite to enter into negotiations for this purpose. These bodies having been elected by universal suffrage in each department might be considered to be fair representatives of the people, and as after the events of September they were in fact the only legal bodies in existence, they had a certain claim to be recognised as such even although their original mandate did not extend so far as to authorise them to decide on questions affecting the empire. In any case however, the expression of such a wish and conviction on the part of bodies possessing at least as much authority to represent the general body of the people as does an English Grand Jury or county or city council to act in an important matter as to the state of public opinion, and the only question would be whether the statement was founded on fact or not. We should have rested content with the whole matter had it ended there, but the extract of a letter sent to King William. We are told that, coming from a German source, we were not at first inclined to place implicit credence in this statement; but within a very short time afterwards M. Gambetta issued a decree dissolving all the General Councils throughout France, and substituting for them bodies nominated by himself from amongst his own political partisans, a fact which gives at least a colour to the statement of the German correspondent, and certainly looks very like a forcible attempt to suppress a very natural craving for peace in favour of M. Gambetta's pet form of Government. This is, however, not the only indication of the unwillingness of the mass of the population to continue the war. We know from M. Gambetta's own decrees that the conscripts and Mobile Guards have shown so great, and we may say, so general a disinclination to remain with the army in the field, that he has found it necessary to organise a large force of field gendarmerie, with permanent courts-martial, in the rear of each body of troops, in order to prevent these people returning to their homes whenever they get a chance of doing so. Then again, it appears from Faidherbe's general orders issued at Lille quite recently, that a depôt-battalion has been formed at Brest for those of the great penal establishments, to which he threatens to send all stragglers found without arms or under suspicious circumstances. All these facts taken together, and for which we have the evidence of the French authorities themselves, certainly go far to prove that the determination to carry on the war to the last extremity cannot be nearly so general as is commonly believed, and we still adhere to the opinion which we have so often expressed, that the Government of National Defence is very highly in the establishment of a Republic, which it is determined to impose on the French nation without giving it an

opportunity of getting rid of the invasion by making now such sacrifices as will in the end have to be made.

We fully appreciate the anxieties of those who look forward with something like dismay to the prospect of France being weakened and losing her prestige as one of the great Powers, although we cannot help suspecting that this sympathy is by no means disinterested, for its expression is very frequently intermingled with untimely taunts about the disasters that have befallen England's last and truest ally. Let us join issue on this point. We are quite ready to admit that the Emperor Napoleon proved himself on several occasions attached to an English alliance, but can any competent authority venture to assert that if he had been successful in this present war he would not have been equally ready to attack us, if the same party machinations that drove him into an unequal contest with Germany for the military hegemony of Europe had made the overthrow of this by the humiliation of "perfide Albion," the condition of the continuance of his rule and dynasty? It is not worth while to argue, and the recent rumours of the visits of Walewski and Persigny have proved a strong inducement to understand the sentiment of the other. The British Ministry seems to have entertained, and not unnaturally, the belief that the publication of one of the secret letters to the *Times*, more to save that journal's credit after the battle of Worth, put a stop to preparations that had been made for an aggressive movement which, if successful, would have been followed by the annexation of Belgium. Prussia was probably quite as well informed on these matters as the writer, and was aware of the Emperor's frantic appeal, dictated but a few days before the battle of Sedan, to the Belgian people to rise and drive out the Prussians, which, if it had been published, would have proved a much more effective stroke than the letter to the *Times*. The simple truth is that the mutability of French sentiments renders a French alliance a very precarious one, and the passionate longing of the French nation for supremacy deteriorates seriously from the value of its friendship, it cannot easily break a rival by sea or by land. If England has lost something by the fact of France being weakened, her wisest course will be to establish the balance by adding to her own strength what is wanting, and while there is yet time to do so. France has lost her prestige whether she cedes the two eastern provinces or not, but she still retains a world-wide influence, her whole social system is disorganised, which is the greatest loss a country can sustain.

To return to the military operations. On January 7, General Chanzy once more commenced a great movement for the relief of Paris, advancing through the forest of Vendôme with, as far as we can ascertain, three corps d'armée (the 15th, 16th, and 17th) whose numerical strength was, as usual, much exaggerated by the French Government before operations commenced, we shall probably soon hear a very different story. As to the quality of the troops, there can be no doubt the great majority of them were perfectly untrained recruits, with but little military service, mixed up with the débris of the regular army, and officered by many officers from Algeria, who had been long out of touch with the soldiers in command. It was very easy to tell, at a glance, that the work before Frederick Charles brought back to the memory of those engaged in it the days of 1806, when Napoleon III., IX., X. up to the end of the last century, to create a movement, while the Duke of Mecklenburg with the XIII. corps (a Bavarian army) advanced from Orléans towards the north of La Manche. The Germans' movement was extensive, the

French attempted to act in several divergent directions, that is to say, excentrically. We have here a pendant to the battle of Solferino, with this difference, that that was decided in one day, whereas it took several to effect Chanzy's defeat—a defeat, however, more complete and more disastrous for the French cause than was even Solferino for the Austrians. A series of actions on January 8 and following days culminated on the 10th in Chanzy's army being driven back on his fortified positions at Le Mans by the Red Prince, whilst the Duke of Mecklenburg advancing to the north-west of the town, a general attack ensued and 18,000 unwounded prisoners were taken, several guns and mitrailleuses being captured, together with large stores and railway rolling stock in Le Mans, which was occupied by the Germans on the 12th. The question will at once occur, How came Prince Frederick Charles to be able to employ his whole army against Chanzy? Because Bourbaki with the 18th and 20th corps had been sent off to the east to join Cremer and Garibaldi in an attempt to raise the siege of Belfort, an attempt which after several days' hard fighting, has as proved entirely unsuccessful. The Prince had therefore nothing to fear from the south-east and could direct his whole attention to the west. The German commanders occupy an internal circle, which enables them to concentrate their forces rapidly wherever an attack is threatened, and they are always kept perfectly informed of what the enemy is about through their intelligent and admirably led cavalry.

In the whole of this last operation of Chanzy's we have another striking evidence of what we have already several times had occasion to remark, the enormous disproportion between the losses by which France has been reduced to her present lamentable condition. The capture, which cannot be long delayed, of Belfort by the Germans will secure to them the undisputed possession of Alsace just as Metz secures that of Lorraine. We have had too much experience of the system of self-deception practised by the French to attach any great consequence to their plans of interrupting the communications with Germany by means of General Bourbaki's operations in the valley of the Doubs or the Garibaldian expedition in the Côte d'Or. It must be remembered that, since the fall of Mézières, and with Laon, La Fère, Ham, Péronne, and Amiens in their hands, the Germans in any case have a perfectly independent line of railway communication in the north, and quite beyond the reach of the Garibaldians, who, whatever they may be able to effect in the Côte d'Or or on the Plateau of Langres, are quite unfit to cope with the Germans in the flat country, if for no other reason, from want of cavalry and artillery.

Taking a careful retrospect of the whole state of affairs we can come to no other conclusion than that France cannot hope to retrieve her defeats and her immense losses. She never has been allowed the time to make effectual preparations. The getting together masses of untrained soldiers under the command of inefficient officers, and hurling them at an army like that of Germany is a simple waste of the most valuable material a country possesses—the lives of its adult males, and the lessons to criminal when it is directed against the will of the victims who are thus sacrificed. That it is so is evidenced by the immense numbers of unwounded prisoners taken in every engagement. The surrender of unwounded prisoners in such numbers is merely a euphuistic form of expression for "desertion en masse." When 8,000

unwounded prisoners were made by the French at Magenta in 1859 it was well understood that the Italian, and part at least of the Hungarian infantry, could no longer be depended on by the Austrians, and the retreat behind the Mincio was, in the first instance, attributable to this very circumstance. Again, in 1866 the Prussians took vast numbers of unwounded prisoners, nearly all Hungarians, and this led the Austrian Government not only to listen to the first overtures for peace but eventually to grant nearly everything that Hungary demanded. This is the reason why the Prussian accounts always lay such stress on the numbers of unwounded prisoners taken. The political signification of such events is fully understood at Prussian headquarters.

Can any sane person doubt that if a regularly constituted government existed in France peace would be made at once? It would, in that case, have been made two months ago, on better terms than at present. It might be made on infinitely better terms now than will be possible in February or March 1871. The contest is now being carried on, as we have already said, to establish firmly a form of government in France to which it is more than doubtful that the majority of the French people are inclined.

The violent but unsuccessful efforts of the garrison of Paris on the night of the 18th-19th January, were followed up the next day by a partial bombardment of the city by the forts of Issy, Vanves, and Montrouge toward their fire on the latter named day. Another great sortie was made on the 19th by a large force from the entrenched camp under the walls of Mont Valerien, an event we had already anticipated. This was directed against Malmaison, Montretout, which was carried, and St Cloud, but ultimately failed. A renewal of the effort was expected by the Prussians on the 20th, but did not take place, although the French force had not retired into the city but still remained on the plateau of Valerien on that day. Should another attempt to break through the iron circle be made, we do not anticipate its being successful, for Prussian batteries have been now constructed within 800 paces of Fort Issy, and on the heights facing Valerien only 4,000 to 5,000 paces from that fortress, and the bombardment of St. Denis and the north side of Paris has been commenced with the siege artillery that bombarded Mézières. Faidherbe, too, has suffered another decisive repulse from Goeben at St Quentin on the 20th; there is a great probability of his being ultimately driven up into the corner of French Flanders, and the Belgian troops are once more on the frontier. The chances of relief are now fewer and more remote than ever, and what between famine and this new bombardment the power of internal resistance is daily waning away.

On the other hand, Germany and the Austro-Hungarian empire have established between them something more than a mere *entente cordiale*, in fact, something which, so far as the outer world can see, resembles much more the commencement of a permanent understanding, and this was to be expected, for Austrian interests, especially on the Danube, are to a great extent German interests. It is, therefore, a fact of no small importance, if true, that 'the Court of Vienna is taking preparatory steps with a view to mediation between France and Germany,' and we can scarcely imagine that this step will be taken solely in the interests of MM Gambetta and Garibaldi. The best step in mediation which would be of real advantage to France at this conjuncture would

be such a one as would procure the French people an opportunity of deciding its own destinies, through the agency of some regularly constituted representative body, such as might have been constructed out of the Councils of the Departments which the delegate Government at Bordeaux has thought fit to suppress. If such an assembly should decide on continuing the war *à outrance*, and at the same time on establishing a republic, outsiders like ourselves would, however they might dissent from the wisdom of such a decision, be compelled to accept it, and the situation would at least become much simpler.

At the moment we write, on the evening of the 26th of January, the air is full of rumours. M. Jules Favre has been at Versailles and has discussed terms of capitulation, some say terms of peace. He was expected in London, but is said to have returned to Paris. It is certain that Paris must yield, and it will be well if her submission be not preceded by a blind and useless volcanic outburst of mob frenzy.

It is also as certain as anything future can be, that France must yield, and the longer she defers it the greater will be her exhaustion. Since wars began there never was a contest more hopeless than hers now is. The hints of a possible restoration of the 'Imperial' dynasty are evidence of the chaotic state of her affairs. Restored it might be, as a temporary puppet, but nothing could retain it in power.

Let France call a truce, collect her best advisers, make peace and set about establishing a national Government. These are the necessary first steps towards her recovery.

FRASER'S MAGAZINE.

MARCH 1871.

THE LAST INSTALMENT OF IRISH POLICY.

IT has been often pointed out that the peculiar defect of British policy applied to Ireland has been its want of reserve force. Many projects for the union of these island realms have been formed from time to time; most of those of which we speak characterised by largeness of view and vigour of conception. An energetic lord-deputy or an able Irish secretary was supported for a year or two years, and all went well; then came a break. English politicians became involved in Continental intrigues or distracted by home conflicts, or Parliament grudged the supplies for Irish government, or the Crown appropriated them to other objects, and the half developed scheme was allowed to decay away, leaving not a trace except the anger of the people enkindled at each new attempt to give them a government. There is too much reason to fear that this evil destiny of British statesmanship applied to Ireland may overtake also those efforts which the English people have made within the last few years to come to a good understanding with their Irish fellow-subjects. It is acknowledged on all hands that further legislation is required as to the systems of education at present existing in Ireland, and Irish education was the work specially appointed for the coming session. Is there any hope that the English people will be able or willing to pursue this work as they did that of the last two years, grasping all its details, and discussing laboriously all the solutions offered? A combination of circumstances, partly arising from the condition of Ireland, partly from that of one of our great political parties, still more from the ripened condition of English thought upon the relations between the two islands, made Irish policy the question of the last election. Irrespective of ministers or parties, the great fact of the struggle of 1868 was the resolution of the great majority of our people to try a new policy for Ireland, and to spare no efforts to carry it out; and the novelty of this policy consisted not so much in the particular measures proposed as in the resolute effort to ascertain the Irish point of view, not necessarily in order to adopt that point of view, but in order to be able to determine from it what were the real wants of Ireland in contradistinction to her demands. Henceforth Parliament was not to farm out Irish government to a local faction or a local class; it was to meet its own responsibilities with at any make-shift, and by its comprehension of the questions at issue, and its resolute vigour in dealing with them, to bring itself and the people of England more directly into connection with Ireland.

Had Irish education come up for settlement whilst this spirit

prevailed, there was every prospect that the result would have been satisfactory. The work to be done was in the nature of expansion and development of existing systems rather than of the creation of new ones. The varying currents of policy in Ireland during the past quarter of a century had exposed the admirable schemes which the State had adopted — the Queen's University and the national system of education—to furious assaults from all the religious factions in turn. A great change in Irish policy was felt to be at hand during the whole of this period, but of what nature no one could conjecture. Every shock added strength to the Ultramontane party, whose one aim it had been to secure absolute control over Irish education. The great schemes of English statesmen, both as regards primary and university education, had been at first assailed by different Protestant parties. As the time came round for giving that further aid which their success demanded, they were abandoned or neglected, and exposed unfinished to all the fury of the Ultramontane party. The policy indeed which Mr. Gladstone had adopted in reference to this question in past years was not reassuring; still it was not on the particular views of a minister that the friends of education relied when they looked to the discussion of this question with a certain amount of confidence, but upon the awakened intelligence and earnestness of purpose of the English people. In these they hoped they had sufficient safeguards that the great remaining piece of Irish legislation—the development of the educational systems—would be dealt with in a large spirit and be safe from those dangers which local factions and our past blunders had created. These fair prospects are now overclouded. The nature of the events which have occurred abroad since last July—the vast questions which they raise for England—may once more stop Parliament short in its task of governing Ireland, and force it to drop the threads of Irish affairs; the public will turn to other and more immediate concerns; the busy politician and the adroit ecclesiastic may be allowed to settle this branch of the Irish question to their mutual satisfaction. We shall swing round to the old system so invariably returned to since the days of Henry II. Instead of forming a plan of our own adapted to the wants of the country, we back up the scheme of some tribe, or noble, or class, or hierarchy, as the case might be.

Two circumstances would render this withdrawal of attention from Ireland most calamitous—the importance of the question to be dealt with, and the well-founded suspicion entertained as to the disposition of the Ministry in regard to it. Fresh from the work of inaugurating the Elementary Education Act, England will not under-estimate the first consideration—the importance of public education; and no system of popular education is complete unless the higher education is developed in harmony with it.

To estimate fully the attitude of the Ministry on this question we must recall briefly the history of legislation in regard to primary and university education. As regards primary education, the Government of 1831 gave Ireland a system which has worked admirably during the last forty years. Yet this period embraces the most awful crisis of Irish history. It is marked by the terrible famine of 1847, and by two rebellions. But in 1874 this system could boast that it afforded some degree of school training to 57·93 per cent. of the children of school age, whilst the existing system in England, according to the last Privy Council Report, secured schooling for only 39·86 per cent. of the school

age. As to this branch of the question the work of Parliament ought to be a simple one—to see that the efforts to strengthen and develop the existing system are consonant to its past history and present organisation; are made, in short, in good faith, and not intended to pervert and destroy.

As regards the Universities, more requires to be done. The University of Dublin has been now nearly two years asking statutory powers to accomplish that which the practices of the University have, it is true, been for many years preparing, but which is, nevertheless, a change of the greatest magnitude—the exclusion of denominational tests from the whole University course. The University had, towards the end of the last century, opened its degrees to all denominations, and from time to time since many of its honours; but its government was so limited as to secure the National Church, as by law established, such a control over education as would enable the University to act as a training school for the clergy of that Church. When the severance of the Church from the State was determined on, Trinity College announced, through Dr. Hall, its intention to complete the policy it had inaugurated in 1793, and bestow its highest honours and a share in its government without distinction of creed. This Trinity College has not yet been able to accomplish. Mr. Gladstone, last year, objected to this decisive step being taken on the action of the University alone. However this delay may be justified, it is a great misfortune to the country and a hardship to those individual members of the University who are ready to compete for fellowships under the open system, but who are excluded by the present state of the law. No doubt this action on the part of Trinity College suggests considerations as to another Irish institution, the Queen's University. When the late Sir Robert Peel came to deal with the question of University Education in 1843 he found Trinity College offering, as we have said, academic training to the youth of Ireland, but with her government and her highest honours reserved for those in communion with the Established Church. In the university education of the country there was a predominant influence reserved for a body of clergy to whose Church the mass of the nation did not belong; and though the vast majority of the classes seeking academic training were Protestant, still such a state of things was clearly most mischievous. The Roman Catholic Divinity training was already provided for in Maynooth, and Sir Robert Peel proposed to get over the difficulty as to the laity by founding a university on the system of excluding religious tests and religious teaching, only requiring that the students of the new colleges should be subject to the supervision of certain clergymen of their respective denominations attached to each college under the title of Deans of Residence. The Queen's University was almost coeval with the outburst of Ultramontane activity that dates from about 1850. The colleges were hardly opened, no degrees had yet been conferred by the University, when the new system had to meet the denunciations of the Synod of Thurles and the opposition of the Catholic University. Though several Roman Catholic clergymen held office in the colleges at their first institution, the Roman authorities were nearly all hostile to them, and in this respect the history of the Queen's Colleges is different from that of the national system of education. That system the Roman Catholic authorities had heartily accepted at its first start; and though they took up a hostile attitude towards it in 1858, they still largely co-operate in its working, satisfying themselves by a sort of general pro-

test. The Government of 1843 were hardly unprepared for this opposition of the Bishops, though they may not have estimated the lengths to which it would go. The idea of a university entertained by the Bishops was so diametrically different from that held by the State, and indeed by all scientific men, that it was felt that any attempt to found a university in which the Roman Church should occupy a position analogous to that held by the Protestant Church in Trinity College must be a failure. It would have been impossible for the State to work a university through the agency of the Bishops. Besides, the question of a definite religious training has very different bearings in regard to young men of an age to frequent a university and in regard to children of tender years frequenting a primary school. The Government then wisely appealed to the Roman Catholic laity. It appointed Deans of Residence as long as it could get Roman Catholic clergymen to act in that capacity. It secured Roman Catholics amongst its professors, and it trusted that a really good system of education fairly worked would enable the Queen's University to surmount opposition. Nor has this hope been disappointed: the proportion of Roman Catholics amongst the graduates of the Queen's University is very large, and that although the most stern denunciations have been launched by the Bishops against all Roman Catholics frequenting these colleges.

But still the difficulty arising from the position of the University of Dublin was not removed. The Queen's Colleges had the advantage of localising university training in the various provinces of Ireland, and of thus bringing it within reach of many who could not afford to seek it in the capital. But they had two disadvantages which, for a time at least, effectually precluded the University from taking the place of Trinity College at the head of the academic training of Ireland. They had not the prestige attaching to an ancient institution; and, secondly, they were dependent upon an external authority. The Crown appointed the professors as it supplied their annual salaries; it nominated the members of the senate, who made the minor appointments connected with the institution. The University has been able to do invaluable service in supplying academic training to classes of the community hitherto neglected and in introducing many improvements into university education; but it could not be expected to eclipse Trinity College, a great corporation enjoying independent revenues and privileges, strong in the repute of ages and in the respect of the country; and thus its existence, however important, could not remove the old difficulty that the first rank in the university system was closed against the creed of the people.

This aspect of the question had great weight naturally with the Roman Catholic community, and was of much more importance than any alleged objections to mixed education. They argued, 'We claim a share in the chief University of Ireland on a perfect equality with our fellow-citizens, and decline to be put off with these new institutions, however excellent their system of education may be.' And this dissatisfaction the Bishops took advantage of to push their scheme for the Catholic University. Immediately after the Synod of Thurles they obtained authority from the Pope to found an institution in Dublin under that title. Large subscriptions were collected, not only in Ireland, but on the Continent and in the Colonies. The whole Roman Catholic Church was appealed to to make the new institution the nursery of orthodoxy. The name of Dr Newman gave great éclat to its first start, and attracted a large

number of students from England and abroad. But this adventitious support soon fell away. Dr. Newman was unable to work with the episcopal authorities, and resigned his post after a short time, and his retirement is one of the many mysteries connected with this singular institution. It still maintains a staff of Professors. It was not to be expected that, unable as it was to confer degrees recognised in this country, it could attract very large numbers of students. Its friends, however, have always asserted that it did so. Their language in the press and at public meetings always represents it not as a great institution ready to teach and waiting for pupils, but as actually in full work. In 1866, however, the Government were challenged to furnish some returns as to the number of its students; and though a return exhibiting a considerable number of students would have been at that crisis most important, the challenge was declined. Moreover, it must not be forgotten that it would have been quite practicable for a body of its students to take degrees at the London University, and such a course would have been a more reliable evidence of the reality of this movement than the innumerable letters and pamphlets which employ the leisure of its professors. The poor appearance made by the Catholic University becomes of importance when we recall the arguments used by its friends in 1865. The large number of Roman Catholics attending the Queen's Colleges and Trinity College could not be denied; but it was alleged that this number ought to be much larger, and would be much larger were it not for the conscientious scruples which kept Roman Catholics away from mixed universities. This appeal to figures utterly broke down, as the propriety of Catholics at the existing universities was proved to be ample. The case stood more simply at this time, viz.: Roman Catholics are a certain portion of the population who want university training. All Roman Catholics must be guided by the Bishops in all matters concerning education. The Bishops have denounced the existing universities, and demand a university under their own control: therefore the Bishops are entitled to have such a university on behalf of the Roman Catholic population. The claims of the Catholic University were pressed with great energy in 1865; and during the period which elapsed between Lord Palmerston's death and the fall of the Russell Administration in June following, the hopes of its supporters rose to that high level which they have ever since pretty generally maintained. The Bishops and their adherents took pains to spread the opinion that their hour of victory was arrived, and the language of the Ministerial press countenanced their action. The present Home Secretary was sent over to Ireland in the winter of 1865 to negotiate with the Bishops, and the result was believed to be quite satisfactory to them. All through the stormy Session spent on Mr. Gladstone's Reform Bill the public waited from day to day to hear the measures announced which were to follow up the negotiations of the winter, to revolutionise the Board of National Education, and to establish the Catholic University. On the latter question the Government were several times challenged by Mr. Lowe and Sir Robert Peel, and they pledged themselves to give the House an opportunity of discussing the proposed changes in Irish University education. During the month of June the fall of the Ministry was felt to be at hand; and after the catastrophe of the 26th, when Lord Dunkellin's motion was carried and the Ministry resigned, it was discovered that on the day before the decisive vote was taken (June 19)

a new charter had been issued to the Queen's University, and also a Queen's letter, by which six new members were added to the Senate of the University, the body whose function it was to accept the new charter on behalf of the University. One of the six members so nominated was a Professor of the Catholic University. None of them, except Lord Talbot de Malahide, had been previously connected with the Queen's University or identified with the policy on education which that institution was supposed to represent. On the same day Mr. Chichester Fortescue had addressed a letter to the Board of Education requiring a series of changes in their system which, in effect, would have carried out in regard to it the policy of the Roman Catholic Bishops. The Charter to the Queen's University was defeated by the proceedings instituted by the graduates, and Lord Mayo declined to recommend the grants necessary to carry out the changes proposed in Mr. Fortescue's letter to the National Board.

Thus, of Mr. Gladstone's Irish policy, that portion concerning education would seem to have been the earliest matured. In 1866 the Church question was still untouched, the Land question undetermined, the chapter of Autobiography unwritten; but Mr. Gladstone and his colleagues had a distinct policy on the Education question all ready —so completely ready that even in the agonies of an expiring Ministry they were able to give the world the full exposition of it.

The obvious way to have met the pressure in 1866 would have been to have encouraged Trinity College to carry still further the work in which she had been so long engaged. That neither Mr Gladstone nor Mr Chichester Fortescue was prepared to do. Another course would have been to propose some terms to the Catholic University, but it was probably found that that institution would never accept any reasonable terms. A third course was adopted—to revolutionise the scheme of Sir Robert Peel, so that the Catholic University could come in and take advantage of it. The students of that institution were to be enabled to obtain degrees of the Queen's University without matriculating at any of the Queen's Colleges.

A new university competing with more ancient institutions naturally endeavours to establish some point of excellence as specially characteristic of its training. The London University has been long famed for the stringency of its examinations. Its degrees mean always a certain amount of hard work, whilst those of Oxford or Cambridge mean residence and association for a certain time with the students of those universities. Dublin University adopted the system of giving certain advantages to attendance on lectures, but not absolutely requiring either residence or attendance on lectures. A student may, by passing a certain number of examinations, qualify himself for his degree without attendance on any lectures. The Queen's University on the other hand piqued itself on its strictness as to this point of attendance on lectures. Their examinations could not compete in stringency with those of the University of London; but they contended that what they did was done more thoroughly and better, and their degree came much nearer what a university degree ought to mean. To strip their new University of this distinguishing mark of its system its graduates thought a great hardship; and the action of the Senate in accepting the new Charter was adjudged by the Rolls Court in Ireland an infringement on the rights of the graduates. But this question of the character of the degree was not the only difficulty,

though an important one. Had the circumstances of the Queen's University allowed of the application of this scheme, the difficulties arising from it would have only commenced. The general test examination, contemplated by the supplemental charter, could only have been conducted on some common understanding arrived at by the principal bodies whose students designed to seek degrees. The settlement of the nature of this general examination would have been a perpetually recurring difficulty, as the Bishops would have claimed a right to determine the course. However that might have been, the resistance was successful, and the whole scheme fell to the ground, serving only to show the close relations which then existed between the Government of 1866 and the Ultramontane party.

When this question came to be discussed with Lord Mayo the year after the supplemental charter, he, like his predecessors, was unprepared to deal with the real difficulty—the position of the National University; but he did not attempt, like those predecessors, to tamper with the life and reputation of an institution which the State had itself established. He endeavoured to do what Sir Robert Peel had given up as a hopeless task—to find some common basis of agreement with the Episcopal party. His project he described as one 'to found a new university which should, as far as circumstances would permit, stand in the same position to Roman Catholics that Trinity College does to Protestants.' In the correspondence that ensued the impossibility of coming to any accord is very strikingly exhibited. Lord Mayo was ready to admit a certain number of Bishops on the Board of the proposed university, but this did not suffice. Archbishop Leahy and Bishop Derry say, 'It is our duty to state for the information of her Majesty's Government that the safety of faith and morals in the university can only be secured by recognising in the Bishops as members of the Senate the right which as Bishops they possess, and which all Catholics must acknowledge them to possess, of pronouncing authoritatively on matters of faith and morals. That right belongs to them, and to them alone as compared with laymen, and even ecclesiastics of the second order.'

'According to the doctrine and discipline of the Catholic Church it is not competent for laymen, not even for clergymen of the second order, to judge authoritatively of faith and morality. That is the exclusive province of Bishops. As faith and morality may be injuriously affected either by the heterodox teaching of professors, lecturers, or other officers, or by their bad moral example, or by the introduction of bad books into the university programme, the very least power that could be claimed for the Bishops in the senate, with a view to the counteraction of such evils, would be that of an absolute negative on such books, and on the first nomination of professors, &c. &c., as well as on their continuing to hold office after having been judged by the Bishops in the senate to have previously offended against faith and morals.' That negotiation played an important part in the debates of 1868, when Mr. Gladstone began to develop his Irish policy, but neither then nor on any subsequent occasion has his language been of a character to allay the apprehensions which the transactions of 1866 must excite.

Whenever subsequently Mr. Gladstone proceeded to give a summary of his Irish policy, he has always taken pains to treat the Education question, not as a separate question, but as a part of his especial scheme, the destruction of Protestant ascendency in Ireland. This has always been the plausible

way of stating the case of the Bishops against the existing systems, and has been made a cover for their efforts to establish an ascendency of their own; and this language, coming from the Prime Minister, and taken in conjunction with the reckless efforts made to carry out the policy of the Bishops in 1866, has naturally confirmed the opinion that the third instalment of Mr. Gladstone's Irish policy would be found to mean the establishment of an Ultramontane ascendency in education. 'The Church of Ireland,' said Mr. Gladstone, speaking at Wigan in November 1866, 'offers us indeed a great question, yet even that question is but one of a group of questions. There is the Church of Ireland, there is the Land of Ireland, there is the Education of Ireland.' Here education was referred to as the third branch of that upas tree which Mr. Gladstone was to destroy, and the public were somewhat startled at this view of education in Ireland. As to primary education, they had been accustomed to regard the establishment of the Irish National system as one of the few bright spots in England's government of that country. The statesmanship of its conception, the success which had attended its work, had been admitted by all parties. The Roman Catholics had been its zealous champions. The Protestant Dissenters were early reconciled to it. All the weight and influence of the Established Church had formally declared for it in 1865. But for some years the Roman Catholic hierarchy had become hostile to the system. Was it to be swept away, men asked, in deference to their wishes, simply because it had unfortunately shot out its roots whilst Protestant ascendency overshadowed the soil?

Then as to higher education, there stood the Catholic University, claiming recognition and endowment, or at least such a revolution in the Irish Universities as would give it control over the higher education of that country. Was this to be chartered, or some contrivance found to subject the existing Universities to its influence?

These apprehensions have not been allayed by the tone maintained by the Ministry both in August 1869 and in last April. On the former occasion Dr. Ball announced that the long-standing difficulty was gone. Trinity College was ready to adopt Mr. Fawcett's motion, and waited to obtain from the Legislature the necessary powers. Suddenly as in a dream the obstacles which had baffled successive Ministries, which Sir Robert Peel and Mr. Chichester Fortescue and Lord Mayo had in various ways endeavoured to turn, had faded totally away. And what was the language of the Ministry on this happy occasion? Mr. Chichester Fortescue seemed to think that he and his friends had been treated most unfairly. He was quite hurt that the Ultramontane party should be robbed in this way of their long-hoarded political capital. When Mr. Fawcett, conjointly with Mr. Plunket, renewed the demand of the University last year, the Prime Minister returned again to the language of the Wigan speech. He treated the question as a part of his campaign against Protestant ascendency, and refused to approach it until his own good time. The College did not ask that this measure should be accepted by Government as an absolute settlement, they only asked for power to carry out their own arrangements in this particular of religious tests. All that this demand implied was a simple measure: first of all, legalising the holding of all fellowships, scholarships, and professorships on the original foundation of the College without distinction of religion; and secondly, providing that the Divinity

school and the catechetical lectures should be discontinued within the University, and all the funds specially appropriated at different times to theological teaching, as for example Archbishop King's Lectureship in Divinity, should be transferred to the new Church body. The identification of these funds and the special mode of transfer would have been all matter of arrangement. A site might easily have been found in the neighbourhood of the College, for instance adjoining the Church of St. Andrew, where the Divinity course would have been accessible to those of the students who chose to pursue it. A similar arrangement has been adopted with great success at the Queen's College, Belfast. Both the Presbyterian and the Methodist communions have theological colleges in the neighbourhood of the Queen's College, and the lectures and courses of these colleges are so adapted as to fit into the arts and professional courses of the Queen's Colleges, whilst the complete independence of the different denominational bodies is invariably maintained. But it was not alleged that there was any intrinsic difficulty in carrying out the principle adopted by the University; nor could it be alleged that it precluded subsequent dealing with the many questions which might arise as to the internal constitution of the College. The enlarging the numbers of the Board of Senior Fellows with whom the government of the University rests, the better distribution of the funds between the Senior and Junior Fellows, were all matters of small import compared with the great principle which the College asked leave to apply, and they were in no way prejudiced by it. Much less could this measure be said to prejudge the question which undoubtedly must demand consideration as to the status of the Queen's University. The special characteristic of that body as representing the principle of 'unsectarian education in Ireland would pass away, but the importance of the Queen's Colleges as means of distributing University training over Ireland in districts otherwise inaccessible to it would be in no way diminished. The real obstacle lay not in the necessity for further reforms in Trinity College nor in the position of the Queen's University, but in that of the position of the Catholic University. That institution was about to lose its *raison d'être*. The Ultramontane party was the only Irish party that protested against the action of Trinity College. After Dr. Ball's speech in August 1869, Professor Quinlan, of the Catholic University, occupied the columns of the *Tablet*, in indignant terms maintaining the Protestant character of Trinity College; and before the end of the month the Bishops from Maynooth categorically denounced the converting Trinity College into a mixed institution. In deference to these clamours nearly two years have been lost; probably still more time may yet be sacrificed; and meanwhile Roman Catholic and Nonconformist students are excluded from offices which all parties except the Catholic University and its promoters are advocating their admission to.

It is generally believed that, whatever may be their form, Bills on this question were already drafted before Mr. Chichester Fortescue resigned the Irish Office to Lord Hartington; and we shall conclude by pointing out one or two of the dangers which the friends of education in Ireland specially dread. It will be admitted that it is impossible to establish a university system without having men to work it. Faulty as the system of Trinity College may be (and we do not deny that it has many faults), its age, size, and importance have given us

in the Fellows of Trinity College a body of men thoroughly fitted for their work, and evolved as it were by its own independent operation. The Queen's University has two controlling influences, both external to itself—that of the Crown and that of the Senate appointed by the Crown. This latter body consists of politicians; of judges, who in Ireland are generally very active politicians; and of a few Bishops of the Episcopal Church. No doubt a machinery exists by which the Crown is gradually denuding itself of this power both as to the professors and the senate in the Queen's University; but such a power is necessary at the first start of any new system, and it is to avoid such a necessity that we should maintain the existing system in the University of Dublin. Impose upon it what terms may be thought right, but do not subject it to external control. We have seen how under the pressure of political exigencies the Crown may use this power of nomination to a University senate—how in the case of the supplemental charter one-fourth of the places in the senate were filled all at once with a body of members specially selected to carry out a particular policy—a policy which the courts of law pronounced a violation of the rights of the corporation. In any country, but still more in Ireland, it must be an evil to allow the university system to become a part of the political business of the country. To sacrifice the independence of Trinity College, to place it under the control of a board like the senate of the Queen's University, would be a grievous calamity.

Had the University of Dublin been so ill-advised as to propose to throw in its lot with the disestablished Church, to forfeit its national character, and sink into the seminary of a particular denomination, as urged by Dr Hamilton some years since, or had it opposed a passive resistance to the demands of the country, there might have been no means of escaping the intervention of the Government. But the College has been true to its own position as the National University, and has appreciated what that position required at the present hour. All Parliament has to do is to settle the terms of the proposed change, and it may leave the carrying out of the change to the existing authorities of the University. Mr. Cullinan in his recent paper in the *Fortnightly Review* is very indignant that the authorities of the University should get any credit for their action in 1869. He talks of their 'calculating self-interest' 'their resolve simply proves they are the seven wise men.' Certainly they have understood their interest: their interest as a great public body having reputation and position to maintain, and consequently they have done service to their country. This knowledge of their own interests is precisely their merit. They have been able to shake off the timidities and the prejudices of an old corporation, and to understand the world around them. It is this kind of capacity which is the great want in all public affairs. It is the boast of Trinity College that she has proved that she possesses it. If the College adopted this course with a view to pervert the new system, then indeed Mr Cullinan's sneers might have some meaning, but this he certainly does not allege, and he probably knows Trinity College too well to entertain such suspicions. At least he knows the spirit which exists between bodies of men who have won their way to distinction by intellectual toil and those whom they have entitled to their care toiling in the same path. A writer in the *Times*, under the signature 'A Catholic Peer,' did indeed raise the question of the good faith of

the College authorities. He said 'It is all very well to open the examinations for the highest posts to Roman Catholics. How are we to know that Roman Catholics will get all the marks they are entitled to?' This question would hardly cross the mind of a Roman Catholic who had ever worked at Trinity College, but it was raised in perfect good faith by this writer, and illustrates the difficulty and danger of exposing a university system to external control. Were the examinations of the University of Dublin under the control of a delegation selected from the opposing communions in Ireland, the representatives of each communion would be immediately called on to take precautions against the dangers suggested by the Catholic Priest and other critics of the same tone of thought. Such securities would become of more importance than the advance of general education.

Whilst, then, we are anxious to see all the anomalies in the arrangements of the University removed, we think those changes of secondary importance compared to the great work of preserving the autonomy of the University. Many concessions the Board will readily make, more they will give if they find the task entered upon in good faith; but whatever be the extent of those internal reforms, the one point about which the friends of education are vitally interested is that the University shall not be subjected to any authority collected from the tides of political life some board consisting of off vals, ex-officials, or candidate officials.

The University of Dublin has frankly cast away the only badge that made it seem in the popular mind un-Irish. It is associated with the noblest traditions of modern Ireland. Its authorities enjoy a high reputation for learning, ability, and personal character. It is in the interest of Ireland and of England to secure it the chance of thoroughly identifying itself with the mind of the people to take care that it shall not become the shuttlecock of politicians or the spoil of Ultramontanism

J. Lowry Whittle.

Note – After these pages were in type the Ministerial programme of the business of the session appeared, and Irish education is not included in it. The state of public affairs may be a good reason for not charging the Ministry with the large question of public education in Ireland. It is an additional reason why the Ministry should consent now to do what they refused to do last year – should accept the offer of Trinity College to apply an admitted principle to the University of Dublin. Let them consent to support a bill for this purpose, leaving the whole question of the claims of particular parties, of the relative position of existing institutions, open for future consideration. The abolition of tests will not be a thorough reform of University education in Ireland, but the Ministry will hardly deny the advantage or importance of this step; and if they have not leisure for the larger scheme, that is no reason why, year after year, Roman Catholics and Non-conformists are to be deprived of Fellowships which their attainments, combined with this principle of the removal of tests, would at once secure them

MR. ELWIN'S EDITION OF POPE.

MR. ELWIN is publishing an edition of Pope, which has in the highest degree the true Dryasdust merits. Every scrap of information that has floated so far above the waters of oblivion has been carefully gathered together and exhibited in systematic order. Mr. Elwin's book must be the storehouse from which all future writers on Pope draw their materials; and if I pay him no more compliments on this head, it is chiefly because I remember Dr. Johnson's observation to a lady, that before she choked him with her praise she should consider what it was worth.

But I confess that I have another reason which would make me grudge praise to Mr. Elwin: it is, that Mr. Elwin is singularly grudging of praise to Pope. The main outcome of his ponderous volumes, so far as they have gone, seems to be a demonstration that they were not worth writing. Mr. Elwin has spent years in cleaning and resetting one of our national jewels, and the result of his labours is that it is nothing but a bit of coloured glass. There is something really depressing in turning over his pages. We admired Pope's wonderful qualities of style, his vigorous epigrams and quick insight; we fancied, perhaps, that modern poets, who have generally despised his methods and left the earth for the clouds, had not always gained by the exchange, and might still learn much from their great predecessor. We even liked the man for his works' sake; and though not blind to his many frailties, his morbid vanity, and feminine spite, and condescension to petty artifice, we yet fancied that we could recognise a manly intellect and a warm heart encased in a rickety body and tormented by an unfortunate temper. Poor Pope has been dead for some time, and everybody may have a kick at him. The dunces are in no fear of his stinging sarcasms, and may denounce him at their will. Fashions have changed in poetry as in other things, and the deposed autocrat is at the mercy of everybody. Mr. Elwin, though anything but a dunce, makes himself the mouthpiece of the dunces. Dennis and Gildon would have rejoiced to see this day, and chuckled over the vengeance that is befalling their mighty enemy. Mr. Elwin is an amateur detective, and with the help of the late Mr. Dilke's discoveries discharges the functions of a whole private enquiry office: he slowly unravels all the poor poet's complicated manœuvres; he details, at enormous length, every wretched artifice by which the luckless man had tried to throw dust in the eyes of his contemporaries and of posterity; he stops at intervals to enlarge upon the singular atrocity of this, that, and the other performance; he passes his microscope slowly and almost gloatingly over every unhealthy symptom revealed in his elaborate dissection; he collects all the hostile criticisms that have ever been put forward, endorses them all, and piles them as a monument over his victim's mangled remains.

The first volume, which contains Pope's earlier poems, is prefaced with an investigation into the history of his letters. Why this investigation should have been prefixed to the poems instead of the letters is a mystery—unless Mr. Elwin was so anxious to damage Pope's character that he could not wait for the natural place. Upon the results which he has obtained I shall not dwell. He has undoubtedly darkened the stains

which previously defaced the poet's memory. It is proved beyond cavil that Pope resorted to unworthy artifice in order to make it appear that the publication of the letters was due to his friends' pressure, and not to his own vanity. It seems, too, that he 'cooked' the letters to improve his own figure in the eyes of posterity, and cooked them at the expense of some of his friends. He lied and equivocated freely. The spectacle thus exposed is melancholy enough. Defence of Pope's intrigues is impossible; and all that can be said is, that crimes of this kind, strange as it may sound, are not incompatible with many amiable qualities. Even Mr. Elwin, in a moment of forgetfulness, gives Pope credit for a 'certain tenderness of heart.' Pope was not a saint, nor a consistent character: he was a victim of physical and mental diseases; he was a man whose keen sensibility had been perverted and turned sour; full of petty weaknesses, which are sometimes almost childish, and not seldom contemptible. And yet he had the making of a fine character—or so we may still believe till Mr. Elwin blows to the winds his last shreds of reputation in the forthcoming biography. Till then let us try to hope the best. The time has passed for anger, and we may as well recognise the truth that man is full of strange inconsistencies, and that those who at times are base enough have at times also the most warm and generous sentiments.

At present, however, I wish merely to consider Mr. Elwin's literary judgment. To read Pope with any satisfaction in his edition, it is necessary to make a stern compact with oneself to keep the notes and the text distinct. One must read the verses continuously, and then, if it is desirable, go through the commentary by itself. Otherwise, one feels something like a boy at a pantomime with a schoolmaster by his side. The boy laughs at the clown, and the schoolmaster immediately nudges him and explains at length that it is very wrong to sit down upon babies, or brand the rear of policemen with red-hot pokers. The boy admires the fairies and the coloured lights, and his preceptor points out that all is not gold that glitters, that the taste of the decorations is far from classical, and demonstrates that sound theologians do not believe in fairies.

After studying Mr. Elwin I am inclined to exclaim 'Oh for an hour of Pope!' The assailant of Bentley could have struck a shrewd blow or two at Bentley's successor. As, however, Pope's reappearance in his own defence is out of the question, I will venture first to suggest some of the topics which he would probably have urged. It is utterly impossible to follow Mr. Elwin's voluminous comments at full length, and I will confine myself to the *Essay on Criticism* and the *Essay on Man*, which form part of the second volume.

Pope published the *Essay on Criticism* at the age of twenty-three. He says himself that it was written in his twentieth year. Mr. Elwin labours to prove, from some conflicting statements of Pope himself, that it was written in his twenty-second year, and concludes that at any rate it 'represents the capacity of Pope at the age of twenty-three,' as he went on polishing his pieces until their publication. Various critics have admired the amount of thought displayed by so young a writer. Mr. Elwin disputes their judgment, and declares that we shall be 'more struck by the want of good sense in the principal critical canons.' He holds that they are 'below his years,' and 'the narrow, erroneous dogmas of a youth fresh from his schoolboy studies.' The Essay contains a

contradictions and glaringly erroneous positions. 'The phraseology is frequently mean and slovenly, the construction inverted and ungrammatical, the ellipses harsh, the metre inharmonious, the rhymes imperfect.' Its language falls 'below bald and slipshod prose.' In metrical qualities it is the worst of Pope's poems; he makes ten couplets rhyme to 'sense,' and twelve to 'wit.' Let us examine the terrible indictment, and see whether we can find any set-off against it.

Whenever Pope actually composed the poem he was not far from that age at which our youthful geniuses are contending for prizes at the universities. Amongst twenty-two successful candidates at Cambridge in the first thirty years of the prize I find the following with other distinguished names: W. Whewell, T. B. Macaulay, W. M. Praed, E. L. Bulwer, A. Tennyson, G. S. Venables—a list which I may incidentally remark shows very clearly that if prize poems deserve their bad reputation, they at least often bring out promising young men. The poems themselves have sunk into utter oblivion, and probably few of the authors would care to have their juvenile performances revived. It would not have been surprising if Pope's early poem on a subject which is specially difficult for a young man should have sunk into equally profound slumbers, and have been, as Mr. Elwin says, decidedly below his years. Yet I suppose that there is not one of my readers who is not familiar with each of the following phrases, though some of them may have forgotten or never known their source:

And snatch a grace beyond the reach of art.—(l. 155.)

A little learning is a dangerous thing:
Drink deep, or taste not the Pierian spring.
(l. 215.)

A needless Alexandrine ends the song,
And like a wounded snake drags its slow length along.—(l. 356.)

For fools rush in where angels fear to tread.—(l. 625.)

And if Mr. Elwin should dispute the truth or originality of the sentiments expressed, I may answer him still from the same poem in equally well-known words:

True wit is nature to advantage dressed—
What oft was thought, but ne'er so well expressed.—(l. 297.)

This does not prove that Pope was a great thinker or a great poet at the age of twenty-three; but it proves that at the age of twenty-three Pope had the rare art of composing proverbs in verse, which have become part of the intellectual furniture of all decently educated men. How many other poets are there in the language of whom the same can be said? A man who at that early age has written five phrases in a poem of less than 750 lines which stick in the memory of his countrymen a century and a half later possesses a rare precocity of talent of a certain order. The fact too causes some presumption that where the bull's-eye has been hit so often, there will be a good many shots near the centre.

Let us, however, look at this a little closer. Mr. Elwin singles out for contemptuous notice in the Preface, the first line of the following passage, which Warton had been led to praise 'by his relish for platitudes:'

In poets as true genius is but rare,
True taste as often is the critic's share;
Both must alike from heaven derive their light,
These born to judge as those are born to write.

Mr. Elwin appends a note to the first couplet in the following terms: 'An extravagant assertion. Those who can appreciate are beyond comparison more numerous than those who can produce a work of genius.' That seems to me to be no answer to the statement. Of a thousand men who can 'appreciate,' that is, enjoy, Homer or Shake-

speare, there is rarely one who is qualified to be a critic, or who 'is born to judge.' The critical faculty, indeed, is so rare that there are probably at the present moment more poets than critics of established reputation, though the number of moderately good performers is in both cases surprisingly large.

We have indeed recently lost one French critic whose claims were universally admitted, and to whom neither Warton nor Mr. Elwin can be pronounced equal. I speak, of course, of M. Sainte-Beuve. He happens to have treated of this very poem, and to have selected for particular admiration the very passage which Mr. Elwin condemns. Of the poem in general he says that it is well worth those of Horace or Boileau. Coming to details, he remarks, 'Que de judicieuses et de fines remarques, éternellement vraies, je recueille en le lisant, et que me elles sont exprimées dans une forme brève, concise, élégante, et une fois pour toutes!' He singles out several other passages as containing 'délicate truths expressed in elegant verse,' and as regards them is as far which excites Mr. Elwin's wrath 'Parlant d'Homère et de son rapport avec Virgile,' says M. Sainte-Beuve, 'Pope établit la vraie loi et la vraie voie pour les traducteurs d'une époque, et qui restent dans l'esprit de la traduction,' and adds after translating the passage, 'Certes la pensée de ces vers est juste, des esprits sérieux et sensés en exigeront pour un exemple.' And that Mr. Elwin does not see from the same passage is that Pope did not anticipate 'the vast metaphysical work in the world had undergone since the close of the Greek and Roman eras,' or, in other words that Pope at twenty-three should have had the mind of the classical mind of the eighteenth century. Mr. Elwin is clearly right as far as he goes, and Sainte-Beuve may be wrong, still if I know that any undergraduate was now writing a poem which would be read with admiration by a distinguished French critic of the year 2020, I should think that he was really giving some proofs of precocious talent. M. Sainte-Beuve quotes another passage which I will commend to Mr. Elwin's consideration, and I need not point out to him that it contains two rhymes to 'wit,' one of which is a bad one:

> A perfect judge will read each work of wit
> With the same spirit that its author writ:
> Survey the whole, nor seek slight faults to find
> Where nature moves and rapture warms the mind,
> Nor lose for that malignant, dull delight
> The generous pleasure to be warmed with wit.

I now pass to the *Essay on Man*, where Mr. Elwin has been specially exuberant. He has prefixed some remarks which I roughly calculate to be between three and four times as long as Pope's poem, the main part of which is an elaborate attack upon Pope's metaphysics and theology. Not content with this, he has appended dr. notatory notes to a number of passages in the poem. His general system is to interpret an epigram as if it were an act of parliament, to prove with superabundant force that a paradox is not a truism, and that a truism is not an original remark. He thinks it a hard case for a poet to accept the current philosophy of his age, and strains every rash phrase to its farthest extreme, and then saddles his author with the consequences, which he supposes to be a logical result.

I might, in the first place, say summarily that all the argument directed against Pope's theology or metaphysics is utterly irrelevant. A man may found grand poetry upon erroneous systems. Lucretius defended very startling doctrines; Shelley was not an orthodox Christian, Milton was taunted with

Arianism; but what should we say to a commentator who spent many pages in proving such statements—who brought Paley to confute Shelley, or quoted Bull and Waterland to correct Milton's rash utterances? Simply, I imagine, that he did not know his business.

Mr. Elwin, perhaps, thinks that he is exposing Pope's character. He says that Pope kept to Catholicism, not from conscientious motives, but because he didn't wish to hurt his mother's feelings—not precisely an unconscientious motive. As Pope himself put it, his conversion would do no good to himself, and would do no good to anybody else. The truth seems to be plain enough. Pope's religion was that of most educated Roman Catholics in his own day and ours, and moreover—if Mr. Elwin will forgive the saying—that of a good many respectable members of the Church of England. He believed, Mr. Elwin says, in God and a future world; he thought religion exceedingly valuable in a social point of view; but he believed little or nothing of the dogmatic theology of his own Church, and thought that a wise man would be content to keep his doubts to himself, and preserve a decent regard to ecclesiastical ceremonies, without troubling himself overmuch about creeds and controversies. Also, he was very anxious not to hurt his mother's feelings. Does this imply any great moral obliquity? If so, how many of the laity in our own day are tolerably honest men?

But, Mr. Elwin adds, Pope was grossly inconsistent, and did not understand his own theories. Granted, by all means; and who, I will ask, ever doubted it? Is it necessary to spend many pages in demonstrating that Newton was not a great divine, that Hume was not profoundly acquainted with original sources of English history, that Dr Johnson was weak in etymology; and that the famous Pope was but a shallow metaphysician? The only remark we can make is that which Lord Brougham is said to have once audibly uttered under a sermon proving that the sun shone at noonday—'Go on, sir, the court is with you.' Well, says Mr. Elwin, poetry ought not to be employed in setting forth a puzzled system of shallow metaphysics. Granted, again! It was a pity that Pope tried to put argument into verse, especially as he didn't understand the argument; and the consequence has been that the *Essay on Man* is full of bad verses as well as bad arguments. If so, Mr. Elwin will ask, what do you claim for the poem? To which my reply must be, all that any good judges have ever claimed for it, namely, that it is full of passages of singular force and beauty, which Mr. Elwin has attacked with, as I think, bad logic and worse taste. Even in attacking Pope's weakest points, he seems to me to succeed in generally putting himself in the wrong.

To reason in verse is proverbially difficult, and especially is it difficult to pack syllogisms into the rigid framework of Pope's antithetical couplets. Mr Elwin has no trouble in pointing out that the grammar often suffers, and that there are very harsh ellipses and inversions. He would have done well to remember that arguments which have been subjected to such a process are necessarily more or less maimed and distorted, and that it is the very height of unfairness to insist upon particular expressions, and to draw inferences from a misplaced particle or preposition. It is still more unfair to reason, as he constantly does, from suppressed objects, which, for anything he knows, may have been suppressed for the very fault which he discovers in them. His whole method, in short, indicates a hostile animus towards Pope, and a desire to pick

holes in his verses and his arguments which savours more of the theological controversialist than of the literary critic. I will take the most prominent examples of Mr. Elwin's method, and consider their justice and relevancy. As a complete estimate of Mr. Elwin's criticisms would involve a consideration of the various arguments in support of theism, of the true theory of Fate and Free-will, and the origin of evil, and of the rival merits of various doctrines of moral philosophy, I must be content with a comparatively fragmentary method. I follow the order of the passages attacked in Pope:

> Say first, of God above or man below,
> What can we reason but from what we know?
> Of man what see we but his station here
> From which to reason or to which refer?—
> I. 17-22.

The last pair of the verse is barbarously elliptical. The meaning is, that all our reasonings respecting the end of man must be drawn from his station here, and to this station we must refer all that we learn respecting him. Now we can know nothing but what relates to our present condition, the doctrine of a future life is excluded.

This is one of Mr Elwin's argumentative wire-drawings, intended to show that out of complaisance to Bolingbroke, Pope indirectly disavowed the doctrine of a future life, which, as Mr Elwin admits, he really held. To draw such a conclusion from a 'barbarously elliptical' verse is dangerous, as it now entirely depends on Mr Elwin's own ability to Pope's meaning. Meanwhile I am content to ask him what else we do know of man but his station here; whether he thinks it impossible to infer a future life from our station here, and when we have inferred a future life, what use our knowledge is except as in some way influencing our conduct here? He has elaborately answered the second of these questions in his introductory remarks, and proved to his own satisfaction that a belief in a future life is a necessary consequence of our condition here. Why should he deny that argument to Pope?

> When the proud steed shall know why man restrains
> His fiery course, or drives him o'er the plains;
> When the dull ox, why now he breaks the clod,
> Is now a victim, and now Egypt's god,
> Then shall man's pride and dullness comprehend
> His actions', passions', being's use and end,
> Why doing, suffering, checked, impelled, and why
> This hour a slave, the next a deity.—I. 61-68.

'Pope may mean that we cannot tell, with respect to the general scheme of Providence, why we are made what we are, in which case he answers what he had said just before; that it is plain there must be somewhere such a rank as man'—or he may mean something else, which Mr. Elwin says would 'debase every person who received it,' but which I need not consider, as it is quite improbable that Pope meant anything of the kind. Surely if it be clear that there is 'somewhere such a rank as man,' it does not follow that we must know 'our being's, passions', sufferings', end and aim.' On Mr. Darwin's theory there must be somewhere such a rank as ape; but that does not explain why some apes have large blue patches on their cheeks, or why one monkey has a prehensile tail and another a tail which is not prehensile, and a third no tail at all. Pope has explained just before what Mr. Elwin has himself told us in a much greater number of words—that we could not tell why Heaven has made us as we are unless we had infinite knowledge. We may know that there must be such a rank as man, but we cannot understand

> the base gradations in the line,
> The strong connections, nice dependencies
> —(I. 249)

of the universal frame of things.

Who sees with equal eye, as God of all,
A hero perish, or a sparrow fall,
Atoms or systems into ruin hurled,
And now a bubble burst and now a world.—
Ibid. l. 86-90

To Him no high, no low, no great, no small,
He fills, he bounds, connects and equals all. Ibid. l. 279, 280.

Mr. Elwin remarks on the first of these passages: 'Pope's assertion that there is "no great, no small," is contradicted by the passage in St Matthew to which Warburton refers. Our Lord there assures us that we are of more value than many sparrows, and the ruin of a world with its myriad of sentient beings must be of more importance in the sight of the Deity than the bursting of a bubble. Pope repeats, at verse 279, a statement which is repugnant to reason, to revelation, and to his own system of a scale of beings.' At verse 279 Mr. Elwin again blazes into wrath: 'The concluding lines appear to be a false jingle of words which neutralise the whole of Pope's argument. If there is to Providence "no high, no low, no great, no small," the gradation of beings is a delusion. What things are in the sight of God they are in reality; and since no one thing in creation is superior or inferior to any other thing, Pope's language throughout this epistle is unmeaning.'

There can be no doubt of that. If a sparrow is, in calm, sober, prosaic earnest, equal to a hero, most remarks become nonsense. If the half is really greater than the whole, Euclid's *Elements* repose upon a series of groundless fallacies. If Mr. Elwin found in an ancient author the remark that 'one day is with the Lord as a thousand years, and a thousand years as one day,' he might prove by the same logic that on this showing David's son by Bathsheba lived precisely as long as Methuselah; and that various other [illegible] would be the inevitable result.

Literal interpretations of Pope's words makes them stark nonsense; and when we find that to be the case with a vigorous writer, we may sometimes venture the hypothesis that he is not to be taken literally. Most readers, I should imagine, could interpret Pope in this case for themselves; but to satisfy Mr. Elwin I will venture to quote a passage from a contemporary author of reputation which sets the whole matter forth in the most plain, straightforward, unpoetical terms. 'It cannot but be evident,' says Clarke (*Works*, I. 48), 'that all are alike easy to be inspected by Him, and the minutest things as much so as the greatest. Nay, it will appear that not only the smallest things are not unworthy of His inspection, but that even in the nature of things it is absolutely impossible that He who is everywhere alike present, should not observe and attend to everything alike.' That, I hope, is plain enough; but it can't be packed into one line without a little squeezing.

Hope springs eternal in the human breast,
Man never is, but always to be blest.—l. 95, 96.

Pope, says Mr. Elwin, 'has frequently contradicted this line, and allowed that men who place their happiness in right objects and use the recognised means enjoy a present pleasure in addition to the hope of an equal or greater pleasure in the future.' Whoever said first that the use of language was to conceal thought probably contradicted himself very often, and said or implied that the use of language was to express thought.

Pope's lines are almost a translation from Pascal's *Pensées* (Art. 6, § 5). 'Que chacun examine sa pensée, il la trouvera toute remplie du passé et à l'avenir. Le présent n'est jamais notre but; le passé et le présent sont nos moyens, le seul avenir est notre objet.'

Pascal was [illegible] a man of re-

ligious genius, but a most powerful reasoner. Shortly afterwards, however, he says (Art. 7, § 8): 'D'où vient que cet homme qui a perdu depuis si peu son fils unique, et qui, accablé de procès et de querelles, était ce matin si troublé, n'y pense plus maintenant? Ne vous en étonnez pas: il est tout occupé à voir par où passera un cerf que ses chiens poursuivent depuis six heures. Il n'en faut pas davantage pour l'homme, quelque plein de tristesse qu'il soit. Si l'on peut gagner sur lui de le faire entrer en quelque divertissement, le voilà heureux pendant ce temps-là.'

Pascal, it is true, goes on to describe this happiness as 'false and imaginary,' and to call it by various ugly names. The contradiction, however, is as clear as anything that can be attributed to Pope. In the first passage we are told that man never thinks of the present except as a means to the future; in the second that the most trifling amusement may distract our minds from the saddest recollections and the most dismal anticipations. Without spending any trouble on reconciling two such statements, it is enough to say that neither is a mathematical axiom, and both are impressive views of particular aspects of the truth. Giving the necessary latitude of interpretation, everyone perceives that they are complementary, not contradictory; and Mr. Elwin might surely extend to an epigrammatical poet the same indulgence which he would doubtless grant to one of the clearest reasoners who ever lived, and when untrammelled by the necessities of metre.

The well-known passage (l. 167-212) in which Pope describes the poor Indian who

> thinks admitted to that equal sky
> His faithful dog shall bear him company,

produces very as sharp remarks from Mr. Elwin.

Pope (he says) allows the contested faith of the savage to rob the dramatic fiction of its real worth. The contrast completely fails. The contentment and contentedness are not, as Pope would represent objects, the contentment of the savage being based on the ignorance of a future life, while the least shadow of contentment is said to be utterly with the present condition, although the savage is unsatisfied likewise. The imperfect information of missionaries is a very sufficient warrant for asserting that all Indians believed in a future state, and if they were dissatisfied among them, their case did not suffer from that discontentment. Above all, the contentment of the Indian is the result of grossly wrong views, and whatever may be the errors of civilized savages, they cannot be removed by an appeal to the blind acceptance of the savage which Pope supposed to be false. 'Our flattering wise selves here,' he said to Spence, 'with the thoughts of enjoying the company of our friends in the other world may be just like the Indians thinking that they shall have their dogs and horses there.'

I quite believe that Pope had not read Sir John Lubbock's or Mr. Tylor's researches into the primitive condition of mankind, or Livingstone's travels. It is highly probable that he had never read a single missionary book, and knew not whether their information was accurate or absurd. His Indian was the conventional person who used to illustrate the state of nature in the eighteenth century, and who never existed at all in the actual world. But surely his argument, though illustrated by a poetical fiction (a tremendous fault in a poet), strongly resembles one which Mr. Elwin must have heard from a good many pulpits. The simple believer, we are constantly told, knows just as much, or it may be just as little, about our future state as the profound philosopher who puzzles himself over fate and free-will, and invents pre-established harmonies and systems of occasional causes, and explains everything to his own satisfaction and to that of nobody else. The conclusion is that the philosopher is [illegible] faces in finding fault

dence. The argument may be wrong, but I don't see why it should put Mr. Elwin in a passion.

Everybody is now aware that the 'poor Indian' does not correspond to Pope's description, but I would suggest to Mr. Elwin that he is entering a rather dangerous path when he protests against the theory that others than Christians may believe in God and a future life. He may think it pious to quote and enforce Whately's preposterous remark on Pope's *Universal Prayer* that 'the pagan nations were in reality atheists.' It is common enough for theologians to call everybody an atheist who does not believe in their own God; but the practice is not philosophical nor, in my opinion, pious. Pope recognising a certain community of faith with all men who worshipped the

> Father of all, in every age,
> In every clime adored,
> By saint, by savage, and by sage,
> Jehovah, Jove, or Lord!

is in closer harmony with all the noblest religious thought of the present day than the scornful assertion that all pagans were atheists.

> If the great end be human happiness,
> Then nature deviates, and can man do less?
> As much that end a constant course requires
> Of show'rs and sunshine as of man's desires,
> As much eternal springs and cloudless skies
> As men for ever temperate, calm, and wise.
> If plagues or earthquakes break not Heaven's design,
> Why then a Borgia or a Catiline?
> Who knows but He whose hand the lightning forms,
> Who heaves old Ocean, and who wings the storms,
> Pours fierce ambition in a Cæsar's mind,
> Or turns young Ammon loose to scourge mankind?—P. L. 149–162.

Mr Elwin's theological wrath is stirred to the utmost by a passage which he finds it easier to denounce than to refute. I quote his notes on the first and last couplets:

> The assertion is monstrous that we cannot be expected to control our evil passions because Nature has her storms, diseases, and earthquakes. This is not to justify the ways of God, but to justify the ways of wicked men. The physical evil ordained by the Ruler of the world cannot be put upon the same foundation with the moral evil which reason and revelation condemn. Sin is permitted because it is better that offences should exist than that free-will should be destroyed, but it is lamentable that we should will to do evil in preference to good. The justification of the abuse of free-will is a distinct proposition from the argument into which Pope glides; but it is not harder to understand why man should be allowed to be a scourge to many than why suffering should be inflicted through the agency of earthquakes and pestilence.
>
> God does not 'pour ambition into Cæsar's mind,' or the all perfect Being would be the author of sin. The alternatives of ambition are the acts of the ambitious man.

The first statement here is that Pope says that we 'cannot be expected to control our passions because earthquakes are permitted by Providence.' When we are interpreting in this literal spirit, we should keep to the strict words. Pope says nothing about 'expecting,' which in this connection is a singularly ambiguous word. All that he says is that we 'cannot' control them. Taken in their strictest sense, these words would imply universal predestination, though Pope probably did not mean to assert that doctrine in its full extent. Even if he did, I need not quote Jonathan Edwards or Mr Mill to prove that the theological doctrine of predestination, or the philosophical doctrine of universal causation, is compatible with the strictest system of morality. Even Butler, or his favourite Leibnitz, might have explained to Mr. Elwin that a belief in what

was called philosophical necessity is just as easily reconciled as the opposite theory with a recognition of moral duty. Whether Pope was wrong or right, he was at least sufficiently backed by high authority to be theologically unimpeachable, and more than sufficiently backed to be poetically unimpeachable. Pope is treating of one of the deepest mysteries that have perplexed the intellects of philosophers and divines; and because he accepts the alternative which Mr Elwin rejects, but which has nevertheless been accepted by the most logical and consistent writers that ever lived, Mr. Elwin accuses him of immorality and folly.

Is it wrong, then, to speak of God pouring ambition into Cæsar's mind? I will quote a few lines which I have no doubt have been constantly admired by Mr. Elwin, and which are amongst the grandest in English poetry. The 'God of peace and love,' says Wordsworth, 'guides the past century;' 'He puts the earth-quake in her stirrid design.'

> [illegible]
> And [illegible]
> [illegible]
> The [illegible]
> [illegible]
> [illegible]
> [illegible]
> [illegible]
> [illegible]
> And [illegible]

Is there much difference between the statements, that God 'pours fierce ambition into Cæsar's mind,' and that He 'permits the wicked in their dazzling state'? The thought is almost identical in the two passages. Pestilence, earthquake, and storms are in the one case said to be the weapons of those who also employs carnage, and turns to account, in one case Napoleon, and in the other Cæsar. If Mr. Elwin had been annotating Wordsworth, he would, perhaps, have been very angry at the phrase about God 'shaking cities and towns,' or saying 'bade' for 'bidden;' and he would have said that God did not clothe the wicked, because the wicked clothed themselves. Still he would possibly have admitted the grandeur of the passage.

There is, indeed, this amount of difference: Wordsworth speaks of 'permitting' instead of ordering; he holds that the right side always wins—that the strongest battalions are on the side of Providence. He knows that the battle of Waterloo was a Divine judgment on the wicked. The practice of singing *Te Deums* after battles is of questionable propriety, especially when both sides sing them. Pope is, I think, more reverent and more philosophical in avoiding this conclusion, and admitting that, though everything is ultimately for the best, we don't know in what way it is for the best. The difference between a permission of the Almighty and a direct command of the Almighty is so fine, that if there is any difference, most philosophers have been unable to discover it. I should advise Mr Elwin to read his Jonathan Edwards before supposing that he has really got out of the difficulty by what I must venture to call his absolute mode of explanation. If God made Cæsar, as Mr. Elwin supposes if He put him in a position where he was certain to be exposed to temptations which it was equally certain would be too strong for him, does not that process seem to human intelligence to be equivalent to 'pouring ambition into his mind'? Hamlet's uncle puts a cup of poisoned, but refreshing, drink on a table where Hamlet is certain to find it at a moment of thirst. Is it not very

much like poisoning him? And if Hamlet's uncle could foresee precisely the state of Hamlet's mind and body, is it possible for us to detect any difference? I will not venture far into these profound questions: it is enough to say that Mr. Elwin's fluent explanation has been considered and rejected by metaphysicians of infinitely greater pretensions than poor Pope, and is generally thought to be childish. It is wiser to admit an inscrutable mystery than to solve it by what strikes men who are really overawed by the darkness of the ways of Providence as a paltry quibble. Johnson spoke once of throwing a man out of a window and recommending him to fall soft. That, if I may say it without irreverence, is the part which Mr. Elwin attributes to God Almighty. He only 'permits' us to fall, and would rather that we didn't fall, but knows when He throws us out that we can't help falling.

I admit, however, that Pope is probably inconsistent upon this matter. In the *Universal Prayer* he speaks of God as binding the earth fast in fate and leaving free the human mind. That is saying just what Mr. Elwin says; and therefore, as I think, speaking not very wisely nor very consistently. Still it would be quite possible to say that God may be described as 'pouring ambition into Cæsar's mind,' in the sense that He placed him in circumstances which would naturally make him ambitious; and thus to save some fragment of Free-will. There is not an absolute contradiction; though Pope was speaking language characteristic of different schools of thought. He was oscillating between Calvinism and Arminianism; and if such an oscillation is enough to prove that he was unpoetical or devoid of religious feeling, I must give him up. To my mind it only proves what everybody knew before, that Pope was not much of a metaphysician.

> All this dread order break—for whom? for thee?
> Vile worm! O madness! pride! impiety!
> —I. 257, 258.

The chief problem which Pope undertook to solve was the existence of moral evil. Yet, if man, in obedience to God's commands, became morally perfect, none of the disastrous consequences the poet describes would ensue. Angels would not be hurled from their spheres; worlds would not be wrecked, nor would heaven's foundations nod to their centre. Reason and revelation unite in the conclusion that moral perfection would, on the contrary, be an unmitigated blessing. Consequently Pope's hypothesis explains nothing unless he had shown how it is that a system which rendered evil impossible would be inferior to our own.

It would perhaps be enough to say that the argument, such as it is, which Pope has expressed in some very fine lines, is substantially in Mr. Elwin's friend Leibnitz. He says that it is not to be supposed that God should overturn the whole order of nature that a particular moral evil may be avoided.[1] Pope only works out the argument in more detail.

That Pope has not cleared up the origin of evil is quite true. The same remark might be extended to many other writers, including Mr. Elwin himself. He gives, however, the answer—if answer it can be called—which appears to satisfy Mr Elwin, elsewhere. The whole universe, he says, is one vast system, and if you break any link you break the whole chain. Suspend gravitation to save a good man from a fall, and immediately we shall see

> each substance quit its sphere, and bound
> Planets and stars run lawless through the sky—

and so on. Mr Elwin says, if men became morally perfect, some of these consequences would ensue.

[1] Theod. sec. 116

That is a very feeble attempt to shift the difficulty a little farther. If reason and revelation unite to tell us that everything would be better if men became morally perfect, why were they not created to become morally perfect? Mr Elwin replies, that their free-will must not be destroyed. I will not enquire how he proves that, which does not seem to be less mysterious than any other proposition on the subject; but at least it is plain, whatever we may think of free-will, that a change of circumstances changes character. To quote an illustration from his favourite Leibnitz: twins are born in Poland; one is carried off by the Turks, becomes a renegade, and is damned; the other is saved by a pious clergyman, brought up as a good Christian, and goes to heaven. Why were not matters so arranged as to save both boys from the Turks? A change in the direction of the wind, or a shower of rain, might have done it. Why did not God alter His laws for a moment? The only answer is, but we have given it above by Pope's lecture, and Mr Elwin

> that God in His government is guided in many cases by regular laws, which we cannot understand because we see only an infinitesimal part of the whole, but which we daily believe to be for the best. If the answer is unsatisfactory, so much the worse for Mr Elwin, but he is justly appealing to it just as much as the poet whom he so rashly overhauls.

> A little part of some one vast extent,
> Whose body nature is, and God the soul;
> That, changed through all, and yet in all the same,
> Great in the earth as in the ethereal frame,
> Warms in the sun, refreshes in the breeze,
> Glows in the stars, and blossoms in the trees,
> Lives through all life, extends through all extent,
> Spreads undivided, operates unspent,
> Breathes in our soul, informs our mortal part,
> As full, as perfect, in vile man that mourns,
> As the rapt seraph that adores and burns:
> To him no high, no low, no great, no small,
> He fills, he bounds, connects, and equals all.
> Pope, ii. 266–280.

Mr. Elwin's remarks on the first two lines of this passage, which, with certain obvious drawbacks, appear to me to be a very forcible piece of writing, are to the following effect. Clarke, he says, and Newton, both repudiate the doctrine that God is the soul of the universe.[1] Newton's authority, which had been alleged by Warburton, is inapplicable. 'The doctrine which Pope held in common with Sir Isaac Newton was the omnipresence of the Deity. The doctrine which Sir Isaac Newton repudiated, and which Pope maintained, was that the world was the Body of God, as the human frame is of man. The world in this sense was not the work of the Deity, but a portion of Him. Pope abandoned his present creed, Epist. III, ver. 329, where he says

> The whole one system, of the work the whole.

Pope, in other words, here speaks as a Pantheist. If he did, it does not necessarily follow that he is a bad poet, but let us first look at the accuracy of the statement. Does everybody who uses the technical phrase that God is the soul of the world, even when he uses it poetically instead of technically, commit himself to Pantheistic opinions? To answer this, I will quote a fragment from a fine passage in Hooker's Sermons, in which the analogy between God and the soul, the universe and the body, is elaborately drawn out: 'As God by His

[1] It may be worth while to quote a passage which shows how Clarke and Newton, in the sense in which they repudiated the soul of the world, would have spoken of God as the soul of man. Speaking of the Resurrection, Clarke says, 'God will raise the same bodies, not only numerically the same, but also consisting of the same particles of matter, which were united to the same souls, and which constituted the same persons, before they died.' Newton uses almost the same words.

presence and influence doth (as the philosopher speaks) contain and keep together the whole frame of things; so that He withdrawing them, it would fall of itself into corruption and ruin; so doth the soul, by its union and secret energy upon the body, connect the parts of its body and preserve it from dissolution, which presently, they being removed, do follow.'

Berkeley, in the *Siris*, discusses the same question at length: he says that it is absurd to suppose that God is 'the sentient soul of an animal;' but the following passage shows how the dogma may be understood in an orthodox sense: 'If nature be supposed the life of the world, animated by one soul, compacted into one frame, and directed or governed in all parts by one mind, this system cannot be accused of atheism, though perhaps it may of mistake or impiety. And yet, as one presiding mind gives unity to the infinite aggregate of things by a mutual communion of actions and passions, and an adjustment of parts; causing all to concur in one view to one and the same end, the ultimate and supreme good of the whole; it would seem reasonable to say, with Ocellus Lucanus, the Pythagorean, that as life holds together the bodies of animals, the cause whereof is the soul; and as a city is held together by concord, the cause whereof is law; even so the world is held together by harmony, the cause whereof is God.' In other words, God, harmony, and the world are terms analogically corresponding to the soul, life and the body.

Both of these grave divines say that, in a metaphysical sense, we may compare God to the soul, and the universe to the body. Surely that is enough to justify poor Pope, who was writing a poem, and not a manual for the use of theological students, in using the metaphor without stopping to guard himself against possible misapplications. In fact, Mr. Elwin's criticism comes to this, that Pope should not have said God 'is,' but God 'resembles' the soul. Pope little suspected into what editorial hands he was destined to fall.

Meanwhile, Pantheism, though it may be an erroneous creed, is certainly not an unpoetical creed; and it is scarcely necessary to quote Wordsworth's celebrated lines as to the

> sense sublime
> Of something far more deeply interfused,
> Whose dwelling is the light of setting suns,
> And the round ocean, and the living air,
> And the blue sky, and in the mind of man:
> A motion and a spirit that impels
> All thinking things, all objects of all thought,
> And rolls through all things—

excerpt to justify the remark that the sentiment is identical with that of Pope. I grant that they are in some sense more poetical, that their tone is higher, and that they do not contain such an offence to the taste as the antithesis between 'hair' and 'heart;' yet I doubt whether Pope is not a better rhetorician, though perhaps an inferior poet.

> Then see, how little the remaining sum
> Which served the past, and must the times to come! — II. 51, 52.

In the preceding paragraph we are told that in [illegible] may rise unchecked from art to art [illegible], the reason, Pope took [illegible] together the various departments of human thought, by his own statement, one vast and imperial [illegible] of reason which was destined to [illegible] and of which it was [illegible] say that a [illegible] had served the latter as it must the past

Did Mr. Elwin ever hear of a great man who thought that he resembled a child picking up shells on the shores of the infinite ocean of knowledge?

> Let subtle schoolmen trace these friends to fix,
> Mere atoms to divide than to unite,
> And grave and virtue, sense and reason
> With all the rash dexterity of wit

> Wise as we like fools at war about a name,
> Have full as oft in meaning, or the same:
> Seas, lines and reason, all combine the plan,
> Pass their proportions, measure out the man.
> II. 35–38.

Pope charges the critics now with having at war about a name, when they distinguished between sense and reason and the distinction is a creature of their own creed. He charges them with maintaining that sense and reason were not merely separate but conflicting powers and he has insisted on the controversy of the strife.

It is a capital article in Mr. Elwin's creed that sense and reason are separate; but if Mr. Elwin will try to draw the line which separates them, he will find himself involved in scholastic subtleties, many of which are supposed by ordinary persons to be mere hair-splitting. If he succeeds in drawing that line, he will have done what no philosopher has hitherto succeeded in doing; but perhaps the task is not too great for a gentleman who thinks himself able (Ep. IV. 1) to upset the utilitarian moralists in a note of eleven lines.

As for sense and reason being conflicting powers, I certainly do not defend Pope's philosophy, but there is no necessary inconsistency. Pope states clearly enough, in the next lines, that sense and reason pursue the same end, but by different methods: one wishes greedily 'to devour its object,' the other to 'taste the honey and not wound the flower.' He charges the critics, rightly enough, with misunderstanding this distinction of shewing what may be avoided.

Pope, in Ep. III. 1 argued, indulging in some commonplaces about instinct, which, as he tells us, is

> Sure never to o'ershoot, but just to hit,
> While still too wide or short is human wit.

There is more to the same purpose, which is not very good poetry nor very good philosophy. However, bad or good, it is a favourite topic of dealers in natural theology. The wonderful instincts which enable birds to make nests and spiders to build webs without reason are constantly held up as proofs of the skill of the Divine Architect. I only notice the passage to quote some characteristic instances of Mr. Elwin's mode of treating poetry. He proves in the gravest possible manner that beasts want foresight and often suffer in consequence—that they are starved, eaten, and frozen to death. He remarks that, however they may be supported under these trials, 'no one will imagine that they can be supported by sublimer hopes than our own.' He tells us that the fallibility of instinct is proved by the case of certain flesh-flies: 'misled by the odour of the African carrion flower, these flesh-flies lay their eggs in it, and the progeny, not being vegetable feeders, are starved.' Mr. Elwin does not like the theory that beasts act from the immediate impulse of their Maker, because the Maker would hardly direct a jackdaw 'to drop cartloads of sticks down a chimney in the vain endeavour to find a basis for its nest.' Nor can we attribute 'to the immediate instigation of God' the 'viciousness of temper' which we sometimes observe in dogs and horses, unless we accept Pope's doctrine about God's 'pouring fierce ambition into Cæsar's mind.' Mr. Elwin is drifting into some terrible perplexities when he thus attributes free-will to dogs and horses: he had better look at his Leibnitz again, or study the Cartesian doctrine of animal machines. It is rather odd, however, to find him adopting arguments which savour of Candide in his anxiety to confute Pope. He tells us, in his preliminary essay, that the 'deepest philosophers and simplest peasants are alike lost in admiration at the spectacle' (of the living creatures of our globe), 'and feel impotent to rise to a fitting height of love and praise.' Now he tells us that the

animal world is a scene of carnage, misery, starvation, and torment, without the hopes which support our nobler race. Free-will explains the parallel difficulties in the case of man; but have the African flesh flies free-will, or is the existence of these evils, as Pope says, a profound mystery?

At any rate, these facts about flesh-flies and jackdaws and vicious horses, however interesting in themselves, are rather out of place in the discussion. Pope says, and Mr. Elwin will not deny, that instinct teaches animals to do many things with inexplicable accuracy without the guidance of reason, and that the fact is a proof that God directs them, and a proof that each race has the power which suits it best. If some of his assertions are a little strained, it is an insufficient excuse for Mr. Elwin to come out with his flesh-flies and jackdaws to prove beyond all fear of contradiction that animals are in many ways inferior to man, and don't believe in another life.

In a somewhat similar spirit Mr. Elwin attacks Pope's natural history (I. 213), and vindicates the lion from his charge of a want of smell, besides taking pains to point out that the absence of the sense of smell would not account, as Pope thought it would, for the jackal being appointed the lion's provider. Poor Pope, perhaps, fancied that if one animal couldn't smell, it was natural to give him as a helper another animal that could. So in III. 126, Pope says of the offspring of animals:

> The mothers nurse it and the sire feeds first.

Mr. Elwin solemnly informs us that this 'is not the law of creation. In a multiplicity of instances both parents feed and both defend their young,' and so on.

> Who, foe to nature, hears the general groan,
> Murders their species and betrays his own.
> —III. 163, 164.

This is the same amiable being who is celebrated, verse 51, for helping the wants and woes of other creatures, and sparing singing birds and gilded insects out of pure compassion.

Well, and what then? Is the inconsistency in Pope or in man? Is not man the only being who feels sympathy for other orders of creatures? and is he not also, as Mr. Elwin elsewhere says, 'without an equal in his destructive propensities,' and too often inclined to 'abuse his power over the sentient world?' Why does the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals exist unless because some men are more cruel and some more humane than the inferior animals?

> 'Twas then the studious head or generous mind,
> Follower of God, or friend of human kind,
> Poet or patriot, rose but to restore
> The faith and moral nature gave before —
> III. 283, 286.

The inspired strains of the Hebrew poets are the only instances in which poetry has ever really taught and moved. The heathen poets adapted the absurd and profligate deities current in their day, and Christian poets have never done more than reflect the prevalent Christianity. The term 'patriot' is commonly applied to political benefactors and has to the prevalent and decent nature of righteousness. Pope fell back on the notion of regenerating poets and patriots to avoid an assertion of the saints and martyrs who really performed the duty work. But he also hated the priests of the true religion, and had no practical reverence for them.

Pope probably thought that 'followers of God and friends of human kind' included the saints and martyrs; nor would he have thought it wrong to call Isaiah a poet and Moses a patriot. The true difference between Pope and Mr. Elwin is that Mr. Elwin denies inspiration, and almost denies theism, to the whole human race with the exception of the Jews. Pope was enough enough to believe that millions of Chinese, Hindoos, and other nations had some gleams of the truth revealed to them by means of 'followers of God,' philanthropists,

parts, and patriots. From a poetical point of view I prefer Pope's theory to Mr Elwin's. For its historical or philosophical value I must refer him to Mr Max Müller.

> The wish'd strange, purpose of their lives to find,
> Or make, as each his prospect found, mankind.—III. 331, 332.

Pope is speaking of Alexander, Charles XII, and such heroes. He 'exaggerated the strangeness of the conqueror's purpose,' says Mr. Elwin, 'the making exertions incidental to the purpose, not the end.'

Is it possible that a grave critic should not see that the exaggeration was precisely the force of Pope's remark, or must it be set down in black and white, that Pope meant to bring out the fact that men, in an anxiety for an imaginary satisfaction, frequently overlook the circumstances by which it is necessarily accompanied?

> For forms of government let fools contest,
> Whate'er is best administer'd is best.
> For modes of faith let graceless zealots fight,
> He can't be wrong whose life is in the right.—III. 303–306.

Mr Elwin spends more than three closely printed octavo pages in refuting these two easy couplets. It would be a short and answer to his array of arguments to say that the facts on which they are based are not facts. Nobody will assert that they contain complete truth, but their popularity proves that they give a very striking expression of half-truths. On the first line Mr Elwin says that if it is proved that forms of government are indifferent, the moral distinction between right and wrong is destroyed. Pope's maxim is not, as Mr Elwin supposes, that they are indifferent, but that they are subordinate. Pope probably would have said that, if a bad form of government is established by the will of the majority, it is better to submit to it than to attempt to overthrow it by violence. On the second line Mr Elwin quotes Warburton, Grote, and Dr Croly to show that Isaac Casaubon, who published the pentameter 'I prefer a bad action to a bad principle, says Rousseau somewhere, and Rousseau was right. A bad action may always remain isolated; a bad principle is always prolific, because, after all, it is mind which governs, and man acts according to his thoughts much oftener than he himself imagines.' That is a very true and very wise principle. How does it affect Pope? Pope's argument, if expanded, would probably run thus: 'I have known and admired the Deist Bolingbroke; I have known and admired the High Church men Atterbury and Swift; I am myself a Catholic, and though my own belief is lax, I have loved and reverred my Catholic parents. There are good men in all these hostile sects, and I infer that modes of faith are of less importance than people generally suppose.' This sounded very wicked to bigots, who agreed only in assuming that eternal happiness or eternal misery depended on the particular form of creed which a man adopted. Mr. Elwin may think it wicked also, but mankind in general have agreed that there is a great deal of truth in it. Mr Elwin seems inclined to meet Pope's argument by denying his facts, and declaring that all infidels are wicked, and that all except Christians are infidels. Pope argues that, as there are good men on all sides, no side can be fatally wrong. Mr. Elwin says that, as one side must be wrong, there cannot be good men on all sides. The decision may be left to my readers.

> Know, the good that individuals find,
> Or God accounts reform'd mankind,
> Each has his share; yet lavish Heaven denies
> The one possession which all have—at once.
> Each individual seeks a sev'ral good,
> A selfish end, since virtue rises from it;
> Each has his share, and has it when he dies,
> But lodged in Heaven, the universal store,
> When publick mischief overwhelms the kind.—IV. 321–328.

I do not think much of these verses considered as a piece of poetry; and

I call attention to them merely because Mr. Elwin seems to have misrepresented Pope's argument rather more than usual. I quote from his introductory remarks:—

> As health, peace, and competence are necessary to happiness, they must be constant attendants on worth, or his (Pope's) paradox that happiness is proportioned to virtue falls to the ground. He accordingly affirmed in a suppressed couplet, that the 'blessings were only denied to error, pride, or vice.' And the language in the text must bear the same construction. But will virtue secure health? Yes, replies Pope, for 'health consists in temperance alone,' which, for the purposes of his argument, must mean that all the temperate are healthy, safe from casualties, infection, and every other disorder, they bear about with them a charmed life, and die at last in a good old age. The poet passes over 'competence,' and in a subsequent part of his epistle allows that 'virtue sometimes starves.'

In the first place, Pope does not pass over competence, as Mr. Elwin ought to have noticed. He mentions it as emphatically as peace and health in the next couplet quoted; and the way in which he mentions it is enough to upset Mr. Elwin's version of his argument, and to refute the charge of inconsistency. Mr. Elwin interprets the last line (which, it must be confessed, is clumsy enough) in a note, and explains it to mean that 'bad men taste the gifts of fortune less than good men, as they obtain them by worse means.' That is just Pope's position. The vicious, he says throughout, are equally subject to external misfortunes with good men. Gravitation will not cease to save a virtuous man from the fall of a mountain or keep a wall hanging till a wicked man passes under it. The rain falls alike on the just and the unjust, and the tower of Siloam crushes equally the bad and the good. Yet, he says, virtue gives more happiness, other things being equal. It gives peace of mind by its own nature. If it does not give health of body, it gives the most essential condition of health; and if it does not give fortune, it secures that fortune shall not bring remorse.

Mr. Elwin twists this very obvious argument — chiefly by his strange neglect of the last couplet — into an assertion that external happiness is proportioned to virtue, which is the very thing that this passage denies; and then founds a charge of inconsistency upon his misinterpretation. Pope's language is unphilosophical and erroneous enough in this part of the essay, but Mr. Elwin has made his argument still feebler than it naturally is.

In the foregoing quotations I have perhaps been drawn a little too far into minute considerations. My excuse must be that, if Mr. Elwin is wrong in his theology and his metaphysics, his whole criticism falls to the ground. If he is right, it would still be a question whether he was relevant. The confusion and mistakes which undoubtedly vitiate Pope's argument do not necessarily spoil his poetry. Pope, like innumerable thinkers of greater or less eminence, looked out upon the world and was perplexed by the spectacle of misery and sin presented on all sides. How to reconcile the goodness, wisdom, and power of the Creator with the pain endured by so many of His creatures was the problem which bewildered him, as it has bewildered more powerful intellects. Mr. Elwin seems to find everything perfectly simple and intelligible; but that clearness of vision is granted to few of his fellow-mortals. Pope, in particular, was very ill-prepared for the attempt. He started with a few crumbs of philosophy caught from Bolingbroke's table; and Bolingbroke himself, though I think that Mr. Elwin rates him too low, was a flashy and superficial thinker. It is less wonder that Pope was inconsistent and confused than that Mr. Elwin has so generally blun-

dered in exposing his inconsistencies. Yet the feelings with which a man of keen intellect and strong feelings looks out upon the world are interesting in themselves, and may give rise to powerful poetry, however weak may be the logical framework of his discourse. Pope did not, it is true, take the most poetical view of the situation. His moral comes nearer to Candide's *il faut cultiver notre jardin* than to Pascal's search for happiness in the consolations of revealed religion. He is rapt into no heights of mystical devotion, but rather considers life as a man of the world, and a companion of Bolingbroke, Swift, and Gay might be expected to do. He inhabited a villa at Twickenham, not a cell in a convent, and dressed himself in stays instead of a hair-shirt. Yet the thoughts of such a man may be interesting and forcible. If he did not solve the dark enigma of the world, nobody else has solved it; the best philosophers and divines (with the possible exception of Mr Elwin) are as much bewildered as the weakest of us, and Pope has given expression to these truisms which lie at the very threshold of a labyrinth in which no one has penetrated much beyond the threshold. With all its incoherences and indications of superficial knowledge, the *Essay on Man* contains many passages, one or two of which I have had to quote, with which most of us can sympathise, and a number of aphorisms not very original or profound—but yet illustrating what Mr Ward, his latest editor, calls his 'incomparable talent of elevating truisms into proverbs.'

The proper way of editing such a writer would be, in my opinion, to examine the mode in which Pope's theories naturally sprang from the intellectual conditions of his time; to show where he coincided with or contradicted other speculators on the same topics in his own or other ages; to point out the strength and the limitations of his genius; to indicate his faults of argument without pressing too heavily upon them; and generally to consider him from the historical point of view as embodying certain contemporary phases of thought without being overmuch troubled by his errors or indignant at his heresies.

Nothing, on the other hand, is more vexatious than to find oneself launched in a vast philosophical and theological controversy when we expected a judicious criticism; to have a learned and laborious editor treating Pope as if he were Strauss, Renan, or Comte; to be told that his arguments are childish, and at the same time to be treated to elaborate refutations of them, as though they were likely to be dangerous to our faith; to find that the editor has forgotten the critic in the sound divine, and mixes sermons with his notes; and to be wearied out with the one question about Pope which is utterly uninteresting to every reasonable human being at the present day, namely, how far he was or was not sound in his theological views. If anything could add to the burden thus laid upon us, it would be the discovery that in three cases out of four the comment is more in error than the text.

L. S.

THOMAS INGOLDSBY (BARHAM).[1]

TO those who have not read and enjoyed *The Ingoldsby Legends* it would be difficult, if not impossible, to convey an adequate impression of their quality. But all who have—and their name is legion—will agree with us that the essential merit of these remarkable productions has been accurately defined or described by the filial pen of the biographer:

'As respects the poems, remarkable as they have been pronounced for the wit and humour which they display, their distinguishing attraction lies in the almost unparalleled flow and facility of the versification. Popular phrases, sentences the most prosaic, even the cramped technicalities of legal diction, and snatches from various languages, are wrought in with an apparent absence of all art and effort that surprises, pleases, and convulses the reader at every turn; the author triumphs with a master's hand over every sort of stanza, however complicated or exacting; not a word seems out of place, not an expression forced; syllables the most intractable find the only partners fitted for them throughout the range of language, and couple together as happily as those kindred spirits which poets tell us were created pairs, and dispersed in space to seek out their particular mates. A harmony pervades the whole, a modulation of numbers never perhaps surpassed and rarely equalled in compositions of this class. This was the forte of Thomas Ingoldsby, a harsh line or untrue rhyme grated painfully upon his ear; no inharmonious portion of a verse ever passed his lips to entertain either for an instant, and if a word or combination were the only alternative,'

The rule which he observed in which he riotel afforded great facilities for circumlocution; but the parenthesis, or digression, employed to bring in the required rhyme has hardly ever the appearance of being forced or superfluous; and his delicacy of ear is shown not less by the rhythm of his idiomatic language than by the truth of his rhymes - the double rhymes particularly, in which he is only excelled by Butler. As a specimen of the mosaic construction of his verse, take the justice-scene in 'The Witches' Frolic.'

> And the Squire is there
> In a large arm-chair,
> Looking back with a grave magisterial air,
> Before him a great
> Huge volume, called Blue.
> And Brown, a time of an old fashioned look,
> And Cartwright Latin in then a new book,
> And the mysterious hieroglyphics
> With crossed and cipher
> From a face so much paler that smiles in a state hard
> Close by a marble table and that he drank hard.
> But because at that day,
> Exactly read say,
> The Hue Merchants had not yet invented Hue Q's,
> [illegible]
> And to avoid perusal [illegible]
> Hue or execution [illegible]
> In a fit of [illegible]
> Very [illegible]
> Half [illegible]
> The [illegible] and the best they [illegible]
> Was a [illegible]
> [illegible]
> Antiquarian [illegible] tackle,
> And a [illegible]
> And [illegible]
> And [illegible]
> The [illegible]

[1] *The Ingoldsby Legends, or Mirth and Marvels. By Thomas Ingoldsby, a Minor Canon of St. Paul's.* New edition, in two volumes. London: [illegible].

For his fingers can clasp
It is snatched from the group
The coal picked in a moment with a fierce
snatch from them grasp.
And he dies, to the horrors on earth quite
Grown,
He was not prepared and unfit for the
And Mercy is sent to him three days
[illegible]
'Have Pence' Quirk, *Pewter* and *Hy*
[illegible]
Make [illegible] of your life, Robin Hood
[illegible] Jones and Green
– He'll [illegible] there's more pot-luck after you'

The artistic accumulation of details may be illustrated by the Clerical curse in 'The Jackdaw of Rheims'

[illegible] with a [illegible] look,
He [illegible] the crosier, the book and the
[illegible]
In bell, and candle, and [illegible]
He [illegible] [illegible] that every
[illegible]
He [illegible] [illegible] of the devil and wake
[illegible] for him
He [illegible] him a curse he cursed him
[illegible]
He [illegible] [illegible] a curse
[illegible]
He [illegible] [illegible] a curse
[illegible]
He [illegible] [illegible] a curse he cursed him
[illegible]
Now [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
Now [illegible] by the [illegible]

The [illegible] that [illegible] to be
[illegible]

[illegible]

And [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

power of hatred, may also be detected in the concluding lines, in which the death of the jackdaw in the full odour of sanctity is commemorated —

When all the people were in the feast
He was raised to the
The Cardinal determined to make him a
Saint,
And [illegible] made Notes and Papers, as
we know,
It's the custom, at Rome, new names to
bestow,
So they canonized him by the name of Jem
Crow.

Lord Brougham is celebrated in a characteristic passage and with an unmistakable double rhyme:

The Law's the same,
It's a very fine game,
But the fees and dress of the Courts are
the same.
As Lord Brougham says himself with a
very great name,
Though the *Times* made it clear he was
[illegible]
Cicero [illegible] translating Demosthenes,
And [illegible] the [illegible]
With words to the same,
So we've [illegible]
Many [illegible] Burnes cover Mc
Gregor Murray

So in the 'Black Mousquetaire' resolving to tempt the fortune of war

When a man's home
[illegible]
And [illegible]
And [illegible]
When [illegible] and [illegible] and [illegible]
When [illegible] can be [illegible]
When [illegible]
[illegible]
Of [illegible] and [illegible]
And [illegible]
Cut [illegible] and [illegible]
[illegible]

What may excite without feeling – [illegible] never. The pathos of [illegible] the pathos of Hood, whose [illegible] for the depths of the heart, was always appropriate and [illegible] [illegible] of [illegible] The verses in which

he suddenly breaks off into a serious mood when the black mousquetaire is struck down by a grape shot, are so apposite at the present time that we are tempted to quote them entire:

Yes! a Battle's a very fine thing while you're fighting,
These same Upon-the-Hills are so very exciting
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]

[illegible] Richard Barham [illegible] Latin [illegible] of [illegible] Queen [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

the night. Whether he thereby lengthened his days in the long run may be doubted. At all events he went on humming to the last:—

> Up in the morning's nae for me,
> Up in the morning early
> I'd rather wake a winter's night
> Than up in the morning early.

It need hardly be added that he persistently professed a sovereign contempt for the time-honoured adage—

> Early to bed and early to rise
> Is the way to be healthy, wealthy, and wise.

He took his Bachelor's degree after passing the regular examination, but never proceeded to that of M.A., an omission which led to the following colloquy at a long-anticipated meeting with Copleston, then Bishop of Llandaff and Dean of St. Paul's, who had enquired how he meant to vote at an election for the University.

> 'I am trying to vote at all my best.'
> 'Not vote!' repeated the bishop; 'I have no respect for those who neglect their duties. It is a question upon which every man must have formed an opinion, and it is the privilege and duty of every member of the University to vote.'
> [illegible] replied to this suggestion, Mr Barham
> [illegible]
> 'No, my lord, what a man has no right to have.'

His own account is that he may have had a sound reason for not qualifying, namely poverty of fees and entertainment, it being the custom at Brasenose to dine on the commencement day which each candidate should be expected to support himself; and that a man might be compelled to take a journey for the purpose of taking a degree. Does this explanation stand?

While he was a boy, Barham [illegible] frequently the [illegible] and [illegible] the course of a short but severe illness, 'not inopportunely sent,' that he first entertained the notion of becoming a candidate for holy orders. 'Although' (adds the biographer) 'he so far prosecuted his original design of preparing for the practice of the law as to become a pupil of an eminent *conveyancer*, he soon relinquished that profession in favour of one for which a disposition abounding in goodwill towards men, and imbued with a spirit of active though unostentatious piety, assuredly qualified him.' There is a note to this passage: 'In point of fact he paid but three visits to the office of Mr Chitty, to whom he paid a hundred guineas for the privilege.' Mr. Chitty was an eminent special pleader—indeed the most eminent recorded in forensic annals; the same who, when an anxious parent enquired about the prospects of a son if brought up to the calling, asked, 'Can your son eat sawdust without butter?' Barham's mental digestion was ill-fitted for the diet of a merchant, and his attendance was consequently limited to three visits, after paying down the customary hundred guineas for a year.

In March 1813 he was admitted to the curacy of Ashford, in Kent, and in the year following to that of Westwell, in which [illegible] he was succeeded by the present Chaplain-General, who is said to have drawn many of the sketches in [illegible] from this locality. Barham also held the parsonage for a short time, which he afterwards turned to good account. He was [illegible] by a nervous [illegible] and in the fear of approaching death confessed that [illegible] 'Nevertheless I [illegible] my

In 1814 Barham married, and in 1815 was collated by the Archbishop of Canterbury to the rectory of Snargate, comprising two villages near Romney Marsh, the entire population of which was also mostly made up of smugglers. However lawless they were when interested, they were civil enough when at ease. If he met casually some of them in the exercise of their vocation he was invariably asked to pass on with a 'Good night to you, parson.' 'Nay, they extended their confidence so far as to make the church a depot for contraband goods, and on one occasion a large seizure of tobacco had been made in the Snargate belfry. Coventry contended for the discovery of a keg of brandy under the vestry table. The result was that Coventry was right for once, that there had been Barham's time a keg of brandy had been actually discovered under the vestry table, having been placed there with the connivance and for the use of a previous rector, for Snargate is one of the last lands of the Lotus-eaters.

[illegible]

[illegible]

In Barham laboured hard to improve the moral and spiritual condition of his parish, and did some good in his generation. The time he could conscientiously spare from duty was devoted to literature, and he had neighbours with whom he could interchange civilities and jokes, but the exultation with which he quitted Snargate for St. Paul's may be guessed from the verses headed 'The Resolution; or an Address to the Country,' by which he notified his determination to become a candidate for a canonry:

O, I'll be off! I will, by Jove!
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]

The manner in which his new preferment descended upon him all unlooked for, as a man's whole course of life may be changed by an accident.

'He had undertaken a journey to London for the purpose of consulting Sir Astley Cooper, which he intended to combine with an old friend who was managing for him the Stour lawsuit, a letter in which he had. He had, however, passed the post-office, and taking Mr Barham's arm turned back with the intention of following it into the box which he had just been writing. It was, he said, an invitation to any young clergyman to come up from the country and stand for a minor canonry. He was not in the confidence of St Paul's. Somebody, by the bye, had suggested to him why should not Mr Barham himself become one? His friend had

been commissioned to find one sufficiently eligible, but had never thought of addressing himself to his former schoolfellow, being under the impression that the latter was well content with his position in Kent.'

He was personally known at starting to only one member of the electing body, the Reverend Christopher Packe. A complete failure was prophesied by his friends. 'It befell otherwise; and in spite of knowledge, in spite of prophecy, in spite of the *[illegible] of the thing* (an objection, by the bye, which through all life never daunted him, providing, as he observed, it *[illegible]*), he was returned, together with a fellow-candidate, by majorities respectively of eight and six, for nomination to the Dean and Chapter. On the following day the election fell on him, and on April 6, 1821, he received his first piece of metropolitan preferment.'

After one or two temporary arrangements he settled down in a comfortable house in Great Queen Street, Lincoln's Inn Fields, where he resided till 1825; when, the acceptance of the living of St. Gregory-cum-Paul giving a residence within the City walls, he removed to a house in St. Paul's Churchyard, adjoining the entrance to Doctors' Commons. On his first settling in town, his private fortune and professional income united were insufficient for the expenses of an increasing family, and his main reliance was on his pen. Besides editing the *[illegible]* till it merged into the *St. James's [illegible]*, and contributing largely to newspapers and magazines, he joined Mr Gorton in the production of a Biographical Dictionary, published in 1826, in which a great deal of the articles were written by him. In his note-book is an entry supposed to be made at an early period of his metropolitan life:

'My wife goes to bed at ten, to rise at eight, and look after the children and other matrimonial duties. I sit up till three in the morning, working at rubbish for *Blackwood*. She is the slave of the ring, and I of the lamp.'

In the country parishes which he had abandoned, Barham was especially missed and regretted, not merely as an excellent parish priest, but as a peace-maker. There were few quarrels he could not make up—few differences or discrepancies he could not soften or smooth over by dint of good temper and good sense.

He says, with reference to some misunderstanding which he was requested to assist in removing:

'I hate writing on these occasions; it gives an unnecessary importance to matters which, if quietly mentioned in casual conversation, could lead to no dispute.'

'I confess I hate all these protests, and always think that where any difference exists, half an hour's conversation settles matters better than a whole volume of correspondence, in which we are sometimes exposed to great temptation through mere pride of [illegible].'

'I would never trust an angry man with a pen; he had far better take a stick; with the one he may perhaps [illegible] his adversary, with the other he is sure to injure himself.'

He proposed as a motto for a certain learned society (Murphy's [illegible] to be general knowledge and natural ability, was apt to exhibit an ultra-Hibernian irritability in his case, as much as to say, it was all, as to [illegible] necessary to keep a bottle-grappled form of apology to be sent round next morning to the insulted.

[illegible]

'Jam pares et pares. Pergite pares.'

Lysias. 'Thus to our equals, Athenians, we appeal.'

It is insinuated by his friend Mr Hughes that he could offer more not unfrequently required by the Canons of St Paul's. Their occasional differences were certainly not marked by the same asperity that appears to have distinguished those celestial disputants who (according to Milton) never let their tempers, though they 'found no end in wandering mazes lost.' They rather reminded the parties respectively in the monastery sung by Coleman:

'Two friars, a tolerated evil by fortune,
That have by age and peace regard here
of many
That yet sometimes with their tale
weary are
Their prayers, sorrowful more than needfully.'

Sydney Smith, we are sorry to say, who became a major canon in 1831, resided by being at once in residence with the whole of the minor, and it may be doubted whether the brethren were ever greatly edified by his sermons, whose assignment was proposed for the year to the Chapter-general, that, if the Dean and Chapter would only take their books to prison, they would be sure to hear him. It would not promote their edification, he added to their consternation, Barham used to say that, since the days of the Apostles, he had never known the Sunday dinners given by Sydney Smith, when in residence, to the neighbouring clergy, not to mention the services. It was his boast, frequently, that Dr Johnson did not exceed one of them, as he must have consumed the provender with the rate of half a pound an hour; and, on the occasion of proposing a toast, he would 'pronounce a glowing eulogium.' It was at one of these dinners that a reverend guest, a minor canon of the Chapter, had complained that there was so little *good* company (Mr Sydney Smith being among them Sydney Smith hinted that it was not the only want—that a French dictionary was a great *desideratum*, at least to some of them.

The most valuable acquaintance Barham made at the table was that of the Rev Dr Hughes, an excellent disciple of the Church, the grandfather of *Tom Brown*, who has reflected back lustre on the stock. Barham's letters to Mrs Hughes (the wife of the donor), fortunately preserved, show that he regarded her as the best of his correspondents, they abound in confidential revealings, and fit in admirably with the successive sketches of his social and literary career at different epochs, so ably and judiciously interspersed by the son. He also took greatly to Dr Bandinel, who had seen a good deal of the Royal Family and supplied him with some good stories for his note-book. As a curious instance of accuracy, the Doctor mentioned that having purchased a horse that had formerly belonged to George IV, and sent it to his house in Yorkshire, he was asked by the workman who was putting up the manger if his Majesty (on being assured by the Doctor that the animal had been a stable-goer, the man continued), 'Well, sir, I had a letter that the King is a black man.' The following was the reason of the late Mr Justice Park not to have a statue of Canning: 'Canning was a tea-taster, with Lord Castlereagh's assistance, Mr Canning grew.'

Dr Bandinel was present when George III asked Lord North if returning to the Counties of America Mr Canning 'Your brother the late prime of the King 'never misses them, my lord?' 'No,' answered the peer, 'if I were as deaf as my brother the King I would never trust them either.'

In 1829 Barham received the appointment of priest in ordinary of the Chapels Royal, which led to a friendship with one of the most extraordinary characters mentioned in the book, the Rev. Edward Cannon, also one of the priests of the household, the original of Godfrey Moss, in Hook's novel of *Maxwell*, a man whose eccentricities were on a par with his accomplishments, whose talents were neutralised by his habits of self-indulgence, and who was better fitted to shine in a court than to rise in it:

[illegible] to the attention of his superiors in the army, [illegible] of Wales, where his great [illegible] and [illegible] by [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

ing his tools. But it required no trifling amount of endurance to keep pace with a humanity or of solicitude to break from it.

[illegible]

[illegible]

The Garrick Club, established in 1831, became at starting, and continued until his death, the favourite haunt of Barham, and exercised no slight influence on his life. It was at that time a most convenient resort for members of the dramatic world, actors and authors, with a fair sprinkling of wits, artists, men of letters and of fashion, and lovers of [illegible]. I can yet call to mind Charles Kemble, Charles Kean, Charles Young, Charles Mathews the elder, Macready, Bunn, Tyrone Power, Harley, Madame Vestris, Sheridan Knowles, Tom Hood, Douglas Jerrold, Dr. Maginn, Peter Paul Prye, Planché, Peake, Charles Dickens, Leman Rede, Mark Lemon, Albert Smith, Lord Frederick Leveson Gower, Lord Normanby, Lord Glenlyon, Lord Canterbury, Lord Hardwicke, the Duke of [illegible]. All these varied characters I had early and frequent opportunities of meeting, the former with awe, the latter with delight. But the central figure was Barham himself, and I do not for 1814 know before or since a more delightful Reverend gentleman, more lovable, more humorous, more genial, more kind-hearted, more unaffected, more unassuming, more unpretending, more unselfish, more unworldly, the Hon. and Rev. Fitzroy Stanhope, who was more remarkable for the amiability of his temper and the high-bred manners of his race than for clerical propriety or reverence for breadth. He one day came up to Barham and Mr. H. at the club to consult them as to the prudence of his proposing at a Sunday dinner to be given on the stage at Astley's to the ladies and gentlemen of that establishment. 'The devil of it is,' he added, in explanation of his dilemma, 'I am afraid the Bishop of London will make a fuss.' Barham and Mr. H. concurred in the probability of the Bishop proving troublesome, and the presidency was reluctantly resigned.

It is highly to Barham's credit that he mixed familiarly with men of such different stamp. Everybody knew him to be extraordinary in every relation of life, and to none did I have ever risked a [illegible] before him in the presence with no general censure or remark. The best reason for his choice of associates is that he was a keen observer, and, as I shall have occasion to show, with a view to the collection of hints and materials for his writings. Hence, with all he loved a great deal, was invaluable to him for this purpose.

[illegible]

some time, and saw him go through the business more than once. As the effect was to be revealed, he requested of the man to be allowed to make the noise for him, the proprietor not only trusted him with the instrument, when, just at the moment the 'hare' rose from the trap, and the usual roar was to accompany the appearance, 'SHAKSPEARE FOR EVER!' was hallooed out in the deepest tones that could be produced, to the astonishment of the audience, more than to the terror of every sporting person home, from whom they seemed to proceed.

'Hook then mentioned a reply which he made to the Duke of Rutland, who, observing him looking about the hall as they were leaving Lord Hertford's, asked him what he had lost. 'My hat: if I had as good a *beaver* (Belvoir) as your Grace, I should have taken better care of it.'

'Whether,' continues the biographer, 'Theodore Hook and his great rival, Mr. Sydney Smith, ever met in society, I do not know: if they did, it must have been towards the close of their career, when the habitual caution of acknowledged wits in the presence of one another would probably have prevented any unusual display on either side.' If the writer had been personally acquainted with them, he would be aware that rivalry was entirely out of the question, and that Sydney Smith was equally incapable of caution and display. He was easy, free, natural, careless, unassuming and unaffected on all subjects and with all persons. He did not aim at saying good things: he simply did his best to promote social enjoyment (he hated to see all the best talkers) because he could not help it, because his mind was full: he was as unconscious in a stroll round his grounds at Combe Florey with a friend as at a London dinner-table: and there was never the semblance of effort in his conversation, which was not more remarkable for wit and humour than for instructive views and good sense. He had lived all his life with the best company: the best in every sense. His position was far above that of a diner-out; he was never troubled by the thought of having to keep up a reputation; and he could afford to be silent if it suited him.

Hook was, in many respects, the opposite of all this. His sense of fun was irresistible; his fancy brilliant and inexhaustible; his powers of improvisation in music and verse were wonderful, and he dramatised a story in a way that only Mathews or Lover could surpass. He was also a delightful companion in a small circle of intimates, or a *tête-à-tête* dinner, or a fishing expedition, such as Barham frequently undertook with him. But he had lived a life of pecuniary embarrassment; the Mauritius affair had left a stain (we believe unmerited) upon his name; and the constant resort to stimulants had gradually reduced him to the condition of the opium eater, who alternates between depression and ecstasy. When he met a party of comparative strangers with whom he wished to stand well, an uneasy consciousness hung about him, and one of two things ensued either, by the help of wine (or brandy, if he could get it), he shook off the gloom and burst forth into a brilliant display of his peculiar gifts, or he remained obstinately mute. On one of these occasions, the host, seeing the disappointment of the guests, made an excuse to leave the room, and requested Hook to take the chair at the head of the table and represent him until his return. Hook consented, and the moment the door closed he sprang to his feet and made a speech in the name of the master of the house, in the course of which he said, 'I am sorry that my dear friend has not come to complete a family. The fact is, I passed a well-known street, of which you probably have heard—the street of gentlemen's names—at the bottom of the table, Mr. Theodore Hook—to amuse you, but it is a

[illegible] I shall [illegible] again [illegible] Barry, for he is certainly not [illegible]

He knew what was [illegible] Sydney Smith's [illegible] Test of Humour and [illegible] are [illegible] different [illegible] gauge [illegible]; [illegible], in Sydney Smith, the [illegible] is the essay [illegible] a jewel, the [illegible] setting of an image, an argument, or a thought. It was Zeuxis and Parrhasius over again, 'Draw the curtain that we may see the picture.' As regards Hook, the curtain was the picture, as regards Sydney Smith, there was always a striking admirable behind.

Mr Barham (the biographer) is right in supposing that the first arrangement for bringing Hook and Sydney Smith together failed, but he has not got the correct version of the circumstances.—

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

something between the two without including either.

A dinner with Sydney Smith is noted down in the Diary, November 16, 1834. He said that his brother Robert had in the time of George III. translated the motto *Libertas sub rege pio*, 'The pious king has got liberty under.' His position as a Churchman gave him, as usual, an opportunity for a joke: 'If ever a religious war should arise again, he said, 'I should certainly take arms against the Dissenters. Fancy me with a bayonet at the heart of an Anabaptist, with—Your church-rate or your life.' He said nothing should ever induce him to go up in a balloon, unless indeed it would benefit the Established Church. 'I recommended him (continues Barham) to go at once, as there would be at least a chance of it,' meaning, we presume, that there would be a chance of his not coming down again or not coming down in a church-serving or duty-doing state.

[illegible] Dined with Owen Rees. Peterborough Row. Present Mr Longman senior, Messrs C Longman T Longman Wilkinson, Tom Moore, Ivy Mr [illegible] Mr Longman junior, Dr Holmes Simmons, Smith and Mr Yates and [illegible]

Moore [illegible] of the King's coming to visit Ireland. Observed, when the King came here, he found it ready to pay the [illegible] for him. [illegible] a year after [illegible] Moore told the story to Sir Walter, when they were comparing notes as to the two royal visits.

'Now, Mr. Moore,' replied Scott, 'there ye have just the advantage of us. There was no want of enthusiasm here. The Scotch folk would have done anything in the world for his Majesty, but pay the turnpike.'

The other story is best told in a letter to Mrs. Hughes, and is well worth telling.

When George IV went to Ireland [illegible] the Lord Mayor [illegible] the King never has words enough for what is owing.

'Then there's the dirty money for ye,' says Pat. 'It shall never be said that the King came here, and found nobody to pay the turnpike for him.'

Moore, on his visit to Abbotsford, told this story to Sir Walter, when they were comparing notes as to the two royal visits.

'Now, Mr. Moore,' replied Scott, 'there ye have just the advantage of us. There was no want of enthusiasm here. The Scotch folk would have done anything in the world for his Majesty, but pay the turnpike.'

It was at this dinner that Moore pointed out what struck him as the difference between the conversation of Jeffrey and that of Scott. 'Scott all anecdote, without any intermediate matter—all fact; Jeffrey with a profusion of ideas all worked up into the highest flight of fancy, but no fact. Moore preferred Scott's conversation to Jeffrey's; the latter he got tired of.' Moore was unlucky. Jeffrey was a delightful talker, mingling fact with fancy, and was particularly happy in the frequent recurrence to his remarkable memory.

On Barham's appointment to the incumbency of St. Mary Magdalene and St Gregory by St. Paul, he found the united parishes in a state of the most inveterate disorder and divided into two hostile parties, headed by a revolutionary chieftain, who at the first vestry meeting moved in opposing the new incumbent from the chair. On his (Barham's) refusing to give it up, a second chair was brought, and placed alongside of him. He refused it with [illegible] Barham turned short upon the gentleman, 'Now, sir, you have brought in that chair and placed it there; let me see you draw out your chair from it, and within four and twenty hours you shall find yourself in the Ecclesiastical Court.' The gentleman drew back and [illegible] or, if of literary habits, might have remembered Dr Johnson's reply to Gilbert Wakefield, Bachelor of the Ecclesiastical Court of Lincoln, who objected to Johnson, that the Lexicon was re-

duced to such a state of wretchedness in the third act that it was impossible for the author to make her more wretched for the closet. 'But I can, though. I can put her into the Ecclesiastical Court.'

The first of the *Ingoldsby Legends* appeared in 1837 in *Bentley's Miscellany*, in which the series was kept up with unabated spirit for many years. It was subsequently contributed to *The New Monthly Magazine*. Barham frankly avowed that he had little or no invention, and after he had run out his friends' adventures which form the groundwork of his best novels, especially of *Tom Cringle*, he was obliged to look out for stories to work up. Barham was not capable of the same discovery; he could not even create a tale, and for the outlines or framework of many of his legends he was confessedly indebted to the melancholy records of Mrs Hughes and her sons. There is no detraction from their merit, nor even from their originality as literary compositions, in saying that it is the province of Shakespeare to allow people to be drawn largely on the resources of their historical plays. Nor would it be right that there was any stint of the money profferred by the booksellers for the antiquarian treasures of the fathers of poetry, who are also conservative in the pictorial press. Since the [illegible] have been [illegible] with a Protestant [illegible] we have not thrown away [illegible] on the Popish [illegible]

[illegible] was a [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

a party broken up in so short a time. I doubt if I shall have the courage now to enter the Garrick Club again. Its glory has indeed departed!

Tom Hill was a retired drysalter, whose principal wit was to be the cause of wit in others, especially to be the butt of Hook. In reference to his age, which was indefinite, James Smith said to him: 'Hill, you take an unfair advantage of an accident: the register of your birth was burnt in the Great Fire of London, and you now say that you are younger than you are.' On finding him in such company one is tempted to exclaim:

> Two things we know neither rich nor rare,
> But wonder how the devil they got there.

The Garrick must also be held answerable for the preference thus avowed and justified in a letter to Mrs Hughes:

> You ask me if I think I could have made a favourable impression. I answer, in my own mind, the most flattering in the world for it combines punch and water, the latter, in which I agree with Master Matthew, I have ever found effects as terrible as drinking both the grand and genuine.
>
> Two sons of Gods with fairer grace,
> Ne'er sate the third, nor graced the third two.
>
> Punch and gin and water and gin punch. You remember Lord [illegible] speaking of a well-known [illegible] as a man who could [illegible] Master [illegible] at [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

THE SUN'S CORONA.

By Richard A. Proctor, B.A. Cantab

Author of "The Sun," "Other Worlds than Ours," &c.

IN a paper which appeared in [illegible] Magazine for February 1869 I called attention to certain results which seemed fairly deducible from the observations made by American astronomers and physicists during the eclipse of August 7, 1869. The news of these observations reached me while I was engaged on that paper (entitled Strange Discoveries respecting the Aurora), and served to add a new importance to the discoveries which I had already recorded. The aurora had been analysed with the spectroscope, and the results were full of interest. The zodiacal light had been similarly analysed, with results indicating an association between this phenomenon and the terrestrial aurora, and the circumstances were rendered even more interesting than the facts revealed respecting the aurora itself. But as only had [illegible] been received when [illegible] it was at the time of [illegible] and with [illegible] to the [illegible] of [illegible] which [illegible] the terrestrial aurora. [illegible] were [illegible] and [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

this matter there are the vapours of many well-known terrestrial elements, existing at a lower temperature than the matter which gives the continuous background of the spectrum. Of the exact position of these absorbing vapours we know (or, perhaps, I should say we *knew*, before the recent eclipse) comparatively little; but they must necessarily lie above the regions whence the really white light proceeds.

Outside these absorbing vapours is that region into which the coloured prominences are projected. But far lower than the summits of the prominences there lies the region to which the Astronomer-Royal gave (in 1842) the expressive name *the sierra*. It appears in solar eclipses as an arc of red light around the sun. Its border is well defined and serrated. In colour it resembles closely the prominences; and the researches of spectroscopists have shown that it consists in the main of the same gases. It is this layer which Mr. Lockyer, unaware of its prior recognition, called the *chromosphere*, a name which is, for many reasons, far less satisfactory than the one devised by Mr. Airy.

Then, lastly, outside the prominences and the sierra there had been recognised the corona, a glory of light surrounding the sun during total eclipses. Precisely as the coloured matter is divisible into lucky prominences and the low sierra, so this corona had been seen to consist of two distinct portions, viz. projecting rather exceedingly sometimes to a distance from the sun far exceeding his apparent diameter, and a lower, brighter, and more uniform portion extending to a distance of little more than a fifth of the sun's apparent diameter. Since the recognition of this peculiarity has been due chiefly to three observers, the history of our knowledge of the corona will be best given if we consider in turn what each of these observers has done, and what remarks in this place that the fact has been known for at least 164 years. For in 1706 MM. Plantade and Capies recognised the existence of a ring of very white light around the moon, within the limits of which ring 'the light was everywhere equally vivid; but beyond the exterior contour the light was less intense, and was seen to fade off gradually into the surrounding darkness, forming an annulus round the moon of about eight degrees in diameter.' I quote from Grant's *Physical Astronomy*, to which excellent treatise I would refer the curious reader for many other accounts respecting the ring-formed portion of the corona.

It is this seemingly compound object — the solar corona — that astronomers have been so anxiously seeking to interpret during the last two or three years. The recent acquisition of new powers of research, as well as the new knowledge lately obtained respecting the constitution of the solar system, at once suggested hopes that this problem might be at length mastered, and encouraged the expectation that the results would throw an important light on the economy of those regions of space which immediately surround the sun's orb.

It may be said that the first attempt to apply the new means of research to the phenomena presented by the corona was made during the eclipse of 1860, when Mr. De la Rue and Father Secchi photographed the eclipsed sun. The success of these physicists was, however, but limited as respects the corona. They succeeded in obtaining excellent photographs of the [illegible] chromosphere and of the corona as seen even in the least of their pictures. The photograph which showed the most extension of the corona was one of Father Secchi's, and however it [illegible] with the corona

is somewhat brighter and more developed over the solar spots one than another near the equator or poles of the sun.

Eight years passed, and then the approach of the great Indian eclipse, one of the most remarkable which have ever been recorded, hastened more than ever that the powers of the spectroscope might reveal something of the true nature of the coronal glory. Indeed more was hoped from the study of the corona than from that of the prominences. This is evident from the words in which Lecut. Herschel describes the moments preceding totality. Addressing Dr Huggins, he says, 'You may conceive my state of nervous tension at this moment. Whatever the corona was competent to show must in a few seconds have been revealed, unless, indeed, it should happen that a prominence or spot should be situated at that particular spot, in which case the dark-line spectrum would be presented.'

But the result by no means corresponded with the expectations of astronomers. The prominences were successfully analysed by spectroscopists, whereas the corona on this occasion baffled their exertions. Major Tennant alone succeeded in obtaining any definite result. He found that the light of the corona gave a faint continuous spectrum, without any bright or dark lines; but he was not so satisfied on this point as to feel able to draw the conclusion which would inevitably follow from such an observation if satisfactorily made—the conclusion, namely, that the corona consists of solid or liquid particles, incandescent with intensity of heat.

Let us briefly consider in what respects Major Tennant's observations were unsatisfactory to him.

The sun's light when analysed spectroscopically is resolved into a rainbow-tinted streak crossed by dark lines. If the corona were a solar

atmosphere shining by reflecting solar light, its spectrum should resemble the solar spectrum, only of course the coronal spectrum would be very much fainter. When we turn a spectroscope towards the sky, we see always the solar spectrum with its dark lines, if the spectroscope be but properly adjusted. I take up from beside me, as I write, one of Browning's miniature spectroscopes and direct it towards a white cloud. I see a rainbow-tinted streak, but I can distinguish no dark lines. I have only to turn the collar, however, which adjusts the slit, in such sort as to make the slit narrow enough, and then at once there start into view the principal dark lines, or Fraunhofer lines, as they are called. The fact then that Major Tennant had seen no dark lines might not necessarily prove that the coronal spectrum is aught but a faint solar spectrum such as we get from the light which our own atmosphere reflects to us. Turning to his account we learn those particulars which are to guide us in forming an opinion. 'Thinking,' he writes, 'that want of light prevented me from seeing the bright lines which I had fully expected to see on the lower strata of the corona, I opened the jaws of the slit. *What I saw*,' he proceeds, '*was not what by a continuous spectrum, and I saw no lines.*' (The italics are his.) 'There may have been dark lines of course, but with so faint a spectrum and the jaws of the slit wide apart, they might escape notice.'

During the year which elapsed before further attempts were made to solve the problem, certain results were achieved which seemed to bear indirectly on the subject of the corona. The bright lines belonging to the spectrum of the prominences were found to be visible when the sun is not eclipsed, if only spectroscopes of adequate dispersive power (able, therefore, to sufficiently

reduce the light of our own atmosphere, which blots out the prominences themselves) were made use of. Now amongst these bright lines are those of the gas hydrogen, and physicists knew something of the laws according to which the lines of this gas vary, with varying circumstances of pressure, temperature, and so on. Availing himself of the knowledge thus acquired by the labours of Huggins, Plucker, Hittorf, and Frankland, Mr Lockyer was able, from the appearance of the lines of the prominence-spectrum, to conclude that in all probability the atmospheric pressure close by the sun's surface is not nearly so great as we should expect it to be if the corona is a solar atmosphere. Wullner, a most experienced spectroscopist, was able to deduce from his own observations this interesting result, that close by the visible limits of the solar disc, the atmospheric pressure lies between that corresponding to two inches of the mercurial barometer at the earth's surface, and that corresponding to twenty inches; or, in other words, falls considerably short (even at the highest assignable value) of the pressure of our own atmosphere near the sea-level. For this last-named pressure corresponds, on the average, to about thirty inches of the mercurial barometer.

Now without admitting this conclusion as in reality affording sufficient evidence respecting the atmospheric pressure at the sun's surface, it yet shows that at a depth of many thousands of miles below the apparent boundary, even of the inner corona, the pressure is by no means such as we should anticipate on the theory that the corona is a solar atmosphere. Remembering that our own atmosphere is commonly supposed to be less than 300 miles high, and that it is subject to the enormous gravity force of terrestrial gravitation, it will be recognised how extraordinary is the pressure of a solar atmosphere would be, if that atmosphere were similarly constituted and reached many thousands of miles from the solar surface, while the attractive force to which it would be subjected would be the mighty energy of solar gravitation.

There was grave reason then for doubting whether that theory of the corona was true, according to which it was regarded (even as respects those parts which present a radiated structure) as a solar atmosphere.

Let us pass on, however, to the evidence which American astronomers obtained during the eclipse of August 7, 1869.

It had been reported to them (by mistake) that Major Tennant had found the coronal spectrum to be simply a faint solar spectrum. One and all expressed their surprise that they could find no dark lines on the faint continuous spectrum presented by the corona; but they detected *bright lines*. Professor Harkness found one bright line. Professor Young recognised the same line and suspected the existence of two others. Professor Pickering saw three bright lines.

Here was a result which seemed to exhibit the corona as formed in part, at any rate, of luminous vapour.

The important discovery made by the American astronomers was questioned by many. Some held that by mistake prominence-matter had been examined, others that the observers had been deceived as to the real existence of these lines. We owe, however, to Mr Lockyer the only attempt to explain away these lines, regarded as really seen as if in the spectrum of light from the direction in which the corona appeared. In some respects the attempt was not wanting in ingenuity.

Mr. Lockyer reasoned that a spectrum apparently continuous may be made up in reality by the combina-

tion of two spectra—a spectrum crossed by dark lines and a spectrum consisting of bright lines only. Thus if a certain small proportion of sun-light—such, for instance, as we get from the sky on a dull day—were combined with a large proportion of light from the coloured prominences and the sierra (the bright lines in whose spectrum correspond with the principal solar dark lines), the solar spectrum from the former would have its principal dark lines filled up by the prominence spectrum from the latter. This, he suggested, is in all probability the case during total eclipses: the solar light received by the atmosphere at that time is greatly diminished, he reasoned, the light from the prominences is not diminished at all, hence results (as I am following his reasoning) the effective obliteration of the dark lines on the solar spectrum, while the brighter lines belonging to the prominence spectrum become visible as such, and so cause the appearance of those three bright lines which the American astronomers had mistakenly assigned to the corona.

Only one thing was needed to render this argument unexceptionable. The theory required that a certain quantity of solar light should fall on that part of the atmosphere which lies towards the moon's place during totality, and it was quite separately demonstrable that this could not happen. It was necessary now, however, to treat the arguments by which Mr Lockyer's theory was opposed as more or less unsound, because the evidence obtained during the recent eclipse has seemed to confirm another of the hypotheses. Indeed, about half a year after propounding it Mr Lockyer so far modified it as to assign to the moon the effect of deflecting the solar rays from our own atmosphere; and, further, he applied a view far less open to attack than either of the two former. He suggested that the sun's light reached our atmosphere after being reflected by a solar atmosphere. He regarded this solar atmosphere as the true corona, and the coronal radiations as due to the illumination of our own atmosphere by the light from this inner corona. Against this theory there are none of those obvious objections which oppose themselves to the others. That our atmosphere is illuminated by light from the inner and brighter parts of the corona is evident to the senses; for during total eclipse we *see* this inner part of the corona—that is, its light reaches us—and if *we*, then, of course, *the air around us* does also. Nor is it at all unlikely that precisely as we often see a halo round the uneclipsed sun, so the uneclipsed inner corona may produce a similar phenomenon.

Nor, again, did the same reasons present themselves for oppugning this theory which had appeared when the others were propounded. For clearly the enunciation of the theory that the light of the corona is simply due to the passage of the solar rays through our own atmosphere might be expected to lead the observers of solar eclipses to attach but small importance to the corona. If the corona were of this nature a mere optical phenomenon it would be no better worthy of study than those solar beams which pass from between openings in clouds. But no such harm could accrue from the later theory, even though that theory were false, because it could only lead to the careful analysis of the corona's structure, and the results of such analysis could scarcely fail to prove highly instructive.

But while recognising—what had indeed been demonstrated many years before—a real difference between the inner and outer parts of the corona, and while also recog-

nising the fact that no inconsiderable portion of the light received from the sky during total eclipse *must* have undergone both reflection and refraction in our own atmosphere, the theory that the coronal radiations are merely terrestrial phenomena seemed to me (as I believe to all familiar with the history of former eclipses) altogether untenable. A single radiation, or several seen during past eclipses, might be explained in this way. But the accounts given of some extensions of the coronal light were such as could be by no means explained away as merely phenomena of our own atmosphere. It is to be remembered that negative evidence could prove little or nothing. That during any given eclipse, or that at any given station, no radiations appeared, would prove indeed the extreme delicacy of the light received from the coronal rays, but not that there are no such rays. Again, the apparent motion or disappearance of a ray, even if accepted as proving that some atmospheric phenomenon was in question, would by no means prove that all coronal rays have the same atmospheric origin. We may in fact accept both these circumstances as proved. Unquestionably the coronal radiations are phenomena of exceeding delicacy, and almost unquestionably *atmospheric* radiations are sometimes visible. The real existence of coronal radiations is not therefore disproved, however, or even rendered improbable.

On the other hand, positive evidence, even if small in quantity, must needs be absolutely demonstrative. For let us see what is required if the radiations are really solar appendages. A beam in our own atmosphere would of course move swiftly during the progress of the moon across the solar disc; but matter in the upper regions of the air if illuminated during the whole duration of totality might present the appearance of fixity, and so simulate the nature of a coronal radiation. To prove that a radiation was not of this nature it would be necessary that it should be seen at stations several miles apart. This then is the first requisite: in order to show that any radial projection of the corona belongs to a real solar appendage, it should be seen unmistakably from stations widely separated. But this is not all. If a beam or radiation were caused by the solar light falling on some matter close by the moon's place[1] after the manner of the beam from an electric lamp falling on dusty air, then the beam would shift rapidly, as the moon shifted. Hence, this is the second requisite: a radial projection if a real solar appendage must remain unchanged in position as seen from any the same station.

If both of these conditions are satisfied in any single instance, if the same radiation is seen from stations widely separated unchanged in position during the whole continuance of totality, there can be no further question that the corona has an extension corresponding to at least the visible limits of the radiation. And a single demonstrated instance of this sort removes all reasonable doubt as to

[1] I refer to this view because Mr. Lowe has lately urged the theory that certain appearances of the corona may be thus explained. I have as elsewhere stated however I regard Professor Lowe's theory as untenable. To meet an objection of this sort extends from the sun's level the rarefied atmosphere of space would not suffice; and if the matter of the solar atmosphere between the sun and earth were used as a screen to intercept the light, then Professor Lowe's theory would cut off from the part lying below it and in the same visual direction right up to the sun's atmosphere would cut at least as much light out of coming from the same quarter as would prevent us from recognising the coronal rays.

those other instances where it had only seemed strongly probable that the coronal radiations were solar appendages.

Now the first points to be noticed in the news to which have reached us respecting the eclipse of December last, although full of interest and importance, yet do not bear on this particular consideration.

In the first place we have received from many quarters abundant evidence that the observations made by the American astronomers in 1869 were trustworthy. The double character of the coronal spectrum was proved in a manner admitting of no question. The continuous spectrum without dark lines was seen at four different stations, while at as many the bright lines which had been seen in 1869, and other bright lines not then discerned, were clearly recognised. It is not my purpose, nor indeed does space permit me, to give an account of the several observations made in Spain and Sicily. The following extract from a valuable paper by Mr. Langley shows what the American physicist Professor W— noted near Cadiz, and the account may be regarded as typical of the general results deduced by the observers: 'Using a spectroscope of two prisms on a five and a half inch achromatic (directed by Mr. A. Clark at the Hedges), Professor Winlock found a faint continuous spectrum without dark lines. Of the bright lines the most conspicuous was "1474 Kirchhoff"' (a line belonging to the spectrum of the aurora), 'which was followed round the sun to at least twenty minutes from the disc. It may be here remarked,' adds Mr. Langley, 'that all the spectroscopes showed this as much the most conspicuous coronal line. A number of other lines were also noted, and their position recorded.'

It was demonstrated, then, that the coronal light is, at least in part, distinct from that of the prominences or sierra, since in their light the line '1474 Kirchhoff' is by no means the most prominent, nor even at all times visible. Confirmation was also given to that startling theory which I urged in this Magazine so far back as February 1870 (and which was independently and perhaps earlier urged by others, after the observations made during

[illegible]

the eclipse of August 1869), *that the corona is of the nature of a solar aurora.*

But if we consider the evidence, we find that it does not throw any satisfactory light on the chief question at issue—the question, namely, of the corona's extension. Illuminated as our own air must needs have been by that intensely bright part of the corona which lies close to the sun, the coronal spectrum might well be given by the light from our atmosphere. There was, indeed, a way of determining whether this was so or not. Of course, the portion of the atmosphere lying directly towards the moon would be illuminated by the corona as fully as the portion outside; unless indeed there were haze in the air, in which case the figure of the coronal ring would be in some sort represented, though with considerable expansion, in the resulting halo. If, then, the spectroscope were directed to the moon's seemingly dark disc, the bright lines of the corona ought to be visible about as clearly as when the spectroscope was directed outside the true limits (whatever they may be) of the corona. Captain Maclear feared that the bright lines of the corona were visible in the light received from the direction in which the moon's centre lay, but the lines were not half so bright as those seen when the spectroscope was directed to a distance from the moon's edge outside of it equal to about one-fourth of the moon's apparent diameter. This would imply that in the latter case the spectroscope was still directed to a spot within the real limits of the corona, or rather of that portion of the corona which is partly gaseous.

It will be seen, however, that considerable doubt rests on the spectroscopic observations, so far as they bear on the question of the real extension of the corona. In this respect, indeed, they can scarcely give either negative or positive evidence which can be trusted. For even if the bright line spectrum were not given by light beyond a certain distance from the sun, it would by no means follow that the coronal light in that direction did not come from a real solar appendage. The gaseity of the corona might be limited to certain distances from the sun, although the corona itself extended very much farther. Nor, again, can the positive evidence supplied by the visibility of the bright lines at considerable distances from the sun be trusted implicitly, since, as we have seen, our atmosphere may reflect the light which supplies those bright lines.

Thus the whole question of the corona's extension depended on the success of those who sought for evidence of the unity of coronal appearances seen at any given station, and of the identity of appearances seen from different stations.

So far as ordinary methods of observation were concerned, there was little reason for hoping that this particular eclipse would give better results than former ones. If any eclipse could have settled the question, one would have supposed the American eclipse of 1869 would have done so. For then the corona was seen from a number of stations along a track crossing the whole breadth of North America; favourable weather was nearly everywhere experienced, and all observers were prepared to note the appearance of the coronal outline, and finally, it was to be hoped, photographs might be obtained of good pictures of the corona. But inasmuch as the photographs actually obtained only showed the brightest part of the corona, and depended on direct observation, and in this, as in many former instances, discrepancies appeared in the various accounts, while the sketches differed also con-

siderably *outside* Observers agreed in describing the corona as four-cornered in figure, but as to its colour, its extension, and the exact position of the remarkable, they were not by any means in satisfactory agreement. The question remained in abeyance, and many were disposed to believe that the recent eclipse would leave this particular problem still unsolved.

Now as regards direct observations last December, though there was much that seemed to indicate that certain relations were seen from different stations, and that these relations remained unchanged in position during totality, there was still an element of uncertainty. Mr Langley, in the account from which I have already quoted, fairly sums up the results of observation: 'In some well-marked features all agree, in other matters one such differences exist that one might almost say each saw a different corona.' Mr Lockyer, indeed, was so far misled by the apparent discordance between the statements which reached him, as to pronounce with some degree of decisiveness the opinion that the coronal radiations were demonstratively terrestrial phenomena, speaking of the evidence adduced by those who endeavoured to support 'the strongest proof of the variability of the outer corona.'

But at the time the photographs taken in Spain and Sicily had not been compared with each other, or with the drawings of different observers. Now, it need, Mr Lockyer, who wrote his account from Venice (and had not been favoured with a view of those unaware of one strongly marked feature in the drawings taken in Spain, which permitted to give decisive evidence on the point at issue. At three stations, forming a triangle with sides five or six miles long, near Cadiz, a well-marked V-shaped gap with clearly defined bounding radiations, opposite the most south-eastern quadrant, had been noticed as the most prominent feature of the corona. It had remained unchanged in position during the whole continuance of totality, although the play of light and shade over the eclipsed sun had been considerable. It was pointed out in a large drawing exhibited by Lieut. Brown at the January meeting of the Royal Astronomical Society. At the same meeting Mr Hudson, a fellow of St John's College, who had seen it from another station, remarked that in the picture, marked as this feature was, it was not so marked as it had appeared to himself, and Lieut. Brown admitted that his picture did not present this striking feature to his own satisfaction.

If only all the evidence here stated could be adjusted as certain, the question of the exact coronal solar relations to a distance nearly equal to the moon's apparent diameter was demonstrated. But doubts were still expressed whether the assertions and drawings deposed finally of the question.

At the same meeting photographs by Lord Lindsay were handed round, and these seemed scarcely to confirm the view that the great V-shaped gap really existed in some vast solar appendage. In these photographs no very considerable extension of the corona could be traced, and it seemed open to question whether, in tearing so many as nine, Lord Lindsay had not unduly shortened the exposure for each

[illegible] at the same charge, would be the way to [illegible]

Again, there were obvious signs in the best of the photographs exhibited that at Lord Lindsay's station a haze or some other atmospheric cause had tended to mar the distinctness of the corona; for the disc of the moon, especially on the side where the corona was brightest, was illuminated with a light far too strong to be otherwise explained (assuming always that all the photographic operations had been satisfactorily performed).

But after this meeting attention was directed to a photograph taken by the American observers at a station close by. In this photograph only a portion of the corona was shown;[1] but the extension of the corona was considerably greater than in any photographs which had hitherto been taken; and *there*, in the south-eastern quadrant, was that very V-shaped gap of which the observers had spoken, and which Lieut. Brown and others had depicted. It was not a mere faintly seen or perhaps half-suspected feature, but *the most striking feature in the photograph*.

One thing only was required to remove all shadow of doubt. News had reached England that Mr. Brothers had been most successful in photographing the corona at his station near Syracuse. In the fifth plate of six he had taken 'the corona is shown,' said the account, 'as it was never seen on glass before.'

Here a crucial test seemed available. If the great gap opposite the south-eastern quadrant was not seen in this photograph, negative evidence, about as strong as negative evidence could be in this case, would be supplied against the theory that the radiations are true solar appendages. On the other hand, if the great gap appeared in the photograph, then positive evidence of the most convincing kind would be afforded on this interesting question.

I was so fortunate as to be the first to receive intelligence on this point. Mr. Brothers forwarded, through me, to Dr. Huggins, a rough drawing of his best photograph, and in that picture the V-shaped gap appears *as the most striking feature of the corona*. It is more plainly shown than in the American photograph, and its borders can be traced very much farther from the sun. The photograph, indeed, fairly bears out the statement that the corona is shown as it was never seen on glass before; it is *facile princeps* among photographs of the corona: but, except in this greater clearness and extension, the figure of the great gap and of the bounding radiations agrees perfectly with the American photograph.

At length, then, we have evidence which cannot be questioned on this long mooted point. The corona itself has left us an unmistakable record, has written down in the plainest possible characters a statement of its true nature. By a piece of good fortune such as few were so sanguine as to anticipate, a feature strongly marked enough to be recognisable beyond the possibility of question has been depicted in two exceptionally successful photographs, taken at widely separated stations. This one feature proves all that we require. Granted that two radiations (for the gap implies necessarily the existence of two bounding rays) exist in some real solar appendage, it will no longer be doubted that radiations of the same nature exist all round the sun. Nor will it now be questioned that the faint projections of such radiant beams, seen when eclipses are viewed under very favourable circumstances,

[1] I do not mean that the outer part had failed to appear on the glass, but that the glass only recorded the inner half.

belong also to this solar appendage. These expansions of the four-cornered corona in 1869, which General Myer, stationed 5,000 feet above the sea-level, was able to trace to a distance of 'two or three diameters of the moon's disc,' must now be regarded as indubitably appertaining to some solar appendage. For the faint shadow of doubt which hung over the concurrent accounts of the figure of the corona during the American eclipse has been fairly dissipated by the testimony now obtained; and once admitting the coronal projections seen at lower stations as belonging to a solar appendage, the extensions of these projections seen by observers above the denser atmospheric strata must of course equally be associated with that appendage. The unity of those four far-reaching extensions during the four minutes of totality, as also the unity of the far-reaching extensions seen during the Swedish eclipse of 1736, not only during totality but for several seconds afterwards, can now be understood. Astronomers have not had to deal, in these and other instances, with beams shining through our own atmosphere, but with illuminated regions of space exceeding the sun's own orb many times in volume.

As to the physical meaning of the coronal phenomena, I refrain at present from speaking. The subject is one of wide extent, and could not fitly be treated at the close of such a paper as the present. The interpretation of the coronal radiations is connected, I believe, with the subject of meteoric astronomy already dealt with in these pages, with the phenomena of our own auroras, with the zodiacal light, with cometary systems, and finally with those strange laws according to which magnetic and auroral phenomena are associated with the disturbances of the solar photosphere. The task of duly presenting these interweaved relations must be left to another occasion.

CHINESE STATESMEN AND STATE PAPERS.

NOTICE has been received of the arrival at Bordeaux of Chi-wo-how, an Envoy of the Chinese Government, despatched on a propitiatory mission to France after the massacre of nearly all the French subjects, including the Consul, at Tientsin. The appearance of this high officer in Europe marks an epoch in the history of China. It is the first time that a Chinese of unquestionable rank and high official position has been accredited to any European Power. He is not only one of the high officers of the Empire, and related to the Imperial family, but he is one of their Statesmen. Hitherto it has been thought sufficient, as in the case of the Burlingame mission, to select from the Foreign Office in Peking subordinate officials or humble secretaries in the Department—and give them a provisional and limiting their temporary rank as Minister, on the clear understanding that their commission ran only during residence in foreign countries. Very much as local military rank is conferred with us when officers are sent to foreign countries on special service.

Chung-how has, on the contrary, long held a high position at Peking as Imperial Commissioner and Superintendent for the five Northern Ports. He has also been entrusted with the creation of a great arsenal at Tientsin for the manufacture of powder, the casting of cannon, &c. In this many foreign engineers, chiefly British, have been employed, while the whole of the machinery has been imported and put up. In the capacity of Director of this great establishment he has shown intelligence and energy, as well as a willingness to accept responsibility, and in our large experience for public purposes, very unusual in Chinese magistrates. In this position he has been brought much in contact during several years with foreigners of all classes and nations—with officials, merchants, travellers, and his own artisans, many of a superior class—and to all he was so favourably known that it was fondly hoped he was gradually being educated to appreciate the superiority of European culture and science. Of the advantages China might derive from freer intercourse, and the enlightened application of European skill and science in developing the resources of his country, he could hardly fail to be convinced. He has shown anxiety to possess at any cost the best machinery Europe could supply for his arsenal, and a line of rail, some two miles in length, completely encircled and connected all the scattered workshops and buildings, and last year locomotives had been ordered to utilise it. To him belongs the credit therefore of having been the first to make a railroad in China, and on his own responsibility. The extension of this line, or a tramroad, to the mouths of the coal-pits some miles distant on which he depended for his fuel, was in contemplation, and seemed, under his energetic impulse, to be only an affair of time, despite all the opposition which every proposition of this kind emanating from the Foreign Legations had encountered from the Government in Peking. Seeing what he had so far accomplished, and the favour he was held to enjoy with the two Empresses, there seemed to be good ground for sanguine hopes. His powerful physique, in its promise of activity as well as energy, seemed to lend a sanction to the hope entertained. He is a large framed, burly-looking Tartar—a sort of Eastern type of

our own 'bluff King Harry.' Small oblique set eyes, high cheek-bones and fleshy cheeks—a look of selfwill and craft combined, not uncommon in his race—all helped to reproduce a likeness which, to every stranger when the copy appeared, may yet give the reader a faint idea of the outward presentment of the Emperor's Envoy. Such is the variety of human wishes and hopes! The outbreak at Tientsin and the fearful massacre which he, with all the officials on the spot, allowed to be consummated within a short distance from his yamun, and to all appearance without raising his voice or stirring a finger for their defence, has brought such obloquy upon him that we fancy there are very few foreigners besides Mr. Hanbury who have a word to say in his favour. The utmost that can be alleged in his behalf we believe to be, that his active complicity in the plotting which preceded the murder of so many devoted men and women—nuns, nurses, sisters of mercy, and children as innocent as themselves—and that there may have been reasons unknown to the outside world why he could not effectually interfere to prevent the massacre. But we feel no disposition to take up his defence on these grounds or any other that have been made known. It would, to say the least, be premature—we believe England may not be alone—were to examine how far it may be consistent with their own dignity and the security of their subjects and foreigners generally in China, to receive him while he stands charged by the foreign communities in China.

Our immediate concern, however, is not with this particular question, but with Chinese Statesmen in general and their utterances on public matters—more especially in those which directly concern foreigners. We have thought it might not be uninteresting at the present time to British readers, to know something of the 'gesten et facta' of some of the leading Statesmen of China, drawn as it were from their own archives, and hitherto a blank page in their history so far as it is known to foreigners. It may not be deemed inopportune at such a moment as this moreover, nor wholly without utility, if we endeavour to supply a great deficiency, and give some reliable data as to the prevailing opinions of the chief functionaries and high officers, as these appear in a succession of State papers not originally meant to be seen by foreigners. In this latter condition lies their great value, since it is to some extent a guarantee of truthfulness and sincerity. Any guarantee in such a matter must of course be relative, but although Chinese mandarins may not always be honest or entirely truthful in stating their opinions to their own Emperor, but at least one strong motive for deception is removed in eliminating the foreign element. We know they do not often say what they think to foreigners, more especially when foreign interests are concerned. It is well, then, to know sometimes what they say to each other or to their Government, in matters of fact and of policy more touching foreign Powers and their interests.

The importance of such knowledge as may thus be obtained will be readily understood, if we consider that the whole question of a Chinese policy turns very much upon the status and power of the provincial officials, and the relative authority of the High officers and Court at Peking, who are held responsible for the performance (or non-performance) of treaty stipulations. Upon such knowledge only can any valid opinion be formed as to the fitness and applicability of a policy on our

part which would only recognise a central Government, and altogether ignore any responsibility of provincial authorities. This policy, recently adopted in express terms by the British and American Governments, and, less explicitly, acquiesced in by some other Powers, regards the Emperor (or the Government) as exclusively responsible for all violations of treaty and failure of execution. And it has been adopted to the exclusion of a policy of a mixed and more anomalous kind, which would admit a resort to local measures of coercion in certain exceptional cases, and when all other means fail—without meaning thereby to question the authority *de jure* of the Emperor, however such acts might tend, *de facto*, to supersede it in the eyes of his own subjects, and practically usurp or lower it.

It may be necessary, perhaps, by way of introduction, to give some general idea of the actual distribution of power—so far as this is known—while the Emperor is in his minority and can have no real voice in the government of the Empire. Our readers will then be better able to estimate the weight that may properly attach to the opinions emanating from some of the leading members of the Great Council or Grand Secretariat of the Empire.

Since the *coup d'état* in November 1861, three months after the death of the late Emperor, Hsien-feng, the supreme government has been vested in the two Empress Dowagers as Regents during the minority. At that time Prince Kung, the chief actor in the *coup d'état*, was named Prince or Prime Minister, and made President of the Great Council (Tsung-li-chu), whose function is to advise the Sovereign on all public matters. In April 1865 Prince Kung got into trouble, was denounced for various offences (mainly disrespect towards the Empresses), and as a mitigated penalty was deprived of his title and position of Prince Minister, with which of course went his privilege of initiative in all advice given to the throne. Since that date it is believed he has not been a person of much power in the palace.

The highest in rank and most powerful Boards or offices in the Empire are *the Ministers of the Presence*, *the Great Council*, and *the Grand Secretariat*. The Ministers of the Presence are properly a portion of his Majesty's household, and not a part of the State machinery. They are always, however, persons of the highest rank; and as they of necessity have always the ear of the Emperor, their power is very great, especially when the Sovereign is weak or inexperienced. Their private influence with the Sovereign frequently overrides and neutralises the constitutional influence of the Great Council. It is said to do so at the present time.

There are six or seven Ministers of the Presence, of whom Prince Kung's younger brother, the seventh Prince, is said to be the chief. A son of the late Sang-Ko-linsen, the general whom we defeated in 1865, is also one.

The Great Council is a body like the British Cabinet, not recognised by the constitution, but when public affairs are on a proper footing the real governing body in the Empire. There are generally four or five members, at present four, of whom three are members of the Tsung-li yamên — Prince Kung, Wen-siang, and Pao-yun.

The Grand Secretariat is the office of highest rank in the Empire. It answers to the official Red Book, which the two preceding do not. There are six members, three Tartar and three Chinese. Two of the Chinese are Tsang Kwo-fan and Lo Ping-chang, Governor-General of Sze-chuan. A person to be appointed to it must

have taken the highest literary degree at the metropolis.

The members of the Grand Secretariat are each, by virtue of their office, Privy Councillors of State. Their chief duties are to receive all Imperial decrees, see that the action taken on them is in accordance with the law of the land, and to forward them to their destination.

Governmental action is taken either on the direct motion of the Emperor and his immediate advisers, or on memorials presented by the high authorities in the capital or provinces. In ordinary cases the mode of procedure is as follows:

The memorial is forwarded through a board of transmission and registration to the office of the Great Council, where it is read and suggestions are made, or a draft of a decree drawn up for action thereon. This is laid before the throne, and if approved sent to the Grand Secretariat to be copied and despatched.

The action of the Empress Dowager, and the Empress Mother, is said to take a great interest in public affairs, to have a violent temper, and to be arbitrary in action. On more than one occasion she has acted against the advice of her Ministers, notably in the case of the General Shengpan, whose death was ordered on about nine years ago.

It is also rumoured that much influence—the bane of previous dynasties—makes itself felt in the palace, notwithstanding an Empress's power.

The may be regarded as a summary of what constitutes the higher regions of government and political action. In next story after these come the administrative departments, and the part they play in the machinery of government it may be very difficult accurately to appreciate.

Whoever has wandered of late years and the travellers have been many, through the dusty or miry streets of Peking (for they are always either covered in mud of dust, or knee deep in mire) will probably have had pointed out to him a broad street leading from the middle gate on the south side of the district which separates the outer from the inner or Imperial city, wherein the palace is situated. On the east side of this street are situated five of the six supreme tribunals of the empire: namely, Le Pou, the Board of Civil Office; Hou Pou, the Board of Revenue; Li Pou, the Board of Rites and Ceremonies, Ping Pou, the Board of War; and Kung Pou, the Board of Public Works. The first of these tribunals appoints, with the Emperor's approbation, persons to fill all important civil offices throughout the Empire, and superintends their conduct while in office; the second has the care of the financial concerns of the Empire, and the decision of lawsuits respecting the private lands; the third regulates the ceremonies of the court and of religious worship; the fourth has the general superintendence of the army, and likewise of the post, and of the transmission of prisoners from place to place; the fifth has the direction of all works undertaken at the expense of the public treasury. The sixth tribunal, Hing Pou, the Board of Punishments, the duties of which are sufficiently indicated by its name, is situated on the west side of the broad avenue mentioned above.

Here is transacted a great deal of the administrative business of the Empire. In their exterior there is nothing in any way imposing. In each a gateway gives entrance to a moderate-sized courtyard, round which are ranged various buildings only one storey high, and in the interior there is a Spartan simplicity as to furniture and decoration. A few wooden chairs, tables, and

benches constitute the whole. A stone or earthen floor is the ordinary flooring, which is very cold in winter, and not particularly clean at any season of the year. Mun-shangs (official doorkeepers), tingchais (office messengers), couriers, and a few police runners and villainous-looking hangers-on of a semi-official status, hang about the outer and inner courts, and give a certain air of business to the several Boards. They are otherwise singularly deficient in all that could betoken their importance as great State departments.

Whatever may be the sins of omission or commission of the great functionaries of China, inordinate luxury is certainly not among the number. There is no ostentation of wealth anywhere to be seen. Their dress is of the plainest silk or gauze in summer; and it is only in winter that money can be expended on their persons, when some of the high officers wear costly furs. A Buddhist chaplet of beads of agate or jade, and often of less expensive material, a ring of jade on the thumb of the right hand as an evidence of their training to pull the bow (the traditional arm of both Chinese and Tartars), and sometimes a button of coral at the top of the official cap marking their rank, and a pearl in the front, complete the most costly toilet of prince or grandee. The Chinese and the Japanese are the only Easterns, so far as civilised peoples are in question, who seem to set no value on precious stones or jewellery of any kind. Pearls are in certain request, probably for the wives and daughters, but the men never wear any kind of trinket. Simplicity of taste marks all their personal equipment; and the ladies, if they go into extravagance, seem to confine it to embroidery of the most elaborate and beautiful kind. But this is a digression.

Leaving the street of the Six Boards, we must cross a considerable space to reach the quarter of Peking where the Foreign Office or *Tsung-li-Yamên* has been located, and where all business connected with the Foreign Legations is transacted. Here the Foreign Ministers are received by the Board when personal intercourse is required. This is of later creation in some sort a supplemental department—and only takes date from the signature of the treaty which fixed the residence of the foreign representatives in the capital. It may be taken as a proof, however, of the importance attaching to it that the President is a prince of the Imperial blood the sixth brother of the late and uncle of the present Emperor. Prince Kung as the Americans style him, and Prince of Kung as the British translate his title (for there is a difference on the subject between the philologists of the two nations), is still young, probably not forty. There is no lack of courtesy or dignity in his bearing. An Imperial Prince, his education must have been confined to the study of the Chinese classics and the Ceremonial 'Rites' until ten years ago, when he was suddenly brought in contact with foreigners. He entered public life to exchange the ratifications of the English and French treaties in 1860 at the dictation of the victors, then in possession of the gates of the capital. It must have been a bitter humiliation and trial to this young representative of his dynasty, and from time to time there flashes out some trait which shows it has never been forgotten. His bearing with the foreign representatives, however, has at all times been unexceptionable. He sees them readily, as often as they require it, and is very punctilious in returning their official visits. He receives the Ministers always at the threshold of his apartments in the Yamen where the interviews take place, while two or three of his

Minister colleagues receive the guest at the entrance of the court-yard, where he alights, and always accompany him back to the same place on his taking leave. Many visitors to the Legations have as a matter of courtesy been received when any desire to that effect has been expressed by a Foreign Minister, and on these and all other occasions a Chinese refection of fruit and cakes, wine, birds'-nest soups, and other luxuries of the Chinese cuisine is served, and the strangers are especially pressed, with much hospitality, to partake of all the condiments and wines, both native and foreign. In deference to the sophisticated habits of foreigners, wine-glasses and even knives and forks are placed on the table. Everything else is simple and unpretending—the same plain wooden chairs and benches and the same absence of all ostentation or luxury in the furnishing of the apartment as at the other Boards. The conversation of the Prince is full of vivacity, and his knowledge of foreign affairs, the result no doubt of ten years' experience, is said to astonish many of the high officers in the provinces. Something of the reluctance and weariness of an Eastern Prince bored and worried by foreign demands and exigencies is said at times to be perceptible. But mere visitors are not to judge of this, as I invariably carry away an agreeable impression. He is very far-sighted, which may sometimes convey to them to those who meet him for the first time, of his not deeming anything he sees in the Foreign Legations worthy of being looked at. Probably he does not appreciate very highly any of our manufactured articles or works of art, and says no more about them when they are presented to him than mere courtesy requires. From all reports we do not think we have any great love for foreigners, or we are not very gladly see them expelled from the Empire, but there is no doubt he is one of the few Chinese in high places who clearly see the futility of any attempts to effect that object, and the necessity of making the best terms they can with their importunate and unwelcome guests.

Space will not allow us to spend much more time in a description of the other members of the Board, some five or six generals. Of this number Wenxiang is by far the most distinguished, both from his superior knowledge and the intellectual grasp of the position occupied by China in its relations with Foreign States. He has aged perceptibly within the last few years, and, although under sixty, he looks worn by incessant work and anxieties, and has of late been often seriously sick, and unable to appear or take any part in the business of the Yamên. He is believed to have the entire confidence of the Prince, and the burden and responsibility of all that is done rest very much on his shoulders. As a member of the Grand Secretariat and vested with other high functions, his influence is very great, both personal and official; subject nevertheless to such attenuation as the active hostility of a very powerful party of anti-foreign functionaries within and without the palace can effect. This party is a party that can properly be called which is composed of nearly the whole of the educated classes of the Empire—officials, literati, and gentry—are unceasing in their opposition to all progressive measures, whether emanating from the Foreign Board or elsewhere. But Wenxiang is held in general hatred as the known advocate of a policy of progress and improvement with foreign and all appliances. The failure of the Lay-Osborne fleet very nearly effected his ruin, and that of the Prince also, and has created a strong feeling against his influence.

The cost and humiliation of that most disastrous experiment were all visited on his head, and it has no doubt tended not solely to impair his power, but also to render him more timid, and less disposed to make any further venture in the same direction. He has the reputation among his own people of being honest, and foreigners know him to be patriotic and earnest in what he believes to be for the good of his country, while far in advance of all his contemporaries in enlightened views as to how in the actual situation of affairs that end may best be served. Upon occasions he can be both bitter and sarcastic, and speaks out his mind plainly enough against the pretensions of foreigners to shape everything to their own ends in China. But as a rule he, like all other Chinese officials, keeps his temper admirably, and very rarely allows any outward show of excitement or irritation to appear. He has nevertheless little credit for patriotism or a disinterested love of his country with the opposite faction; and of late there has been remarked, with failing health, an expression of weariness as if he were losing heart and hope, and began to feel unequal to any further struggle. With the ever increasing demands for better execution of treaties, changes often materially and legally impossible in the present state of affairs—for larger facilities and increased privileges, on the foreign side—and the gathering of hostile elements in front and all round him proceeding from the Chinese national party, who would refuse everything, and, if left to themselves, precipitate the country into another war with the Western Powers—he may well feel weary. If the experienced Statesman who has been so long at the helm of foreign affairs should feel worn out with vain effort, and only anxious to be relieved of a burden of responsibility which becomes each day more intolerable, it cannot be matter of surprise. He will be a great loss. Nor is there anyone known to foreigners who could supply his place in the management of foreign relations.

This necessarily imperfect sketch may suffice, perhaps, to give a glimpse of the framework and administrative machinery of the Government at Peking. We yet lack full information as to the part played by each of the Departments specified, and by the Empresses with their surroundings. The *entourage* of an Eastern monarch governing a third or fourth of the human race by autocratic decrees or ukases, is often more influential than all the State Departments. The eunuchs, concubines, and play-actors who constituted the court of the late Emperor Hsien-feng, the father of the present young Emperor, had more influence probably in bringing on the war that led the Allies to Peking than any of the high officers or Ministers. It was generally so reported. The anti-foreign and war party, though strong in the Boards and high offices, may have worked through these vile instruments always about the person of a weak and debauched monarch, who died, worn out, before he had passed the prime of life. At the present moment an aged preceptor of the boy Emperor, Wo, is the most rabid and implacable of the anti-foreign party, as will presently be seen by one of his memorials. It is generally believed that favourite eunuchs have great influence with the Empresses, though holding no recognised position. The Empress Dowager and Empress Mother, as well as Prince Kung, are believed to be favourable to the maintenance of peace; but the seventh Prince, a younger brother of Prince Kung, is violently hostile, and joins heartily with Wo in all efforts to make the anti-foreign faction predominate. With these conflicting elc-

ments are distracting the councils of the Empire at Peking, other difficulties arise from the imperfect control of the Central Government over the provinces. Each of the eighteen provinces, or in some cases two provinces, has for all administrative and fiscal purposes a separate and nearly independent Government and administration. They raise their own taxes, and pay their own services civil and military, under very little real control from Peking. They are merely held bound to remit, for the most part in kind, a certain proportion of the land and salt tax, and to keep order. The levy of certain duties on inland trade, and administration of justice, are all pretty much, by use if not by law, in the hands of the provincial authorities, under the supreme direction of a Governor-General. The one check to unlimited power of taxation seems to be in the 'inherent right' of insurrection on the part of the people if overtaxed or oppressed beyond endurance, —and on the part of the Empire the right of appointment and dismissal of every officer, from the viceroy down to the lowest official. But practically the Court at Peking has no effective control over the administration of affairs in each province. This may easily be understood when we reflect that any one of these provinces is of wider area than many European States, and that the Chinese Empire with its existing territories extends over twice as many degrees of latitude and longitude that the whole of Europe, and contains a larger population. Without railroads or telegraph lines, and with none of the ordinary modern means for rapid communication and transportation, it is obvious that anything like a perfect system cannot be imposed from Peking. Officers appointed at the capital cannot be relied on to act as checks upon the provincial authorities, because there is a tendency of responsibility, by which every individual officer in the provinces is held accountable in person and pocket for whatever goes wrong in the district over which he exercises control or jurisdiction. From a famine, an inundation, or an insurrection, to an act of felony on the part of an individual, the Imperial officers are all held responsible from the lowest to the highest. From this law of unlimited liability, with its oppressive and inequitable operation, flow many of the corrupt practices as well as the misgovernment which everywhere prevail. How are treaties with foreign Powers to be worked under such conditions of government? They may hold the Central Government responsible if they please, but it is manifest there can only be a very limited power on the part of the Peking authorities to enforce respect throughout the provinces for any treaty stipulations. The dual government of Tartar and Chinese high officials in the provinces still further complicates matters; and if not acting together, as very often happens, they paralyse each other.

How this half-dislocated and clumsy confederation of provinces under an imperial system, is kept together so as to work in any way as one Empire, is among the many problems which China offers to the political student. That it does hold together is the marvel, not that it cannot be governed and moved in perfect obedience to the laws, or to the will of a sovereign. A Genghis Khan, or a man such as the founder of the present dynasty was, with a strong will and strong intellect, one of the few born rulers of men which the world produces at distant intervals might possibly consolidate and weld into one all these semi-detached provinces and conflicting elements. But that such occupants of the Chinese throne as have ruled for the last century and a half should achieve such a work is simply impossible.

In the meantime successive insurrections distract and devastate the country, while wide-spread corruption completes the disorganising forces constantly at work, weakening the Government, wasting the resources, and demoralising the people. Yet still it lives, and survives injuries and disintegrating forces which would destroy any more highly organised creation. Like the great antediluvian monsters of the megatherion order, the vitality is not concentrated in the heart or the head, but is diffused over the whole mass. A limb lopped off scarcely affects the life of the remainder.

Our readers will now be better prepared to understand under what circumstances the actual rulers of the country – men high in office in the provinces or in the capital – act and give their opinions on the foreign relations which have been imposed upon China by superior force, as the price of peace. Some of these are well entitled to be considered Statesmen in the best sense of the word, although it follows, of necessity, that defects of education and experience in Western affairs must limit their views, and place them often in a position of inferiority when brought in contact with the diplomatists or Ministers of Europe for the discussion of international questions. That they have so often held their own when not overborne by force says much to speak well for their capacity and general intelligence, and some of their State papers will bear comparison with the productions emanating from the best Governments in the West. Chinese rulers and statesmen have suffered grievously from imperfect translations. In literature many years ago one of the best of our interpreters, Mr Medhurst, who devoted a life to the accurate study of the Chinese language written and oral, pointed out the evil. It has done very little, and the selection of short but most suggestive essays, full of original thought, he observes:

A perfect translation ought to give the exact sense of the original, in a style closely resembling that of the latter. Keeping this in view, even the reader whose philological attainments do not extend beyond the knowledge of his own language can easily perceive of himself that the great majority of things published as translations from the Chinese (I refer chiefly to those intended to be translations of official documents) do not deserve the name, and that they are in fact wretched. If we consider them as a whole, we observe a total want of all logical relation between the sentences. There seems to be no reason assignable why one train of thought in them, they are merely a succession of almost unconnected, interrogative, and narrative dates, having little or no connection with each other. But the Chinese have been a literary people and great writers for upwards of 3000 years. There is probably more written upon all subjects of [illegible] than in Great Britain. The Chinese are generally considered a sedentary and rational people, and in case the man who enters into an argument with them on any subjects they understand must have all his wits about him, with which, and with reason on his side, he need not hope to prevail. Now, such being the case, is it not very extraordinary that they could write nonsense when in their official capacity? The fact is, the Chinese official and legal documents published by the Government from the most ancient down to the most modern times, in which they first state the grounds for their arguments are based on, from the [illegible] of the premises, they state the [illegible] of an [illegible] and then [illegible] a conclusion [illegible] English translations of the same nature. The reader of the [illegible] of the new writings, must be [illegible] by the [illegible] and [illegible] of the [illegible] and [illegible] and [illegible] and

gret to say he has passed away, after devoting a quarter of a century with untiring diligence to the study of the language and the discharge of consular duties—we may now proceed with the examination of the State papers themselves, with less danger of underrating their merits. The Central Government, such as we have described it, when cases are referred from the provinces in which foreigners are concerned, whether treaties or minor matters, often finds it as hard to deal legally with them as we have found it at home with feelings which acts were but the expression of a feeling generally entertained. And that those who make up large public opinion in China are hostile to the foreigner does not admit of serious question. Whatever rights or privileges we possess have been extorted against the convictions of the nation in defiance of the moral convictions, not only of the Mandarin class—that is, of the educated class, including not the literati, but many members of the privileged class, who have imbibed ideas of right and wrong which have long since abrogated the acts and laws of Western nations—but against the convictions, and as yet in an almost unbroken phalanx of

[illegible] Western Chinese officials who have any peculiar knowledge of foreign affairs, from long residence at the ports, or from having been employed in Mandarin translating work, or in the Imperial Customs, or in the Imperial Maritime Customs, or in the Imperial College, or in the Imperial Navy Yard, or in the Imperial Arsenal, or in the Imperial Mint, or in the Imperial Board of Revenue, or in the Imperial Board of Punishments, or in the Imperial Board of Rites, or in the Imperial Board of War, or in the Imperial Board of Works, or in the Imperial Board of Foreign Affairs, or in the Imperial Board of Ceremonies, or in the Imperial Board of Astronomy, or in the Imperial Board of Medicine, or in the Imperial Board of Education, or in the Imperial Board of Agriculture, or in the Imperial Board of Commerce, or in the Imperial Board of Mines, or in the Imperial Board of Fisheries, or in the Imperial Board of Forests, or in the Imperial Board of Parks, or in the Imperial Board of Gardens, or in the Imperial Board of Zoology, or in the Imperial Board of Botany, or in the Imperial Board of Geology, or in the Imperial Board of Meteorology, or in the Imperial Board of Hydrography, or in the Imperial Board of Cartography, or in the Imperial Board of Statistics, or in the Imperial Board of Archives, or in the Imperial Board of Records, or in the Imperial Board of Seals, or in the Imperial Board of Titles, or in the Imperial Board of Precedence, or in the Imperial Board of Etiquette, or in the Imperial Board of Dress, or in the Imperial Board of Music, or in the Imperial Board of Dancing, or in the Imperial Board of Theatricals, or in the Imperial Board of Literature, or in the Imperial Board of Science, or in the Imperial Board of Art, or in the Imperial Board of Philosophy, or in the Imperial Board of Religion, or in the Imperial Board of Morals, or in the Imperial Board of Manners, or in the Imperial Board of Customs, or in the Imperial Board of Usages, or in the 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overcome with astonishment—nay, with horror and affright. In his opinion the scheme is utterly impracticable. Advantage is being taken of the sacred ruler's youth to deceive and hoodwink him, and the great central and provincial authorities should, on that account, exercise a little zeal and sincerity, and make their representations upon the matter in severe terms. Who would have supposed that, as is the case, those in official position utter never a word, nor does any remark come from those whose express duty is it to speak out (censors)? All, without exception, remain humming and hawing, stopping up their mouths and keeping their opinions to themselves.

If the present memorialist does not speak out, how will he be able to confront the (late) Sacred Emperors, or how confront the present Majesty, and the generations to come? For is it not true that the ruler is venerated according as the teacher is respected?'

All beneath heaven receive the procreating doctrine of the sacred dynasty with obedience and awe. An ancient sage (Mencius) remarked, 'China instructs barbarians, but I have not heard of instruction coming from barbarians.' The present idea of China adopting foreigners as teachers is certainly a very astounding project.

The Tsungli Yamên proposes to establish a foreign college, and hold examinations in astronomy and mathematics. After one year of the student's career has expired he will be made a certain allowance, and after the expiration of three years the most learning will be recommended for promotion and appointed to the 7th, 8th, or 9th official grade.

All this, perhaps, may entirely deserve the title of reason; but the wise man should regard the important and the remote and not fix his attention entirely upon what is trivial and immediate.

Literary men who are the sons of learned men in the provinces spend ten years of their lives studying and practising composition with the object of passing the first literary examination, and how much more [illegible] should be required to pass the examinations of the Board of Punishments? Most of these will [illegible]

And now this foreign language [illegible] the ordinary literary examinations [illegible] what is there to induce them to throw away this advantage and join the college? The Tsungli Yamên have their answer already prepared, and rejoin, 'We also can grant promotion.'

Again, such candidates would receive a salary in the course of time without entering the Tung Wen Kuan. Why is this advantage also to be abandoned? The Tsungli Yamên are again quite ready with their reply:

'We also can grant emoluments, and our promotions being speedy and salaries large, and literary men for the most part needy, they will be delighted to join us, and only too anxious not to be the hindmost. So that it appears that all the rising men are to transfer their ambition in the direction of the Tsungli Yamên. But with what propriety can the State, which has now prospered for more than two hundred years, employ its honours to pervert, and its emoluments to corrupt?

The petitioner is not aware what may be the opinion of the Tsungli Yamên itself, but his own view is that foreigners are the enemies of China, and that though apparently they treat with us on amicable terms, yet in their hearts they are revolving plots for ruin, being full of every kind of devilish craft and deceit.

The petitioner is continually watching to eat their flesh and sleep on their skins,[1] to make a mattress of us and thereby be long-faced hatred. How is it that the members of the Tsungli Yamên are so far from wishing to wipe out their shame and gratify their vengeance, on the contrary take the greatest pains to become them to instruct us?

Supposing it is alleged that foreign literature has its uses and that it is necessary to study it now that so much international business is being transacted, then surely the more should be selected from among those Chinese who are versed in foreign literature. What is it necessary to choose foreign persons for?

As regards the students they shall be young men [illegible] of about fourteen or fifteen years of age. What necessity is there to send great men of the second and third class [illegible] as if the affair were one of great importance?

It would be well to request that orders be sent to the provinces [illegible] to select [illegible] and forward them to the capital, [illegible] to undergo a [illegible] before they [illegible]

[1] The Japanese [illegible]

the ardent hope of the patriot, and would be never-to-be-forgotten event in the history of the government and people.

What a noble and straightforward response to the petitioners' loyal hopes, &c. &c. &c.

This reads very like genuine expression of the feeling of hatred with which the literati and official hierarchy of the richest Asiatic kingdom might naturally be expected to regard all barbarian innovations and pretensions to teach the disciples of Confucius anything under the sun. The high moral and intellectual superiority with which this preceptor of the young Emperor regards the whole matter has an air of sincerity, and well accords with all his known utterances. The outspoken view here with which the members of the Tsungli Yamen are denounced, although a Prince of the blood is its President, betokens either a strong conviction of the justice of his cause, or the strength of his position as the nucleus of a national party. Most probably both. The college has hitherto proved a great failure from many causes. Defects in its original constitution, and the inveterate hostility of the whole literary and official classes, have alone rendered it so contemptible. The last we heard of it was an action in the Supreme Court of Shanghai by a Chinese pupil to recover damages and costs for the non-fulfilment of the Newchwang treaty, brought against Mr Hart, the Inspector-General of Maritime Customs. Mr Hart forthwith returned the case, handed it to a British subject and the Chinese pupil to the Hongkong, who had to pay an enormous bill of costs for incompetent advice. Whether the Chinese Imperial Government are to recover anything from the Shanghai fiasco is very doubtful. There was a probability of a considerable balance being found at the end of the three years, which is available to any man of skill, and the only case in which damages — the real defendants of course being the Chinese Government. Whether the Privy Council will confirm the judgment on appeal remains to be seen, but in any case the whole staff of professors, German, French, and English, must have proved a very dear bargain to the Tsungli Yamen, and the failure attending this effort in a right direction to found a school for the education of the Chinese cannot but have a most disastrous influence in deterring the Foreign Office in Peking from any similar undertakings in future. As the fiasco of the Osborne-Lay fleet was nearly fatal to Wen-siang's influence and position, so has this costly and abortive effort to establish a foreign college proved a heavy discouragement to all concerned in promoting it, and is likely to be still more injurious to the few friends of progress China has ever produced. It has of course given a corresponding triumph to the anti-foreign party, strengthening their hands and encouraging them to better efforts. We can now point to the opinion, as entirely borne out by the result, that the scheme was 'utterly impracticable.' The long period of years required to attain any proficiency in the knowledge of the written character of the Chinese classics by the students, who, as a class, are generally extremely poor — and the prospect of an easier door being opened to office and advancement to a certain grade under the foreign tariff — must have deeply discouraged ambitious natures among the literati. Whether they all arrived at the pitch described by the memorialist, and were constantly wasting to feed the flesh and sweep on the coats of foreigners or not, it is certain they regarded the whole scheme with intense disgust. The foreign communities in China are clamorous against the Chinese Government for its anti-foreign and anti-pro-

The accurate will of foreigners in the hands of the barbarians and it will be next to impossible to check fabrication. Why, in the present imperious [illegible] of China, while peaceful [illegible] engage in extravagant [illegible] and dense plans characterized by [illegible] extreme duplicity as the present? How does it happen that the Tsungli Yamen dares to negotiate an affair [illegible]

Memorial to the throne praying H.M. to grant to the members of the Yamen exemption from attending the proposed audience, so as better to sustain the dignity of the Celestial Empire, and to prevent evil consequences from any expenditure.

These perhaps faithful and well-reasoned views he ventures humbly to submit to their Majesties.

The perusal of this document cannot fail to suggest many grave reflections. If we are to assume it to be genuine, as there is every reason to believe from internal evidence—and the true expression of the feelings and opinions of the educated mind of China in regard to foreign relations—it reveals a state of affairs which promises very ill for any progressive policy.

The irritation of the writer at the phrase used by the Tsungli Yamen of late years, which is said to imply a forgetfulness of the long arrears of hatred and vengeance yet unpaid, is amusing, if merely the impotent rage of an old man in his dotage raving at the degenerate times, but if, as he assumes, such feelings are shared by the entire people, even by the bulk of the educated and official classes, then it has a very serious import. And we believe this to be the fact. In lieu of the evidence which a State paper can supply, there is the [illegible] testimony to the same effect, and that, as we are told, it is never given by officials when not face with the barbarian. The expression of this term I [illegible] as a French and [illegible] in all documents and correspondence not intended for the perusal of foreigners, even in the most [illegible]

gressive spirit, but a little reflection might show how powerless any small minority of more enlightened Chinese holding high office in the capital must be, in the face of such resistance as the whole of the official and educated classes can offer to any innovation. And more especially is this opposition provoked by any proposition for improvement, either in education or administration, by means of foreign agencies. The memorial of Wo-jen in connection with the history of this college is full of instruction to those who can read facts as well as books. After this outburst it was sought to neutralise his violence and hostile influence by putting him on the Foreign Board, that he might both realise its difficulties and share its responsibilities. But Wo was too strong, and much too crafty and subtle, to let himself be put in such a position. Although the Imperial decree went forth nominating him, he never took his seat, and finally succeeded in being exonerated on the ground of ill health

The second paper on our list is also from Wo-jen, and is supposed to have been written later in the same year of 1866, about the period when the Burlingame mission was about to be despatched, and it is curious to see how this innovation in another direction was regarded by the national party, of which Wo is the mouthpiece. He begins by praying that "a decree may be issued to prohibit the Tsungli Yamen from considering the proposition of sending a Minister to the foreign nations, to the end that the dignity of the Chinese Empire may be maintained, and for the promotion of economy in expenditure. He kindly presents his memorial and submits the sacred grace thereon."

He then states the grounds of his petition, and reasons in support of his prayer as follows:

On the 26th day of the 10th moon my memorialist read with reverence the following Imperial Decree:

"We have received a memorial from the Tsungli Yamen to the effect that the amicable relations between China and foreign Powers are now of some standing, and seeing that the official who was sent in 1864[1] to the various foreign countries failed to visit America, it is now proposed to appoint Anson Burlingame, the resident United States Minister, to the post of Chinese Envoy, and to request that the Foreign [illegible] Kingsmill, [illegible] may be joined to the Chinese official grade and associated with Burlingame, to accompany an English and French official to act as Secretaries of Legation, and to escort two officials from each of the three departments of the Board of Foreign Affairs with a letter addressed to the official powers and will accompany the Mission. They request to forward to them and examine the letters and credentials [illegible] in every way free from [illegible] matters which [illegible] the interests of the two countries, and [illegible] to be attended with advantage in the matter of treaty revision. We have to find that all is as we desired. Respect this."

He then proceeds in strictly logical order to state his reasons for objecting to the whole scheme:

In the opinion of the memorialist, all the [illegible] proposals of the Barbarians may be given to the winds, [illegible] the advantage to be derived from the Envoy. The following [illegible] to the scheme are [illegible] against the Mission:

1. The Barbarians [illegible] are not [illegible] foreigners are [illegible] Now if they [illegible] that the foreigners of the Mission [illegible] become [illegible] of the Chinese [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

in 1866 that an official should be despatched to foreign countries, the only nation of which he had the most distant knowledge was America. It will therefore be expedient to send a mission to that country. [illegible] had [illegible] and the [illegible] for the purpose of visiting foreign nations. [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

clamations addressed to the people, plainly shows the spirit that animates the whole official hierarchy. The courtesy with which our Representatives are referred to by the Yamén is the first grief and ground of objection of the Great Secretary. The rank of 'Imperial Envoy' bestowed is the second objection to the mission, as doing foreign Powers too much honour. And he is of opinion 'that such an excessive compliment should be paid the Americans is very objectionable.' Our cousins are very much disposed on the other side of the Atlantic to flatter themselves they enjoy exceptional favour in the eyes of the Chinese. It is a great delusion on their part, as is well known by residents in China, but not the less a generally received opinion which the American press delights to air on every occasion. It is not Wo, at all events, that will endorse this flattering suggestion.' Of course he objects to a foreigner's being selected to represent the Celestial Empire, and is indignant at the more 'astounding notion of placing a Chinese functionary of the second grade in a subordinate position.' That 'folly and stupidity should reach such a pitch as this' is more than he can understand. Then again, as to another object of the mission, the ascertaining 'what are the customs and intimations of foreigners,'—does not the Yamén know 'they are nothing but lawless license and cunning, while their intimations are simply foolish and malignant?' As to any influence the mission may exercise on the coming revision of treaties, what can be the benefit? He asks, 'Is the Yamén not aware that any benefit that may arise is sure to be on the side of the barbarians, while the disadvantage always falls to the Chinese? Who will assert that barbarians are willing to make advantageous [illegible] China?' The summary rejection by the merchants of the recent Convention, in which a mutual interchange of advantages and concessions was contemplated, will not have tended to weaken Wo's conviction of the extreme folly of ever expecting anything from Western merchants and Governments but fresh demands for their own advantage. These constitute the five main objections of the patriotic Grand Secretary, to which he adds a sixth in the lavish scale of expense sanctioned — all the more that 'the accounts will of course be in the hands of barbarians, and it will be next to impossible to check falsification.' This is not flattering, certainly; our probity being one of the things on which we Britishers most pride ourselves, and are least disposed to believe other nations can question. But if, as is generally believed, there be any good in seeing ourselves as others see us, and getting rid of all illusions, even at the cost of some pain and mortification, we ought to congratulate ourselves on having Wo to hold the mirror and being allowed to read two such memorials, submitted to their Majesties by one of the highest placed of Chinese officials. His views may be, as he humbly suggests, 'foolish,' but we think our readers will agree with us, that they are by no means 'ill-expressed,' even when read with all the disadvantages of a translation made as nearly literal as the different genius and construction of the two languages will admit. They are clear, direct, and to the point, however unpalatable they may be to foreigners. If they should prove of as much interest to English readers as we cannot help thinking such documents ought to be, both in a psychological and a political point of view, we may in another Number give some further samples.

RAMBLES.

By Patrick Walker, Esq.

A BIRD'S EYE VIEW FROM CROW CASTLE.

I SHUT my eyes and open them again. Am I dreaming? It seems as if this morning (or was it a month ago?) I was endangered in a labyrinth of grimy, busy streets. Modern England moved and clattered and chaffered around me. Bus men and bourse men, costermongers and merchant princes, pickpockets, street-haunters, newsboys, waggons, chariots, swells and 'gents of the period,' with all the sights, sounds, and colours of a huge, shapeless modern city, from which was no escape, and no other kind of life seemed possible.

City streets have melted like mist. Nay, I am no longer in England, but emphatically in 'a Strange Land,' as all the English call it so. I rest on a wild and lonely hill-top, watching the glad morning sun of a September day, shining gaily veil of gossamer mist on the slopes of many-coloured forests. Westward, even to the gates of sunset, spreads the mysterious realm, ethereal as dream, but more permanent. I see it all clear, and straight below me the steep green fields and sloping woods to a Valley far away, with winding river and scattered villages. Among the opposite mountains of the Vale, one steep crag with its much crumbled ruins of a Castle, very ancient, whose founders name or time no man now knows rightly. The gray stones seem one with the wild rock of which it forms, across which now burns a last ruddy ray of evening. The lower slopes of the hill fall into a wide green, with rocky faces here and there open. A few wild sheep that stare and scour away, and a wide-winged plover flitting round with outlandish whinge, uneasy at my presence, are the only living things I see.

What is this strange country? The world is not like a map. When you look forth from a hill-top you see no names marked on the landscape. In reality places have no names, nor men and women either. Names are extraneous artificialities, convenient so long and so far as people agree about their form. And on this matter people differ extremely, and much puzzlement is the result. The English call this region by a name signifying the Strange or Outlandish Country, the natives naturally call it much otherwise. What boots it? Here are ancient mountains, rocky ribs of our earth, and vault of sky clear and with the last light of one more day of earth's history. What are 'Italy,' 'France,' 'England,' and all the rest, but names, words, which some use and far more reject? A landscape, above all things, has no name, not even the pretence of one.

Yet words of some sort we must have, or how am I to go on telling you? I will ask this old woman sidling in a bye-lane half way down the hill how she names her Valley. She is dried, sure enough, in a very strange way, peculiar to this country, and much like a witch in a story-book. She stares bewildered in answer to my question, I ask again, very distinctly, and she utters two or three words in an unknown tongue. A main road farther down leads me towards a large village. On a corner is a large printed notice which I stop to read, but this too is all in an unknown tongue, fifty times stranger than French or Italian, German or Spanish.

It was a comfort to find that the people at the inn spoke English intelligibly, though with a strong foreign accent, and there were several English tourists in the dining-room, with one of whom, a mild old gentleman, I had some pleasant conversation. After dinner we were agreeably surprised with music, the old airs of the country performed on an extremely ancient sort of stringed instrument, which was no other than a harp; nor in fact were we otherwhere than in the land of Gwynedd in Kymru, named by the Saxons or English 'North Wales.'

In good sooth, Wales to this day — day of the nineteenth century, with its railways, electric telegraphs, *Daily Telegraphs*, Lowell Addresses, et cetera — is in many ways notably unlike England. Unlike, indeed, now from the larger and more fertile part of the island by any Offa's Dyke, river, line of castles, or other visible march, no shires geographically and legally a piece of England, the people here have thoughts, habits, ways of life of their own, and a language of their own, not only generally spoken and written, preached and sung, but taking the shape of books, magazines, and newspapers, produced and accepted on the ordinary principles of supply and demand; which language of course with many mutations and accretions is no other at basis than that which ancient Britain spoke before the Teuton tribes who gave name and shape to 'England' were ever heard of in the island.

Those tribes, Angles, Saxons, and others, came to call themselves by the general name of 'English;' but to this the Britons never gave in, and in this part of the island Saxons is still the name for all English people. In this the Welsh, Irish, and Scottish Kelts are at one. But the English on their part go much farther in disregard of their neighbours' claim to self-designation: 'British' they appropriate, in a loose way, to themselves; 'Kymri' they ignore; and call the people of this western region 'Strangers'—'Foreigners'—'Outlandish Folk'—for this and nothing else is the meaning of the term 'Welsh.' The Saxon invaders began by calling the British 'Wealas,' and the word sticks to this day. There were 'Bret-wealas' (which included the mountaineers of the west); there were 'Strath-clud-wealas' to the north of them, and 'Corn-wealhas' (Cornish) to the south.[1]

This people of ancient race dwelling in the mountainous west wing of Britain name their own land Kymru, and the crown of it Kymru—wherefrom at first sight derivation presents itself Kimbri-Kymmerians—were these their ancestors? and

[1] [illegible]

who were they? The night of time has closed over them in true 'Kimmerian darkness'.

What are they all their language to the Irish? 'Nothing at all!' answered Sir William Betham and others; but were quite in error, in spite of their elaborated evidences and arguments. Our best authorities (Zeuss and other indefatigable Teutons) teach us otherwise. Both are representatives of the ancient Keltic people who have been intermingled with after-comers, nigh submerged, almost overwhelmed, yet remain to this day recognisable. Their language too survives, oldest of living European tongues, lingering among mountains and sea-coast rocks and caves a strange and affecting relic of the monumental past. It sounds almost as ancient as the sea-gull's cry or the fall of the breaking wave, or the dash of the mountain torrent.

Of the two remaining dialects of the Keltic tongue are the Armorican, established by geographical separation, in the West, Cornish, and Breton, and the Gaelic of Ireland and Scotland. Gaelic and Manx are offshoots of the great Irish stem, if indeed they are to be regarded as more than dialects, and yet speakers by centuries of Irish, save Cornish, which fell extinct about a century ago, and for the most important of them a literature of grammatical treatises and manuscripts, many of which are still unpublished, and the Breton, which [illegible] Welsh [illegible] Manx are [illegible] of the great Irish stem, if indeed they are to be regarded as more than dialects, and yet speakers by centuries of Irish, save Cornish, which fell extinct about a century ago, and for the most important of them a literature of grammatical treatises and manuscripts, many of which are still unpublished, and the Breton, which [illegible]

[illegible]

I had watched that sunset from [illegible] the Heryan Hills above the village of Llangelynin (the church of [illegible], and the Welsh saint); the accompaniment was 'The Harp,' and the musician a Welsh harper, who played 'The March of the Men of Harlech,' 'South Hall,' or 'the Allurements of Love,' and 'Cader Idris,' commonly known as 'Jenny Jones.'

Charles Mathews (the present evergreen actor) put the well-known English words to this last, which have at least a touch of pastoral simplicity, in Welsh-English, a breath of natural sweetness, caught by the clever young engineer (as C. M. was in his early days) among these hills and glens:

My name's Evan Morgan, I live in Llangynfelyn,
The Vale of St Taffy, the flower of North Wales,
My father and mother, too, lived in Llangynfelyn,
Good people I was born in that sweetest of places, &c.

Far from first-rate in its way; yet not mere gas-light lyrics, unrefreshing as its commonplace 'parlour party' roses and foliage. Mathews's 'Jenny Jones' is no doubt, on the whole, of the stage-pastoral kind; it gets material from country life to amuse the citizen; but it does this in an innocent and sympathising manner, not flavoured with the knowing town-sweet now in vogue. One might believe that Mephistopheles had in good truth become our Master of Revels in these latter days, were it not for the lack of wit and invention. Songs used to come up from the country to town, but now—whatever might happen to both after their arrival—but now it is the town that gives songs to the country—and bad songs!

I confess these things do not seem to me altogether trivial. Individual character (the unit of national character) is built up of countless petty influences and habits, and songs and music, methinks, can do no trifling harm or good to individuals and to nations. I do not believe that the presence of

[illegible]

[illegible] Llan Gynfelyn.

absence of the musical and lyrical faculty (or of any kind of artistic faculty) gives the least indication of the general character of a man or a nation. Marked artistic faculty is found in connection, here with one set of qualities, there with a set entirely different. The Irish, with their cousins the Welsh, are nationally musical; and the Scotch, grown unlike to these in many things, retain a thread of old cousinship in music. The Germans are musical; so are the Italians; and so after their own fashion are the Negroes. There is much variety of character among nations represented musically by the diligent Herr Kapellmeister and learned contrapuntist, the idle nigger, the careless gondolier, the striking harper and piper. Haydn said he would rather have written the old Irish air 'Aileen Aroon' (*Eibhlin a Ruin*, 'Eveleen my Darling') than a dozen of his own best. But if every type of individual and national character can consort with musical genius, music is not the less a gift and grace, sweetening and embellishing man's life; nay, not seldom helping his uneasy steps—if not over a 'burning marle'—over some rough and tiresome piece of road; and what music we have ought to be good, not bad; and the people in music ought to learn, as they may, from the richer. In regard to 'classical music' we are perhaps improving on the whole; certainly there is more of it and less in cultivated English circles than used to be. Yet most of the drawing-room songs in vogue are dismally weak and empty; and as to national and popular song (in which words and music are always to be reckoned together) there is everywhere a sad falling off. England proper at no time ranked high as a singing people; the English peasant has ever been stolid in matters of music and poetry. It must be owned that eating and drinking is his favourite lyrical subject, after which comes a rough matter-of-fact amorousness, with seldom a touch of tenderness or imagination. Yet here too was no lack of old melodies, sturdy or quaint (if decidedly on a lower level than the Irish, Scottish, and Welsh), and words that smacked of the soil. But the songs of England are now the songs of the London Music Halls, and the lyrical blight is spreading over Scotland and Wales too, and has crossed the Irish Sea. English musicians in the last couple of centuries produced a rich crop of *part-songs*, glees, catches, &c., many of these good both in music and words; but they fly over the heads of our peasants and artisans for want of a little early culture in music. I wish the new School Boards would have *part-songs* taught to their young people all over the kingdom.

This Saturday night, at Llangollen, as I issued from the door of the Hand for a moonlight walk, the town band (as I found it to be) came round a corner of the street followed by all the youth of the place. It was not playing *Ar hyd y nos* ('All through the Night') or the Harlech March, or even 'Jenny Jones,' but

> 'Rule, Britannia! here we are again,
> And, as ever, we are we!'

an air with a couple of rather dreary and catching lines, the rest all to words more or less gin and water. All the associations of the thing are of gas-light and gutter.

Might not these gentlefolk who patronise the sentiment which labours to sustain the ancient Kymric spirit by their *Eisteddfodau* and so on, do something more than is done to keep active and popular the brave old music of their country, and to prevent its being ousted by the disgusting lyricism of 'Jolly Nash and the Great Vance'? It would be easier to keep alive the music than the language, and, as appears

to some, it would be a better thing to do. Kymric is spoken by a few thousand people, and there is no possibility of its spreading. English is the tongue of trade, of law, of literature and science, of general intercourse, for a vast and constantly increasing proportion of mankind. A knowledge of Kymric in addition, or any second language, if properly acquired and assimilated, may be an accomplishment of value to some; but this, at best, would be too dearly bought by any interference with the free and general use of English. If the question be, Should Welsh be learned as an accomplishment?—By all means, by those who have the art and taste. But, should Welsh be as far as possible kept up as the language of West Britain, the people be encouraged to converse in Welsh, to sing in Welsh, to read in Welsh, to pray in Welsh, to think in Welsh, and English be only known supplementarily as a useful foreign tongue? Answer. No: it is, on the whole, would decidedly do far more harm than good.

The varieties of language among mankind have given rise to a great many remarkable variations of circumstance, and matters are all wave of change, and many curious questions in the art of expression have arisen. Newspaper-formed speech has to react on the language and on thought. The philologist, ethnological literary student, and finally the historian (who ought to be all three and much besides) will find a great work for many a long year to come. Yet the vast mass of human speech, in more than one of its great and leading forms, is already distinct language and well made up. But variety of language, interesting and valuable as are many of its results, seems to me regretted by many to be at the present day a hopeless thing to be progressed, and that if we could reduce all the living languages of the civilised world to half-a-dozen, to three, nay to one, it would on the whole be a most blessed improvement. The disused languages would of course remain in their monuments for scientific and literary study.

This is one of the many things in our foolish (yet fathomless) earthly life on which I expect to look back with amusement—these fuss people make about their 'language.' We use certain words in this street for bread and salt, cat and dog, rain and snow, while in the very next street they use quite another set. How proud each street is of its own way of talking! Social intercourse between the two is imperfect and awkward. If an inhabitant of A street goes into a shop in B street, he does not know what to ask for or how to pay for it; if he buys a book, he cannot read it; if he catches some words, he half misunderstands them; and he wholly and habitually misunderstands the manners and customs, thoughts and interests of B street in general. Imperfect intercourse, rival interests, constant suspicion, frequent quarrels—such is the mutual attitude of A street and B street. It would be too much to expect that Europe (to say nothing of Asia) should melt down its general speech into unity with many desirable future parallel. France is very proud of her supposed bastard Latin, trimmed and adjusted and polished within an inch of its life, very elegant for all that. Voltaire would like to see Italy, Spain, Portugal, and Roumania to her civilising level. Some thinking Slavs are beginning to be heard from, and Germany (that is, Germans of the Teutonic and Scandinavian branches) are already provided with the best yet. If they have but few more literary languages to work up to, the new era will be that day. Will Europe live

for ever, or be absorbed by the cognate and conquering Russian? will even Turanian 'Magyar,' politically luckier, survive, or its allied Finnish by the Icy Sea; or the faint whispers of those curious Basque folk in Pyrenean vales? Is Portuguese necessary to the world, or Wallachian, or the Romansch of the Grisons, all modifications of the dialects of Old Italy; or the Slavonic Bohemian and Bulgarian; or the Albanian, supposed relic of the 'barbarians' who bordered on ancient Greece? Is there need of the divided Danish, Swedish, and Icelandic, or of Flemish and Netherlandish speech distinct from German? Then think of the throng of dialects. It is a lucky thing that usually a central classical dialect has dominated in each—a great practical gain which we owe to the literary class, and mainly to the poets.

Irish Gaelic is dying out as a spoken tongue, and every attempt to prolong its existence is labour thrown away. Not very much, however, is tried for it. it has no modern newspapers and magazines, or meeting of bards patronised by the gentry, or prize essays. So much the better. It is but an obstruction to real progress. And such also are spoken Erse, and spoken Welsh. Keep up your wild old music among the people, bards and gentlemen of Wales, a language that addresses all mankind, and let the Kymric tongue always be fully patched with broken Welsh and English—let it sink, unregenerated, into its quiet natural repose, not forgotten, nor remembered with extreme touches of natural pathos, as a theme all the past, and chiefly the past of our native hills and fields, dance and song, romance and story, and our own.

It is time for artificially propping up a language of many centuries' literary, political, sentimental. The study of Keltic literature is not likely to suffer by the failure of Keltic as a living tongue. It is not the Welsh or Irish peasant who elucidates to the world the relics of ancient grammar, law, romance, and poetry, but some cultivated Zeuss, Grimm, Villemarqué, Llwyd, O'Donovan, O'Curry. Policy of government, which formerly set itself against the use of the ancient tongue of these islands, especially in Ireland, has no longer any temptation to concern itself directly with the matter; but unity of speech ought to be the aim of the ruling powers of the kingdom, and of every influential person—each a ruler in his own sphere.

Sentimentally, I feel as strongly about old habitudes, old ways of speech, old churches and houses too, old trees, as most people, and to hear the strange-sounding Speech of incalculably ancient days surviving on the lips of a peasant among the wild mountains of *Donegal* or *Kerry* gives me a thrill of delight not unmixed with awe. Yet I know at the same time that causes as wide as all humanity are working together, and on the whole beneficently working, to its gradual extinction; and this conviction deepens the feeling with which I listen to its accents, and at the same time utterly confirms all artificial struggles to prolong its natural life.

My bedroom window at 'the Head' gave a pleasant morning glimpse of Dee (sacred river of the old Britons, now befouled by water, rushing from pool to pool among the rocks and ledges of its bed, and between me and it was the old churchyard. Through the ivy-grown cemetery rose the white house and slated roofs of three new streets by the river is crossed by an ancient stone bridge, on either side of the bay, and not more than a mile, with Dee Bank, the 'Castle,' Hammerton, on its park

lar steep; the general valley closing up westwards to the hills, and opening out to the east and the English border. Glen of the Water of Ibex, whence Owain of Cattle, and Llewelyn Gethin were by the Saxon foe, sallied forth so often in his long and obstinate resistance to the Fourth Henry of England.

Cross the old bridge, trodden by the feet of fifteen generations of villagers, take the upward lane, then bend to the left, and we come to a delicious bit of water-side walk. The canal, which runs from Ibex to bear the burdens of a slate quarry, is little used. Firs and other trees overshadow the broad path beside it, and the clear greenish gray water, which has current enough to carry the fallen leaf steadily away. In the sunlight it is liquid amber, and see among those waving green weeds the throng of little olive-backed fishes, that come and vanish without rest, now in sunny gleam and now in cool shade. O happy are the little fishes! I could almost say I envy them as I see the dragon-flies, those winged creatures of earth and air, hovering over the water, or resting on the reeds for one moment, a group of living, breathing gems, gray and blue and green, part animal, part bird, part flower, and part best of all, a piece of fairy jewellery, and I wonder whether the Saxon Odin, who loved to ride on the wind, ever thought of making himself a dragon-fly, and flashing through the air on gauzy wings. Many a time and oft have I watched the Crow Castle Odin, and wished myself a dragon-fly, that I might see it all from above, and not be obliged to look up to it. The Abbey is passed but not entered, and I cast but a hasty glance at the ivy-covered walls, as I remember that I have a long walk before me, and that the afternoon is wearing on. An inhabited farm-house, itself of gray antiquity, nestles among its lofty walls, with an old orchard by whose boundary grow elder-bushes, black with ripened berries, and some huge ash-trees, round which a colony of rooks are cawing. Sleek cows graze in the green meadow by the brook. The surrounding hills, clothed on their lower slopes with foliage, just touched with yellowing autumn, rise aloft into a range of bare and almost austere summits. All this is in a glorious northward view of Llangollen Vale, and a field or two from the Abbey, and belonging to the same seclusion, stands a yet more ancient and pathetic record of bygone time—a round stone pillar, some seven feet high, on a quadrangular base. "Eliseg's Pillar"—the Column of Eliseg! A much worn inscription in Latin runs round the pillar, which has been interpreted as recording that the stone was raised (probably about one thousand two hundred years ago) by Cyngen to the memory of his great-grandfather Eliseg. And Eliseg is thought to have been a prince of the country, and to have lived in Dinas Bran, while his little city, Castell Dinas Bran, crowned the Crow Castle, which towers over the Abbey and Llangollen Vale. Eliseg's Pillar, I suppose, is a memorial of the battle in which Dinas Bran was finally taken by the Saxons, and the Saxon Odin

O Dinas Brân,
Thy gates are gone.—
Truly the Wild Birds' Castle now!
To thy fortress-height
From a field of fight
The raven returns, and the carrion-crow.

Well done, Bard! I have seen worse things in the Sunday papers, as Mr. Mould says. These few lines, even in the disadvantage of translation, expand into a picture of ruin and desolation amid a fierce environment. The Castle, of no small area, was dug up out of the stony hill-crest on which it stands, and the quarry all round it made its dry moat, which to this day remains broad and deep, though here and there partly filled with tumbled masonry. Rich and wide are the prospects from lofty Dinas Brân, up the Vale and down the Vale, woods and fields along the winding Dee, interfolded and many-headed hill region to north and west and south-west, and behind, separated by a deep glen, a range of rocky precipice, severe and lonely, but in some places marked with quarry-labour. The old Glyndwyrdwy, 'Glen of the Water of Dee,' probably reached from beyond Bala Lake to nigh the Cheshire border, some forty English miles and a great part of its extent lies subject to the gazer from Dinas Brân. 'Owen Glendower's country'—'wild Glendower' (yet the lord of Deeside was a man of high culture and accomplishments)—the last leader recognised as 'King of Wales'—a notable native personage in Welsh history. Four centuries and a half ago these hills knew him well, and sometimes echoed his war-cry. In Owen's day Dinas Brân was to ruin; and his bard, Iolo Goch, has left a song in praise of a beautiful modern dwelling in that high castle, which heart he wished to melt.

But before Owen, what of Wales as a separate country? Have I any distinct recollection?

My recollections and guesses on Crow Castle that day I afterwards pieced out, with help of some of the most credible books; but as usual, it was not easy to disentangle any length of clear thread. One must cut and snip, and piece out in make-shift fashion at best.

Here is a map of what is now called 'North and South Wales,' a part of the old 'Kymru,' which extended (say broadly) northward to the Clyde, southward to the Land's End, and westward to the Severn. Kymru was one large division of the island, and had on its east border the land of 'Loegyr,' on its north 'Alban,' all three peopled mainly by Kelts, but each with a more or less distinct social existence. Kymru seems to have early become predominant over the other two divisions. North of Alban, in the wilds of Caledonia, were 'Picts,' or 'Pechs'—most likely Scandinavian folk—of whom much has been written and little made out. *Brythons*—'Britons,' probably the name at first of one tribe—gradually became current as the name of all these Kelts. They lived on the tribal system; each tribe with its chosen chief (who must be healthy in mind and body), upper chiefs or minor kings ruled districts of several tribes, and there was sometimes, not always, it would seem, a head king elected from the rest, with special powers of control. Their Druids, mysterious, obscure, who appear to have been both priests and judges, did their ceremonies under the shadow of ancient oaks and amid huge sacrificial stones. In a second hierarchal rank stood the Bards, who were poets, gnomists, and historians. The life of the tribes was pastoral; they kept cattle, sheep, and swine, and some lived, in small beehive stone huts, in wicker-built ones, and in wooden houses. Metal-working, and carpentry for the men, and weaving for the women,

were their chief hand-labours. The richer enclosed their habitations with walls or earthworks, occupied themselves with hunting and war, drank ale and mead, and listened to poems and music. The men's dress was tunic and trousers, with cloak of wool or fur, and ornaments of gold and silver were not rare. Parts of the skin were sometimes dyed or streaked with dark blue, and the men wore their hair long. Club and javelin, sword and spear were the chief weapons, the little coracle of hide on wicker carried them across rivers and inlets, and sometimes in rude ships they hazarded farther voyage into the dim world of waters. The burial places of families were marked with monumental stones, and for a man of note the cairn was piled on some conspicuous hill.

The Romans came to Britain, and gradually pushed their legions and fortified camps into the western fastnesses of the Kymry, but not easily. Caradog (*Latine*, Caractacus) fought them for nine years ere betrayed and sent captive to the great city on Tiber. At Kaerleon (Chester, *Legionum*) upon the Usk, and Kaerleon on the Dee (now Caerleon) and elsewhere the conquerors had their stations.

Many Britons were enlisted into the armies of Rome. About A.D. 345, Diocletian Emperor, we find the Kymric Karawn (Carausius) made Admiral of the Roman fleet in those seas, and after many successes this Karawn is chosen for their head man by both the Britons and the Roman colonists, and assisted Emperor of Britain. He remains here as a rebel, but he has a predecessor in person of one [illegible] at Rome [illegible] 344 [illegible]

[illegible]

now tottering, Honorius resigned possession of the island (A.D. 409), and native rule was restored.

Christianity meanwhile had been flowing in, and overpowering the old creeds. There were at this time numerous bishops in existence. The native kings, the corporate cities established under Roman law, the bishops, these tried to provide for the government of the country, and its defence against various assailants—Picts in the north, Irish in the west, and by-and-by, most dangerous of all, the Saxons and Angles in the east and south. Irish invaders about this period (400—410) had succeeded in occupying as conquerors a great part of what is now called North and South Wales; but the Kymri, as times improved, gradually expelled and absorbed the intrusive *Gwyddyl*. A peaceful invasion of holy men from Erin was more welcome, who founded numerous churches and religious houses, and whose names are not yet forgotten.

But the famous Dewi or Devi (David) was of Kymric blood. Son of a prince of Cardigan, he became priest and bishop, founded many monasteries and wrought divers miracles. At the Synod of Brevy in Cardigan (A.D. 519?) he utterly refuted the doctrines of 'the infernal monster' Pelagius.[1] He was (544?) attended in his last hour we read, by a visible troop of angels; and his church, which he had built on a remote and rocky promontory (moving the see thither from Kaerleon) and dedicated to St. Andrew the Apostle, was afterwards called mainly by his own name,—sometimes called the Church of St Andrew and St. David.

The Bishops of St David's were in a long succession vegetarians and abstained from flesh (we read) as well as [illegible] by pirates, and [illegible] to a certain bishop in

[illegible]

Ireland on the night of his death, showing his wounds, and saying 'Because I ate flesh I am become flesh' (or carrion).[1] Pious Devi and his successors probably lived much on leeks, of which the soil of South Wales is prolific, and hence, it seems likely, their devout people came to look on the humble vegetable as in a manner hallowed;—sacred associations and memories now shrunk to a leek in a Welshman's hat, he knows not why, on the First of March. That Welshmen, *after* David's time, wore leeks in their hats in some victorious fight with the Saxons, is also very credible, but is not, to my mind, the reason (as commonly said) of the Welsh honour for the leek.

Some say St. David was uncle of King Arthur,—real king, perhaps, of the districts of Gwent and Morganwg; cloud-king of a wide realm of fable and song; made to reflect from his cloudy environment in a far-away century the chivalric notions and fantasies of the Thirteen Hundreds, and again the poetic art and morale of our own day. The mighty wizard, his friend, has left his own name alive in Caermarthen, properly *Kaer Merddin*, 'Merlin's Castle;' and doubtless he too was once a real man. Thus often shapes itself the after-fame of early warrior, or poet, or saint. Around Arthur floats a dream of chivalry: in a mist of magic and miracles the true memories of Merlin and of Bishop David lie hid.

Gwynedd, Powys, Deheubarth (i.e. dexter, right hand, equivalent to south; east being the Keltic cardinal point) were the three main divisions, northern, middle, and southern, of the land we now call Wales; each usually with its own king or princes. Arthur's Gwent and Morganwg were subdivisions of Deheubarth, as were also Dyfed (from David) and Gower. The kings and sub-kings often fought among themselves, and to crush each other seldom scrupled to ally themselves with any available foreign force. Such were the Keltic tribes and their chieftains in Erin: such were they in Kymru.

When the North-Teuton peoples, who first landed in Kent some forty years after the Romans were gone, had spread north, south, and west, breaking down all opposition, and founding three English kingdoms,—Mercia, the central and largest, touched Kymru all along its western border. For years and generations and centuries, battle, murder, and sudden death raged along those marches, and Severn, with his tributary brooks, carried seaward much Welsh and English blood. In like manner English Wessex and the Kymri of 'West Wales' (Somerset, Devon, Cornwall—the Horn Wales, being a promontory) dashed furiously against each other, the native ever slowly giving ground to the Teuton.

The Kymri and other Britons were Christians, the English were pagans. But now comes into Kent the Roman monk Augustine with a mission from Pope Gregory (A.D. 597), is permitted by King Ethelbert to preach, and to make a settlement at Canterbury, converts the people, and is made 'Bishop of the English.' The Britons, though already Christians, were not of the right pattern. they kept Easter at a wrong date; their priests shaved front instead of crown, in a word, they did not take their orders from Rome. Augustine called a synod of British and English clergy (A.D. 603?) on Gloucestershire, 'at a place which is to this day called Augustine's Oak.'[2] Diplomatic and ecclesiastic powers vainly try to move the Britons from their old ways. Augustine

[1] See Rhys, *Hibbert Lectures*, p. 58.

[2] Probably the place now called Aust

produced a blind man 'of English race,' laide the opposing host to cure him by prayer; and they failing, Augustine himself fell on his knees and prayed fervently, whereon 'immediately the third man received sight,' which made a deep impression on all present. The Britons clearly asked how they must treat their people, a second synod was held, but still there was disagreement, and Augustine in parting foretold war and slaughter to them in punishment of their contumacy. 'All which, through the direction of the Divine judgment, fell out exactly as he had predicted. For afterwards the warlike king of the English, Ethelfred, having raised a strong army, made a very great slaughter of that people at the City of Legions, which by the English is called Legaceaster, but by the Britons more properly Carlegion Cester.' The king saw some priests of the Britons who were standing in a place apart, and asking who they were, was told, 'Monks of Bangor, come to pray for the fight and entreat.' 'Then,' said the king, 'though they bear no arms, they fight against us with their prayers,' and ordered them to be first slain, and the rest of them were slain. Then the army of the Britons was assailed and defeated, and Bede, 'with the Venerable Bede,' was followed the persecution of the holy Bishop Augustine, which he himself allows he had before taken up into the history of the English people, that the reader might know that the British priests were also to undergo the punishment of eternal death, because they refused to preach the faith to the English Kings after the manner of Roman priests. But the Britons were not to be converted, because they became a convert after the Pope's own heart.

The history goes on, a monotonous wrangle of 'Saxon' against Kymry — Edwine and Offa (to the latter matter now) against Kynans and Karadoc—A, B, and C versus O, P, and Q one feature of marching hosts into each other's territory, destroying all before them, and again driven back in turn with great slaughter. But the rule of the game is from year to year, and from generation to generation against the Welsh. The English kings creep up upon the Welsh border, and moreover, the Welsh kings, great and little, have to own sickness, and pay tribute of gold and silver, hawks and hounds, and sometimes of women's heads, to their powerful Saxon neighbours, the kings of Wessex and Mercia.

In the year 844 the three provinces of Kymri were for the first time united by having one king, Rhodri Mawr Ruler of the Great who by his father was king of Powys, by his mother king of Gwynedd, and by his wife king of Dyfed-barth. His sons succeeded him, Anarawd as king of Gwynedd and head of the nation, Cadell as king of Dehenbarth and Merfyn of Powys. Egbert Alfred the Great, who now reigned at Wessex, was forced by Anarawd and made with the Kymri. The roaming Danes, those fierce pagans, were usually overcome in the end of both, and ravaged English and Welsh lands impartially. And down from St David's the Norse and Welsh monk Asser (whose work is the basis of Stubbs's own high discourse) tells us that the Danes were very Lucifer-like. Beaten and driven by the Saxons to the West, they were still under their Britons.

[1] [illegible] Thus (Chronicon two hundred; Bede says about two hundred

Saxon Alfred, a king who could fight when need was, swayed and united men by bonds of kindness and peace, like few (alas!) of those who went before or came after him. And a few years after Alfred's death, a Welshman of no unlike nature, Howel, son of Cadell and grandson of Rhodri-Mawr, received by birthright the kingdoms of Powys and Deheubarth (year 915); his cousin Idwal, son of Anarawd, becoming king of Gwynedd. Howel out of his personal character was elected monarch of all Kymru—*Brenhin Pennaith* (though Gwynedd by rule took lead of the other two kingdoms) -and justified the national choice by a peaceful and prosperous reign of thirty-three years, winning him for all future time the name of *Hywel Dda*, Howel the Good. Here again a wise man shone forth like the blessed sun in heaven. He excited no jealousy in his Kymric cousin, King Idwal, made no quarrels with the son and daughter of Saxon Alfred—Edward, King of Wessex, and Ethelfleda, Lady of the Mercians. When a territorial question arose with King Athelstan, Howel had it referred to a Witangemot (of which assembly the Welsh kings were members), that met at Hereford; and the river Wye was then fixed as boundary of South Wales. This Athelstan (a man unlike his grandfather Alfred) drove out the Welsh who dwelt in Exeter, deeming people of their race dangerous inhabitants of 'Saxonia'—as Asser in his Latin always terms England, his dear native Wales being 'Britannia.'

King Howel laboured diligently, in peaceful ways, for the good of his people, and set about a general reformation and levelling of the Ancient Laws. Here a large fragment of these, with the art of the harper, lies on my table, published by Her Majesty's Government in 1841, Kymric on the left-hand page, English on the right; a book of great interest, of which I hope to give some account hereafter. These old Laws abound in curious traits of manners, and are full of wisdom and humanity.

Such men, and especially kings, as Howel the Good, are so much wanted, 'tis pity they cannot have their lease of earthly life renewed by the Head Landlord and Lifelord! But they themselves would scarcely consent to the renewal. Howel gone (A.D. 948), all was again confusion; his four sons and their five cousins, sons of Idwal, fell to wrangling and bloodshed. The Kymri tore each other fiercely, and at the same time suffered attacks from various other foes. Take a few clippings from their annals:—[1]

A.D.

919 A great snow in the month of March. The sons of Arthur [of Norse race, from Ireland] devastated Caer Gybi [in Anglesea].

961. Powys devastated by the Pagans [Danes, doubtless].

965. The Saxons devastated the kingdoms of the sons of Idwal.

966. Rhodri, son of Idwal, slain, and Aberffraw [in Anglesea] devastated.

967. Iago, son of Idwal, banished his brother Ieuav. Ieuav was imprisoned, and after that hanged.

968. Gower [in South Wales] devastated by Hywel, son of Owain.

969 Mark, son of Harold, devastated Penmon.

970 Nine hundred and seventy was the year of Christ when Godfrey son of Harold devastated Mona [Anglesea] and by great craft subjugated the whole island.

And so it goes on, page after page, a wearisome calendar of rapine and ferocity.

The Saxon Brenwalda Athelstan, 29 years old, duly crowned at Kingston as King of the English and Lord of all Britain, tried to keep up peaceful relations and intercourse between the contending Welsh kings, or rajas,

[1] Many Triads, as the [illegible] of the Island [illegible]

his paramount authority (year 973).[1] Eight tributary kings met him and made oath of fealty, and on the morrow King Edgar and they took boat on the Dee, eight kings rowed and King Edgar steered, himself being in other vessels, and so came to the monastery of St John the Baptist for mass, and returned in the same order.[2] Five of the kingly oarsmen were of 'Wales,' the others the Kings of the Scots, of Strathclyde, and of the Isles.

But, not long after, the feuds broke out afresh. There ought to be merely a red mark or some such symbol on the historic page for these obscure, indistinguishable slaughters. A second King Howel, slain in battle against the Mercians in 984, received from his countrymen the title of *Howel Ddrwg*, 'Howel *the Bad*.' The Danes devastated Wales; the Saxons devastated Wales. A killed B; D killed A, and so on all up and down the alphabet.

In the same year (1017) that Knut the Dane (or Canute) found himself by skill and fortune master of England, Llewelyn, son of Seisyll, subduing his rivals, became King of all Wales; after a six years' reign he was assassinated; then followed fifteen years of confusion, which ended in the crown coming to Llewelyn's son Gruffydd—Aglaia Griffith (1037). Another Howel, helped by Danes and Irish, fought against Griffith, but was beaten (1042). The Saxons, who had by this time much encroached westwards from Trefawyddfor, as they called it, Hereford, coming to the wrong side of the Wye, Griffith also smote frequently and sharply. Earl Harold (the Harold), son of Godwin, opposed him on the English part, and took prisoner his brother Rhys, who soon had his cut off. But in 1054 Griffith beat the English in a great battle near Hereford, storming and demolishing that fortress and burning the church and town, whence 'with very great booty he returned happily and victoriously to his own country.' Harold with fresh forces pushed into Wales as far as Snowdon, but had to return with nothing done that time. Harold came again, however, and burned Rhuddlan Castle; and yet again (in 1061) with a strong army and fleet, when King Griffith, 'the man hitherto invincible,' hastening to oppose him, was slain 'through the treachery of his own men,' and his head sent to Earl Harold, who carried it to King Edward at Gloucester.[3] Harold moreover built himself a great lodge at Porth-yr-Coed (Port of the Wood), to which King Edward was to come in the hunting season; but it was still unfinished when Karadog burst in with his men, slew the workmen, defaced the building, and carried off all that was portable. This on the feast of St. Bartholomew, in the year 1065. But we must hasten on.

Great events are coming to pass in England. The Godwin family have culminated, and their star sets in blood on the hill of Senlac. But Kymru at best concerns itself little with the fate of Lloegyr, nor cares much who found Saxon King Harold's body in the Sussex fields that October day in 1066. King Bleddyn next year revives the laws of Howel the Good.

Two years after this, Norman William, after brutally subduing all opponents in the north of England and Mercia, threatens and cows their Welsh allies, and builds strong castles at Chester and Shrewsbury. Norman adventurers (*Freinc*, 'French,' the Welsh call them) push into Wales year by

[1] *Ann. Cambr.* Chron.

[2] *Brut y Tywysogion*, and Roger of Wendover.

[3] Roger of Wendover (and so 974).

year, some with grants from William, some invited to fight as mercenaries for this or that rival Welsh power, and their solid stone castles rise at Trefaldyn (to which Arnulph de Montgomery gives his own name), at Rhuddlan, and elsewhere. The doom of the Kymric kingdom and kingdoms is pronounced, though it will take two centuries more to see its fulfilment.

Rufus sent more 'French' adventurers into Wales, who built more castles, and in course of time often married Welsh heiresses. He marched an army up to the wild mountain-land of the Stranger Folk—Kadwgan (Kadugan), King of Powys, having taken Montgomery Castle by storm and destroyed it. But after penetrating to the foot of Snowdon, where his army was parted by fog, met on All Saints' Day, 1095, the Red King thought to take the adversary, and was forced to go, marched back again into England, contenting himself with rebuilding and regarrisoning Montgomery Castle more strongly than before. In 1097 Rufus tried Wales and Kadugan again, in the same style, but could make nothing of them, finally granting the war among the hills and glens, with perpetual losses and alarms, and again rebuilt, but planted and built a series of castles from Severn to Dee, along the border, and granted by Earls Marchers, and approved by the 'Waste of the Welsh Marches.'

In the year that saw Rufus's hunting Gruffydh of Gwynedd hold a Baltic festival at Rhuddlan, at which many of the Welsh princes were present, Henry I. was forced to recall Robert de Belesme and his Montgomery kinsmen from Wales, and to give up the castles they had built there. Henry

was sent by King Henry Beauclerc into the country of Dyved to expel from S. David's part of Pembroke, and that nation seized the whole country of Rhos, near Aberteifi, having driven away the previous occupiers, who then settled in a new country and place from that time until this day.' To which the chronicler adds, 'In the meanwhile, Gerald, steward of Pembroke Castle aforesaid, built the castle of Little Cenarth (or Cenarth Newydd), where he settled, and there he deposited all his riches with his wife, his sons, and all dear to him; and he fortified it with a ditch and wall, and a gateway with a look-out tower, for men had to live on their guard from day to day in those times.'

About this time, a beautiful woman, Gerald's wife aforesaid, was the beginning of new wars. Nesta, daughter of King Rhys ap Tewdwr (or Tudor), being sent, it seems, in her youth as a hostage to the Saxon King, became Beauclerc's mistress and bore to him a son, who was named Fitz Henry. Afterwards, from the Welsh, a powerful warrior, married her. They had three sons, William, Maurice, and David Fitzgerald, and two daughters (at least, as we shall see that is much to do with the latter), and they lived in the Pembroke castle above. The Prince Owen, the son of Kadwgan, prince of Powys, recently in love with Nesta, and one night attacked (for the castle of a sudden, set it on fire, and carried Nesta away. Her father, King Kadwgan, compounded matters to a certain extent by a large fine, but considered not to read the Welsh history five and six centuries old, with a great force of men, throughout South Wales. Kadwgan and Owen finally came to terms, but both soon returned to Wales, and carried on a struggling warfare, other Welsh princes and many freebooters fighting on the English side. Then King Henry sent for one of his nobles, Robert de Clare, sometimes called 'Strongbow,' and said to him, 'Thou wert continually asking for a portion of the land of the Britons from me. I will now give thee the land of Kadwgan, son of Bleddyn, to go and possess it.' Whereupon Strongbow raised an army, occupied Kereticiaun, and built two castles, one near Aberystwith, the other near Aberteifi. After a time Kadwgan made submission to King Henry, and received back at his hands a part of Keredigion, but had scarcely returned when he was set upon suddenly by an old Welsh enemy, Madog ap Rhys, and slain. Owen came back from Ireland, and, after fine and hostages to King Henry, was permitted to sit in his father's place. Madog fell into his hands, and Owen blinded him, and took all that he possessed.

Thus the Welsh weakened each other continually, and the English or Anglo-Norman power gained ground.

The Earl of Chester, at last in the south-Strongbow, by the imprisoning of the former sovereigns of the Welsh, King Henry invaded Wales with three armies, one led by himself.[1] The Welsh kings made a mutual covenant of resistance, but after a time Owen, son of Kadwgan, gave ear to King Henry's blandishments and promises (the usual policy on both sides), paid a large fine, and was restored; and several of the other Welsh princes

[1] *Annales Cambriæ*, 1157.

[2] Strongbow was created Earl of Pembroke and Lord of Leinster, and died in Ireland.

[3] *Brut y Tywysogion*.

[4] The Welsh historians are very easily given to exaggeration, as from

example. King Henry knighted Owen, and took him with him to Normandy.

At this time the See of St. David's falling vacant, Henry King Beauclerc appointed an *Englishman*, Bernard, to the great anger and dismay of all the Welsh; for this Bishop was called 'Bishop of Wales,' and generally reckoned primate of all that country.

In 1116 or thereabouts, Griffith, son of Rhys, King of part of South Wales, fought against the Normans and Flemings, and King Henry set Owen against Griffith. Gerald de Windsor and Owen were now on the same side; but when Owen was slain in a wood during some foray, Gerald was believed to have been his death, for sake of the old feud and the outrage on Nesta. Thus ended Owen of Keredigion; but Griffith at last made submission to Henry.

Giraldus (who was a grandson of Nesta) tells a pretty story of this Griffith.[1] He, returning from the English King's court in company with Milo, Earl of Hereford and 'dominator' of Brecknock, and Payn (or 'Pagan') Fitzjohn, who then held the land of Ewias, rode in their company along the shore of the Lake of Brecknock, at that cold season covered with various waterfowl, and Earl Milo said jestingly, 'Tis an old Welsh saying that if the natural prince of the country coming to this lake shall command the birds to sing, they all will sing immediately.' Whereto Griffith replied, 'Do you then, who bear yourself as lord of this land, give the order first;' which Milo did, and after him Fitzjohn, but in vain. Then Griffith alighting from his horse, and kneeling to the east, as if in preparation for single combat ('tanquam duelli conflictum ibidem ingressurus'), prayed earnestly that if he were truly descended from the natural princes of Wales, the birds might now declare it. And forthwith all the birds, of every kind, beating the water with their wings, began to sing and shout together. Faith in the divine right of princes made such a story easy; yet people were ready to give their divinely sent princes very rough handling—so inconsistent is Man Social, as well as Man Individual.

In 1121[2] we find again, briefly, Welsh against Welsh: red spots all over the page. Henry Beauclerc again leads an army thither, the Welsh as usual withdrawing to their mountains and strong places, and after a time (little done, and both sides tired) making fresh treaties and promises. In the same year the Pope, to please his troublesome little flock in the west, conferred on their Devi the dignity of high official rank in heaven, recognised by God and his angels, necessary to be recognised by all right-minded men—poor pious Devi, who closed his eyes on earthly things more than five hundred years ago, by the rocky lonely shore of Dehubarth, henceforth 'Saint David,' his shrine more than ever the goal of thousands of pious pilgrims. Over it, some 50 years later, rose the stately Cathedral that still stands, successor of many humble edifices on the same spot.

The ensuing years were full of home quarrels, plunderings, slaughters, and revenges of the Welsh notables, among themselves. 'Morgan, son of Kadogan (says the old chronicler), died at Cyprus, in returning from Jerusalem,' after having taken the cross and gone to Jerusalem on account of his having killed his brother Maredud.'

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[1] *Itin. Kambriæ*, lib. i. cap. 2.

[2] *Annales Cambriæ*.—Year given 1113 in *Brut*.

[3] *Brut* anno 1125.

On the death of Henry Beauclerc, 'son of William the Bastard, and King of England and Wales' (year 1135), England falling into confusion, between his nephew Stephen and his daughter Empress Maud, Wales took the opportunity for general insurrection, a volcanic outburst in many places at once, pitiless to all houses, towns, castles and lands of Saxon, Frenchman, Fleming, and all living things therein. Many castles were surprised or stormed. At Aberteivy, Stephen, constable of the place (and now husband of Nesta, the fair widow of Gerald de Windsor), with a large force of 'Flemings, and marchers, and Frenchmen,' fought a fierce battle against Griffith, son of Rhys, and other chiefs, and after losing many men drew back into the castle. And Griffith, as Regulus of Deheubarth, celebrated his regained independence by a festival of forty days: but next year (1136) he died.

After this time the Welsh chroniclers gradually abandon the term *Brenhin* (king) for their native rulers, using *Tywysog* (prince) and as a minor title *Arglwyd* (lord, governor).

Many of the intrusive castles in Wales lay in ruins. Alien bishops and clergy were expelled. The Anglo-Normans and Flemish settlers had hot times of it. But the Welsh soon fell to strife again among themselves, and then their old foes began creeping back and regaining lost ground. Among other signs of this, we find 'Earl Gilbert, son of Gilbert,' coming back in Dyfed and building two new castles there.[1] So it went on, Welsh against Welsh, Welsh against Anglo-Normans, till Stephen of Blois dying made room in England for Henry Fitzempress and a stronger government (Oct. 1154).

Disturbed as these times were, Welsh literature was not neglected. Karadog of Llancarfan compiled his *Brut y Tywysogion*, 'Chronicle of the Princes,' and many old romantic stories, *Mabinogion*, were collected into manuscript form. These are extant for us, with lives of saints, treatises on music, on grammar, on medicine, and very many poems, to prove the mental activity of the Kelt in what might seem very unfavourable circumstances. The art of music, too, here as in Ireland, was universally practised and held in high esteem. It is very remarkable how, down to this period, the historic, poetic, and musical genius of Britain is represented for aftercomers almost entirely by this outlying mountainous wing of the island. Bede and Alfred are almost the only lights shining beyond the boundary. Into this corner was pushed and shut up the Keltic element of Britain, and here, amidst the rough hills and with man's daily life rude and perilous, it continued productive, with results still alive and delightful, whilst rich Mercia, and Wessex, and East Anglia, were living through centuries of mental and artistic barrenness.

And now let us hasten through the reign of Henry Fitzempress, who inherited his claim on Wales as one of the chief standing difficulties of the English Crown — and added Ireland to them.[2] Like his predecessor, he marched armies into Wales, overawed the Welsh Reguli, took their submissions, built castles, played off one chief against another, and backed his Norman barons and bishops against the Strange Folk when he could. In 1157 Henry had made peace with all the Welsh Princes, save Rhys ap Griffith, who 'confederated all South Wales and all his friends, with the whole of their

[1] *Brut*, anno 1144.
[2] *Brut*, anno 1157. *Annales Cambriæ* put it at 1165.

property as far as the woods of the Vale of Tywi.[1] Henry 'sent messengers to Rhys, to inform him it would be well for him to repair to the Court of the King, before he brought England and Wales and France about his head; and that there was none, excepting himself, in opposition to the King. And after having taken counsel with his good men he went to the King's Court, where he was compelled, against his will, to make peace with the King, under the stipulation of receiving the Cantrev Mawr, and such other cantrev as the King should be pleased to give him, whole and not scattered. Yet the King did not adhere to this, and gave him a piece here and a piece there in the lordships of several barons.'[2] Rhys bided quiet a while; but not long after, he coming into contact with Roger de Clare, war broke out, lands were ravaged, castles taken, &c., so that King Henry had to go himself to the scene. The Welsh chiefs, as usual, drew away as the King's force advanced, and in the end made submission and gave hostages. Roger of Wendover says (anno 1163), 'Malcolm, King of Scots, and Rees, Prince of Demetia, i.e. South Wales, with other Kings and nobles of Cymbria, did homage on the first day of June to King Henry and his son Prince Henry at Woodstock.'

But Rhys and Roger de Clare, who seem to have had a mutual personal hatred, could not live peaceably as neighbours. Iorwerth, nephew of Rhys, was 'slain in his sleep' by his own nation, it was thought, of De Clare; and Rhys burst over De Clare's border and burnt his castles. King Henry had now his hands full with à Becket, and Rhys gained strength; so much so that the general Kymri once more began to plan and combine for the expulsion of all foreigners from their ancient realm. King Henry collected a large army and marched into North Wales. Owen, regulus of Gwynedd, Rhys of Deheubarth, and the other native chiefs from North and South led their forces to meet him. They encamped against one another near Corwen (in the vale of Dee), but only skirmishes ensued: then the weather grew wet and stormy, and provisions began to fail the King; so 'he removed his tents and his army to the open plains of England, and, full of extreme rage, he ordered the hostages, who had been previously long imprisoned by him, to be handed, to wit the two sons of Owen of Gwynedd, and Howel, and Maredud, son of Prince Rhys, and many more.'[3]

Then follows an entry of some interest—'The same year Prince Rhys attacked the walls of Aberteivy and its castle, which he broke down and burned, and carried off a vast booty. And he seized the castle of Kil-Cierran and took Robert, son of Stephen, and imprisoned him'—Robert Fitzstephen (son of Stephen, constable of Aberteivy and the beautiful Nesta), kept prisoner by Rhys for several years, destined to come out at last and play a notable part in the history of Ireland.

And so the Welsh confederates continued on the warpath, to make head during the next four or five years; taking, among many other Norman castles, the King's stronghold of Rhaidian. 'They sat before it three months, and then they got the castle, broke it, and burnt it.'[4]

In 1169 died Owen, Prince of Gwynedd, 'a man of great celebrity,' 'invincible from his youth,' and his body was buried in Bangor Cathedral. His eldest son, Iorwerth, having a broken nose, could not reign, and the second son,

[1] *Brut.*
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] *Brut* anno 1164.
[4] *Brut* anno 1165.

Howel, succeeded. Howel's mother was an Irishwoman, and he being in Ireland hearing after a heritage, his half-brother David seized the principality of Gwynedd. Howel hastened back across the sea, the rivals with their forces met at Pentraeth, and Howel was slain.

Iorwerth has a high place among the Kymric poets, and his Welsh is easy to a Kymro of the present day. One of his pastorals, entitled *Howel*, 'Howel's Delight,' says, 'I love Langor (England), a flat and lazy land, with a people full of gold.' I love the land abounding in mead. I love its convent and its cloisters, its cities bordering on forests, its fair landscapes, its dales and waters and groves, its hosts clad with the tender trefoil, its white nunneries and lascivious women, its warriors and well-trained steeds' . . . I love the marches of Merioneth, where my head was pillowed on a snow-white arm.' I love the night message in the forest copse in the famous vale of Two Rivers' (Aberdovey). A love full of character and beauty, so far as one may judge.

In the year 1168 came Irish Dermot Mac Murrogh to Wales, to the second time seeking help to regain the kingdom of Leinster, and coming to the castle of Kilpeck he obtained Robert Fitz Stephen's promise to go to Ireland. Robert, with sixty knights, one hundred men, Welsh, Flemish, and Normans-Breton, landed at Bagenbun Head in the Waterford estuary on May 1 in the year 1169. Earl Richard de Clare (Strongbow) followed in the August of that year.

In the autumn of 1171 Henry II. Plantagenet himself prepared for Ireland. Near Gloucester he mustered a large army, and marched towards St David's by the coast-road, and coming to Pembroke, assembled a great fleet in Milford Haven.[1] While the King of England lay at Pembroke, he (being terse man with terrific eyes threatened with his severest anger the princes and lords of South Wales for having allowed Earl Richard with the King now suspected of a plan of Irish conquest for his own house to take his passage thence to Ireland. But at last the storm subsided on their allowing him way. Henry[2] to place royal garrisons in their castles, and though the mutterings of the thunder was loud, the bolt fell not.[3] Thus Henry did a stroke of Welsh business on his way. All ready to start, he went to St David's Church and did his devotion with due solemnity, then embarked and crossed the sea with four hundred ships full of knights and soldiers, horses and provisions, landing at Waterford on St. Luke's Day (October 18) to find Irish King with all Ireland under his hand. There [illegible] by the power of Rome, wearing through what we also now call the 'Plantagenet' hats, and heavily) to take homage as a new thing in history from many of the chiefs of the Irish people, and Ireland began to be a second and worse Wales, in relation to England.

The English King wintered in Ireland and left it next spring, hastening to Normandy to clear himself of a bloody death by solemn public oath. A contemporary writer, who had the best opportunities of hearing particulars in this case, has left a curious account of Henry's return through St David's, throwing great gleam of light on several things in that remote time. 'On the Monday in

[1] Giraldus Cambrensis, *Itinerary of the Kymry*, Lond. 1845; 50.
[2] Giraldus, *Expugn. Hiber.*, cap. xxxix. [3] Ibid.

Easter week,' says Giraldus[1] [i.e. April 17], 'at sunrise, he took boat, and getting on board ship in the outer harbour of Wexford, reached St. David's Bay about noon, after a quick voyage, the wind blowing strongly from the westward. Having landed, the King proceeded to St. David's with great devotion, on foot, with the garb and staff of a pilgrim, and was met by the canons of the Cathedral, who received him with due honour and reverence at the White Gate.' In the rocky valley where the Cathedral stands, the brook Alun at this time flowed [perhaps still flows?] under a flag of stone or marble, ten feet long by six broad, and one foot thick—a natural bridge, polished by many feet. This by the Kymri was called *Llech-llefar*, 'The Speaking Stone,' and supposed to have supernatural qualities; nor did they venture to carry any corpses over it to burial. 'As the procession solemnly moved along, a Welsh woman threw herself at the King's feet and made a complaint against the bishop of the diocese, which was explained to the King by an interpreter. But receiving no redress, the woman grew violent, and raising her voice and loudly clapping her hands she repeatedly shouted, in presence of all the company, "Avenge us this day, Llech-llefar! Avenge our race and people on this man!"' [A scene exactly such as any Keltic part of Ireland might produce at this day, in similar circumstances] 'Being checked and thrust aside by the people who understood British, she continued to vociferate the same words, wherein she made allusion to a so-called prophecy of Merlin, current among the vulgar, that a *King of Kings and Conqueror of Ireland shall be wounded in Mynyw by a red-handed man, and die on Llech-llefar.* The King, who had heard of this prophecy, approaching the stone stopped for a short time, and looking earnestly at it [perhaps not entirely at ease in mind] boldly passed over; then turning round, he said, "Who will hereafter credit the lying Merlin?" One among the bystanders, wishing to vindicate the prophet, cried aloud "Thou art not the king by whom Ireland is to be conquered!"' But Henry passed on into the church, prayed and 'heard mass by a chaplain, whom alone, out of so large a body of priests, Providence seems to have kept fasting for this purpose.' For no priest may say mass except fasting, and Henry coming suddenly on the clergy of St. David's found them all full, not fasting, save this one providential chaplain. 'The King supped at St. David's, and departed for the castle of Haverford, twelve miles distant:' thence across England, and over to Normandy.

Here, descending from our perch on Crow Castle above the Dee, we break off; hoping to finish on another day with Owen Glendower from the top of Cadair Idris. The reader who does not find such matters too dull might refer meanwhile to a paper printed in this Magazine last August, entitled 'Seven Hundred Years Ago,' and trace out for himself with help from its hints some of the threads, old and new, connecting Keltic Erin and Keltic Kymru at that time, and both with Norman-Teutonic England.

I wandered out after dusk that evening in Llangollen, and got up a rough road to a little hill commanding much of the valley: huge dim hulks of mountains on either hand, starry roof stretched above: Dee, unseen, rustling below.

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[1] He tells the story twice: *Expugn. Hibern.*, lib. i. c. 37; *Itin. Kambr.*, lib. ii. c. 1.

But soon a change came over the face of heaven, sheets of ruddy flame, spears of silvery fire, darting and flickering, rising and waning across the whole visible space of sky; a spectacle that did not speedily vanish, but continued, with occasional increments of splendour, for several hours of the night. I sat on a wall near some poor cottages, and thought of the birth of Owen Glendower—

The front of heaven was full of fiery shapes.

A boy came out of one of the cottages and afterwards an old woman and a young one, two little children, and a man, all of whom, seeing me gazing on the fiery sky, gazed also, and spoke to each other in Kymric. I accosted them, was answered in foreign English, and found the Aurora Borealis ('clouds of fire' they called it) was to them an altogether strange phenomenon. They said they had never seen it before (so little notice had they taken), and they had no guess of its nature. The younger woman, very comely and of sweet modest demeanour, was a carpenter's wife and mother of the two children. She had never been out of Llangollen. Here in short in 1870, in a suburb of this tourist-haunted village near the English border, were Kymri using their old speech, and as much removed mentally from the generation of their ancestors of two hundred or a thousand years ago[1]

Many a year is in its grave, since the world [illegible]

The Keltæ of Wales and the Keltæ of Ireland have always had points of strong resemblance, many of which are evident in the very general view we have now taken, but they have also a [illegible] tions, legends, and poems. Both have a natural ease and courtesy of manner, the very antithesis of English bluntness; and the blunt Englishman still, as of old, calls them both 'deceitful.' Both are vivacious and hot-tempered; but in the Welshman appears little of the peculiar fun and humour of his Irish cousin. One might suspect for this the Calvinistic Methodism which has oddly supplanted Catholicism among the British Kelts, but I believe it has little to do with it. The old music of Kymru, though she learned much from Erin in this delightful art,[2] is graver and loftier than that of the Western Isles, and with little or no trace of the liveliness and drollery so common in Irish tunes. When Welsh Gerald visited Ireland among the first English invaders, he found the people 'incomparably more skilful in playing on musical instruments than any other nation I have ever seen. Their modulation on these instruments, *unlike that of the Irish to which I am accustomed*, is not slow and austere (*tardis et severis*), but lively and rapid, at the same time sweet and pleasant of sound.'[3]

As Danes and Swedes differ much in some national characteristics; Spaniards also and South Italians; so do (and did long ago) the Keltic Irish and Keltic Welsh. Yet are they cousins for all that, with a common form of civilisation, which has struggled down to our own day and is slowly dying out among the mountains and by the rocky shores of Caernarvon and Carnarvon, in Bretagne also, and the Scottish Highlands—an older form of civilisation than that of modern Europe, into which it has transfused [illegible] even assistance, to the affairs of life

[1] Gorddion, &c.

[2] *Topog. Hib.* ... c. xi

GIORDANO BRUNO.

EMERSON says that—

> One accent of the Holy Ghost
> The heedless world has never lost,

and it is a truth which daily experience confirms. Where men's utterances have been true, and in proportion to their truth, there is resurrection for them. That which has once truly lived, lives for ever. For some years after the death of Giordano Bruno there was absolute silence about him. The eminent men who were his friends and fellow-students do not mention him in their letters or their books; the religious Order to which he belonged denied him, and erased his name from their archives; it is in vain we seek for it among the lists of Professors in the Universities where he had lectured and taught; and, out of the crowds assembled during the great jubilee in the year of our Lord 1600, no one spoke or wrote at the time of a spectacle which yet must have been a remarkable feature in it—the burning at the stake of the contumacious ex-Dominican heresiarch, Giordano Bruno.

Eight years afterwards—i.e. in 1608—Kepler, in a private letter to Dr Brengger from Prague, tells him that Bruno was burnt in Rome, and that he endured his terrible fate with marvellous constancy; and in 1621 a letter from Scioppius, an eye-witness of the tragedy, to his friend Rittershausen, was published for the first time. From the time of his execution, therefore, up to the date of these letters, no other trace, direct or indirect, can be found of the existence of one of the most remarkable men of the age.

Now, however, it is different. The air is full of the history of philosophy has restored the name of Giordano Bruno to honour. That which he was, that which he wrote, that which he suffered, is known. In France, Germany, and Italy his works have been minutely collected and re-published, his biography has been repeatedly written, and romances have been composed in which he figures as hero. And even to those who have little interest in metaphysical or philosophical study his fame is widely known as a martyr for freedom of thought and liberty of opinion.

It is not, however, the object of this paper to discuss what these thoughts and opinions were, but to narrate from authentic documents, especially from Berti's copious monograph, the life of a scholar of the sixteenth century. No portion of the world's history is more remarkable than that of the first century after the invention of printing. The world has never known a period which can compete with this in the strength and vitality of its growth; and it is on this account that the life of a scholar who was one of the foremost agitators of his time affords lessons so suggestive and valuable.

Filippo Bruno was born at Nola, in 1548. Nola was one of the cultured cities of Magna Græcia. Its people must have inherited some traditional Greek acuteness and brilliancy of intellect, for even at that date many of them had won European reputation for erudition and literary acquirements. Lazzaro the poet, Archangelo Lanza the friend of Erasmus, Ailurio Gentile, and Pomponio Algieri, A. were Nolans. Algieri perished by a few years only in the imprisonment at Venice and Rome. He was executed, the first martyr of the Inquisition.

In the old county of Nola, the property of the Spanish, the barons of feudality of the soil, were always re

membered with filial affection by Bruno. A strong yearning towards his native Italy, after his long exile, was the master motive which induced him at last to leave Frankfort for Venice, and this home sickness was as fatal to him as to Jacopo Foscari. Bruno was educated partly at Nola and partly at Naples. He attended the public classes of the college and the private lectures of the professors till the age of fifteen, when he became a novice in the Dominican monastery of San Domenico Maggiore, in Naples. He changed his baptismal name of Filippo for that of Giordano, and after his year's noviciate had expired took the monastic vows.

It was in the convent of San Domenico Maggiore that St Thomas Aquinas had lectured on theology when the University of Naples had its seat there, and in one of its cells (still consecrated to his memory) he conceived his subtle system of religious philosophy, a system which was an armoury out of which future reformers and freethinkers found weapons to destroy philosophical heresy. But the youth who now trod the cloisters still reeling with the great name, was of a totally different character from the angelic Doctor. Acute, bold, ardent, and impetuous, he grievously shocked his superiors by his daring questionings and novel notions. 'What,' said his teacher, a good man whom he loved, reading a mystic book called *The Seven Seals of the Mysteries*, 'would it not be more profitable and more pleasing to study the lives of the Holy Fathers?' He gave away all his money and clothes to the poor, and his confessor, his favourite brother monk, appeared as a witness to the authorities of the convent at an act of sacrilege which was said to have been committed against him, but, in consequence of the extreme youth of the accused, this was not acted on, and he was received among the brethren. Four years after he had taken priest's orders, when in the twenty fourth year of his age, another trial on account of intolerance and heresy was projected, but again set aside.

The minutes of both these projected trials were brought forward at the last fatal one, as proofs of early perversity. The Dominicans, however, did not carry out their intolerance, their Order, like that of the Benedictines, at least perhaps even in a still greater degree, appreciated intellectual power in all its manifestations. They had numbered artists and orators and mathematicians among their brethren, and were unwilling to use rigorous measures towards one from whom and through whom they yet hoped much honour and distinction might arise for what they considered God's cause, which they identified by an euphuism common to all men in all ages) with their own. In spite, however, of persecutions and suspicions, Bruno pursued his studies with undiminished ardour. But the doubts which had gone hand in hand with his wider knowledge and deeper research made themselves heard more and more. They were no longer speculations, they were opinions, not theories with which to amuse his fancy, but truths with which to fortify his intellect. These doubts had been probably entertained before by other monks or priests, who yet were silent, as became their social and professional position, and who regarded the perplexities of not disturbing the faith of others with mere theories; but it was committed the fatal error of taking vows with his lips against which his whole nature rebelled, an error which, as it seems to me, is only to be atoned for by an heroic martyrdom. [illegible] brother of San Domenico [illegible] the customary [illegible] he was ordained on the Feast of the Annunciation of the Virgin Mary, he expiated this early fault by a life-

long assertion, with pen and tongue, of the truth—that which was truth to him, which he had made out for himself by honest search. Bruno's divergence from the tenets of his Church began with a point which, of itself, was not at first pronounced heretical, though for him it was the thin end of the wedge which was to break into fragments all his former beliefs. It was the adoption of the Copernican instead of the Aristotelian theory as to the motion of the earth. The doctrine of a plurality of worlds, the rejection of the received Scriptural notion as to the origin of mankind, doubts as to the Trinity, the Incarnation, and the Atonement, convictions as to Infinity, as to the nature of God, all sprang from the admission of this scientific truth.

A third time the chiefs of his Order began an investigation as to his creed, and to escape it he left Naples and took refuge in Rome, in a convent of his own Order. It is probable that at this time Bruno was not unstained by the coarse dissipations of the day. Doubts as to the dogmas of his faith, coupled with disgust at those who could unite servile obedience to bigoted tenets with licentious wickedness in conduct, may have caused much cynical recklessness in his own life. Great coarseness of taste and gross indecency of manners pervaded the literature of the day, and in several of Bruno's comedies we find proofs of this taint. But, though under its dominion for a time, the best of his printed works, the titles of yet unfound MSS, the notes of his public lectures and private tuition, prove that by diligent application and steadfast work he emancipated himself from the slavery of error.

He remained in Rome only a few days. [illegible] he left at Naples were [illegible] at the [illegible] of [illegible] charge of heresy [illegible] and [illegible] Rome after him, and he resolved to fly. He little thought as he turned his back upon it that the evil thing (this fatal charge) was still existent, biding its time, to destroy him more surely at last. And now commenced his series of wanderings, the Odyssey of a scholar's life, full of perils and escapes and fatigues, with an occasional glimpse of peace and a calm haven, but, unlike the story of Ulysses, to end miserably in the very city from which he had been at first driven. He paused for a few days at Genoa, but there he found no materials for his labours. There were no printing presses, consequently there was a scarcity of books. He went on to Noli, where he stayed five months.

Thrown entirely on his own resources, he earned his livelihood here by working as a schoolmaster. He taught grammar to the children and youths, and read and expounded learned works with the gentlemen. The study of astronomy was a popular one at the time, and Bruno was successful in interesting his pupils. But this sphere was too limited for him, and at the expiration of five months he left Noli. On his way to Venice, where he next resided, he passed through Turin, but his stay there must have been brief, and we find nothing of interest connected with it except the fact that another illustrious pilgrim, Tasso, must have taken refuge in that city at about the same time. The gloom which hung over Venice at the period of Bruno's arrival may have communicated its melancholy influence to his first impressions, and given an evil omen of the fate there to be, at a later period, fulfilled. Plague had devastated the population, fear, poverty, and abject squalor were depicted on every countenance. Paolo Sarpi was lecturing on [illegible] in the convent, and Bruno may possibly have attended his teaching, but they were too much opposed both in doctrine and method

to meet on terms of fellowship, and we find no trace of Paul the friar's influence in Bruno's writings.

From Venice Bruno went to Padua. He taught in the University, and privately, with some success. Here he made another step in that descent at the foot of which death awaited him. On leaving Rome he had stripped off his monk's dress, and resumed his baptismal name of Filippo, casting aside every outward badge of the service he had abandoned. At Padua he was over-persuaded by some of his friends to resume the garb of a religion which both his intellect and heart disowned.

The period of Bruno's residence at Padua is uncertain. We only know that on leaving that city he went to Milan, and there first made the acquaintance of Sir Philip Sidney, an acquaintance which must have been a source of pleasure to both, and which was renewed and fostered during Bruno's subsequent visit to England. The influence of Sidney, fresh from England, where religious questions had culminated in the substitution of the Royal supremacy for the Papal, may have added another item to Bruno's anti-papal tendencies, and may have strengthened him in that persistent struggle against orthodoxy, the idea of which was, perhaps, first excited by the cruel butchery of the unfortunate Waldenses which he witnessed during his youth at Nola, which overcast his studies in San Domenico with the green shadow, and shook his faith in the teachings of St. Thomas Aquinas.

There is yet another incident which must not be overlooked if we would trace the course of Bruno's mind. Raymond Lully, who had been dead more than a hundred and fifty years, was regarded by many as a mystical master, and his writings—[illegible] IN NEW SERIES.

intention to weaken the hold of the Roman Church upon the minds of men, still the reasonings of this great apostle and metaphysician must, if fairly carried out, have led his disciple's steps far onward in the path of heresy.

Bruno appears to have remained but a short time in Milan. Probably neither in Lombardy nor in Piedmont could he find that scope for his acquirements, or those materials for his studies which he required. Moreover, such erudition and keen logic enrolled in the ranks inimical to Holy Church, would strike with terror most of those who listened to his lectures, few of whom could follow the mathematical and metaphysical processes by which he arrived at conclusions so alarming, and to them so novel. Doubts of the Pope's power to bind or to loose, doubts of his infallibility, doubts of election and grace, of the efficacy of works, &c., were understood, and occupied theologians unceasingly at this time; but doubts burst on the new Copernican discoveries as to the earth's motion, were a marvel and a shock.

From Milan Bruno went to Chambery, but the Savoyard monks were far too ignorant and bigoted for him to remain with them, and he soon left Chambery for Geneva, where he arrived in 1579.

Immediately on his arrival at Geneva he was visited by an Italian refugee (there were several of the denomination called Evangelical in the city), whoever, and why he had left Italy, and if he had any intention of leaving it. Bruno replied, that he only came to Geneva to study in peace and freedom, and that as to Calvinism he knew not what it was. He stayed [illegible] answer, [illegible] necessity before he appeared [illegible] to [illegible] Bruno [illegible] but [illegible] another. He contrived, however,

to make a pair of breeches out of his gown, and several of his countrymen (also refugees for opinion's sake in Geneva) presented him with hat and cloak, and all the necessary equipment of a citizen.

What a curious picture this circumstance gives of the simplicity of the habits of the time! What generosity in bestowing favours; what dignity in receiving them! Above all, with what a disinterested love was Philosophy then served! If she brought riches and honours, well; if she did not, it was well also. The one vital thing was *to know*.

The chief personage among these Italian refugees, who were content for the truth's sake to live under the iron rule of Geneva, was Galeazzo Caracciolo, a noble Neapolitan, whose father had married a niece of Pope Paul IV., and who had severed himself from all ties of blood and connection, had abandoned his home, his possessions and his country, to abjure Catholicism and be a disciple of Calvin at Geneva. If Calvinism had admitted homage to saints, Caracciolo would have been canonised, and what is more, would have deserved it. Calvin had died about twelve years before Bruno's arrival, but the terror of his rule prevailed still. Though a large portion of the exiled Italians had wholly embraced his tenets, some permitted themselves to differ from him. To avoid all fluctuation of doctrine, a catechism had been drawn up at his instigation which all his followers were obliged to sign. Those who did not were persecuted to the death. The execution of Servetus had paralysed most of his opponents, and they fled. Ochetio, an old man of seventy-six years of age, took refuge in Poland. Some went to Tubingen, some as far as Turkey. Valentine Gentile, after having been condemned to do penance in Geneva, was beheaded in Berne. Lelio Socinus escaped to Zurich, and Fausti Socinus to Poland.

One of the favourite heresies of the time and the most abhorred and castigated by the spiritual heads of all the Churches, whether Catholic or Protestant, and which has been since produced and reproduced in later years, was, that there was still another development of God's will as to mankind which was yet to be made. The Jewish dispensation was inspired by God the Father, the Christian dispensation by God the Son, but the manifestation of the Holy Spirit was yet to come.

Bruno, the tendency of whose mind was rather destructive than constructive in matters of creeds and churches, and who considered all creeds but the temporary symbols, the mere alphabets, of that natural religion into which they would all fuse and eventually find place, found the intolerance of the Calvinists disagreeable and even dangerous to him. Beza, Calvin's faithful disciple and ally, and who was to him what Melancthon was to Luther, detested Bruno's opinions; and had not the latter left Geneva, a repetition of the tragedy of Servetus would have been imminent.

Bruno proceeded from Geneva to Lyons, where he remained but a short time, and then went on to Toulouse about the middle of the year 1579.

The fair city of the gay science and the floral games was in its zenith of prosperity at this date. Its University numbered ten thousand scholars, and though the horrors and fratricidal religious wars which had so lately convulsed France were scarcely over, the zeal and fervour of the youth of the city in seeking instruction were as fresh and unabated as in a time of peace. After some private teachings and readings, during there was a vacancy in the office of Public Lecturer to the University. Bruno tried for it, and was elected.

His first lectures were on the three first books of Aristotle—*De Animâ*. This was the favourite subject of the time—the schoolmen and logicians, the audience they discoursed to, were all absorbed in it. 'Tell us about the soul' shouted the youths of Pisa to Porzio. Besides giving these lectures he held public disputations, and wrote several of his works at Toulouse. His success prompted him to try his forces in a wider field. We find him in Paris in the year 1579.

Henry III was anxious to become acquainted with Bruno, partly because Bruno was known to have invented a method of artificial memory founded on the technical divisions of the Lullian art, and partly because he too was intelligent enough to appreciate Bruno's profound erudition and daring intellect. He named him Lecturer extraordinary to the University. This post Bruno accepted, for it did not oblige attendance on mass as did the ordinary professorships of the Sorbonne. His first lectures at the Sorbonne were on the 'Attributes of God.' From the notes prepared for these lectures he composed a work called *De Progressu et Lampade*. But this work being still in MS. at the time of his arrest in Venice, was forwarded to Rome with his other papers, and has never yet seen the light. He also taught privately, and wrote with unremitting industry at this time, and was thoroughly satisfied with this his first sojourn in Paris. He dedicated to Henry his book *De Umbris Idearum*, a work in which he put forth his mnemonic and panmnemonic doctrines with unexampled boldness. He also wrote the *Cantus Circæus*. It is a satirical poem, in which men figure as animals, as in Dante's *Inferno*, and, later on, Cantus Circæus in Frankfurt, &c. &c.

The third work he published in Paris was one on the Lullian art—*De compendiosa architectura et complemento artis Lullii*.

Young, learned, brilliant, speaking Latin, Italian, French, and Spanish, Bruno was most popular in Paris. He delights in recording how many of the French professors attended his lectures. Ramo and Postel (according to Berti) had commenced an open opposition to the doctrines of Aristotle, and were therefore friendly to Bruno. Postel's own lectures were so numerously attended that he was obliged to teach in the court-yard of the Sorbonne, there being no room large enough within the University walls. He may be considered as the precursor of Guiberti in his idea of an universal European monarchy, or rather federation, headed by the Pope and the King of France, instead of by the Pope alone. It is curious to observe how, on the one hand, Aristotle's name was invoked in all these Universities—Helmstadt, Padua, the Sorbonne as a shield behind which doctrines could be contradicted or set aside philosophically, which had to be maintained dogmatically, as articles of faith; and on the other, the growth of knowledge and the discoveries of Copernicus had detected some of the errors of Aristotle, and were bringing his philosophy into disrepute.

Bruno's industry in Paris was prodigious. At the same time that these philosophical books were being written and printed, his play *Il Candelaio* was going through the press. Wit and satire, and Neapolitan buffoonery abound in this play, though spoilt by obscenity and profanity, but what is most remarkable is the undercurrent of melancholy which can be traced in it, its motto is *In tristitia hilaris et in hilaritate tristis*. At the end of 1582 or early in 1583, Bruno left Paris, which was becoming an unsafe residence, and went to England.

He brought letters from Henry III. to the French Ambassador in London, Michel Castelnau de Mauvissière.

We have now reached the golden period of Bruno's life. The Ambassador, a man of great culture and noble character, welcomed him as an honoured guest. The Ambassadress was an accomplished and charming woman. The children were highly educated. It was one of those ideal homes in which every refinement of external circumstance is combined with every tenderness and grace of natural affection. Madame de Mauvissière's youngest girl was a god-daughter of Mary Stuart's, and with this child, as fascinating and as attractive as her namesake, Bruno was delighted. She was his plaything and darling, and he would amuse and play with her whenever he was at leisure.

Free, at this period, from all sordid cares as to his maintenance, he could occupy his time in his own favourite studies. In the evenings he visited most of the distinguished men who were in London at the time, both English and foreign, or remained with the Mauvissières. The Ambassador was at that time writing a journal of the events connected with his embassy, and would occasionally read portions of this diary to his family. It was written for the guidance and instruction of his eldest son. These readings would lead to discussions and arguments as to the political events of the day, in which all took part, and which were conducted with the high-bred urbanity for which Mauvissière was celebrated. The leisure, the content, the repose of mind of this period, can be traced in all the works of Bruno which are dated at this time: they are superior in style and more profound and essential than those written in the midst of the anxieties how to live, and the yet greater struggle how to think freely.

His account of Gradon in the *Cena delle Ceneri*, published at this time, is most amusing, and the sketch of the Oxford Dons in their long velvet gowns and chains of gold and their twelve rings, six on each finger, and their surly *bisolco* manners, is most graphic.

Such was the fame he reached that he was invited to read in the University of Oxford. This had been his fondest desire since his arrival, and he lectured there for three months on the immortality of the soul and on the quintuple sphere. It may be supposed that his teachings met, however, with considerable opposition, for they were far in advance of all that had yet been heard at Oxford. The indestructibility of matter, the nature of God, the plurality of worlds, were the themes he was most eloquent on, and which must have certainly paralysed with astonishment and indignation some of his audience. Several learned Italians had already acquired fame and position at Oxford; among others, Alberico Gentile, who was Doctor of Civil Law there the year after Bruno left London, and Giulio Terenziano, who was Professor of Divinity. Bruno's last lecture was given on the occasion of a regal reception. Prince Albert Alasco of Poland, attracted by the great fame of Queen Elizabeth, came to visit her in 1583. Among other solemnities, a visit to Oxford was arranged for the December of that year. He was received with great pomp. Each day had its allotted diversions. There were music and Latin orations, and theological and philosophical disputes, a comedy, as I have said, on the last day, on an actual [illegible] stage, performed by students, and the tragedy of *Ajax*. As soon as the state reception was over, the Prince returned to London, and there is a letter extant, in which Queen Eliza-

both thanks her faithful University for this display of their loyalty to her. There is something touching in the chivalry of this barbarous Prince, which made him worthy of being thus honoured. In his romantic desire to see, *en passant*, the glorious Princess, whose fame had reached him in his remote country, he had spent his whole patrimony, and returned to Cracow impoverished for life. It reminds one of the knight in Boccaccio's tale of the falcon.

On Bruno's return to London he found that the fame of his lectures had preceded him, and he was immediately surrounded by noble gentlemen, who sought, both publicly and privately, to become acquainted with his doctrines. Sometimes in one house, sometimes in another, with Sir Philip Sidney or Fulke Greville, or in the house of the French Ambassador, men thronged to hear him. Queen Elizabeth herself wished him to be presented to her. She was an accomplished Italian scholar, and interested in all Italian poetry and literature. Bruno was struck, as all clever men were, by her quickness of comprehension and strength of intellect.

On Ash Wednesday, 1584, Bruno had a long argument with several Englishmen on the Copernican system. The discussion was in Latin. He has given an account of it, written with great vivacity, in the *Cena de le Ceneri*, but it made him many enemies. The Oxford lectures which he had recently delivered were famous, and he, therefore, to prevent any evil interpretation of his words, followed this work immediately by another dialogue, *De la causa principio ed uno*, and almost at the same time he published a treatise, *De l'Infinito Universo e Mondi*, which he considered his masterpiece. The idea of infinity predominates in every page. "God," he says, "is infinite, so Him he manifests to space and infinite being. He will not be glorified by one but by innumerable suns, not by one but by countless millions of worlds. Nothing dies, but all matter undergoes infinite change."

He had scarcely finished this work when he wrote *Lo Spaccio de la Bestia Trionfante*, which he dedicated to Sir P. Sidney.

This brilliant and witty work is a proclamation of natural religion and the negation of all positive creeds. He calls to the bar Paganism, Judaism, Christianity, and Mahometanism, and censures, accuses, condemns, and repudiates them all.

The satire of the *Spaccio* was followed by the *Cabala del Cavallo Pegaseo* and the *Asino Cillenico*, which are but added chapters of the same work. Bruno called them the *Lezioni Ispirate Fide*, and the last published in London was the *Eroici Furori*, written partly in prose and partly in verse, dedicated to Sidney, and headed by a sonnet addressed to the Ladies of England. In this work Levi thinks he describes his own feelings, aspirations, and prophesied his own terrible fate under various symbolical images. Bruno left London with the Mauvissière in the year 1584.

His relations with this family continued in unbroken harmony during the whole period of his sojourn in England and during his subsequent visit to Paris. It was soon after his arrival in Paris that he challenged the Sorbonne to refute 120 propositions, selected by himself from his own works published in London, against the Aristotelian doctrines as contained in *De Physico auditu* and *De Cœlo et Mundo*. His challenge was accepted, and Bruno appears to have been the victor in each dispute. But the private enmities excited by these disputes, together with the political agitations of the time, at last obliged Bruno to leave Paris.

We next find him at Marburg, but he was not allowed to lecture

there. In applying for the post of Lecturer of the University he had styled himself Dr. of Roman Theology. Such a style and title could not be admitted in a Protestant university, and though he went in person to protest against such an exclusion, the rector was inflexible. From Marburg he went *viâ* Mayence to Wittenburg. Here he was received with open arms. His simple declaration that he was a lover and disciple of the Muses and the friend of man, was enough. He was instantly permitted to matriculate in the University and enrolled among the academicians. Bruno calls Wittenburg the home of philosophical liberty. When he lectured there he was listened to with a calm enquiring attention, very different from the furious contradictions or clamorous assent of his Parisian audience, but far more thoroughly satisfactory. Essentially a *free* thinker himself, he recognised in these German minds the same tendencies as in his own, and detected in Lutheranism an element of growth which would lead eventually to entire tolerance.

Unfortunately Wittenburg could not offer him a shelter for a long period. On the death of the Elector Augustus, Saxony passed to Christian, a weak and incapable prince, who delegated his authority to Casimir his uncle, a bitter Calvinist. Bruno had been upheld at Wittenburg by the Lutherans, who were tolerant of his teachings even when they did not agree with him; but when the dominant power was Calvinist, Bruno knew by his experience at Geneva that he should not only be silenced but probably persecuted. He therefore left Wittenburg for Prague.

In Prague he was introduced to the Emperor Rudolph II. by the Spanish ambassador Mendoza, with whom Bruno had become acquainted in England.

Like many other princes of the time, the Emperor was interested in science, not from any very elevated motive, but as being connected, in his credulous mind, with occult and magic arts. At the court of Rudolph the notorious Dr. Dee was established. Dee was known to the Polish Prince Alasco, who had heard Bruno lecture at Oxford, and Dee himself had met Bruno in England; so that at the court of Prague the name of Bruno was known before his arrival. We know now that it was from this city that, eight years after his death, the first notice of it was given by Kepler in his letter to Brengger.

But Prague itself had little to detain him. With an Emperor addicted to 'la haute magie,' with few opportunities for lecturing or for studies, with a scarcity of books and printing presses, there was little scope for Bruno. He wrote two small pamphlets there, and, furnished with strong letters of recommendation from the Emperor to the Duke of Brunswick, he went to Helenstadt. He remained there six or seven months, and published his book *De Monade*, which he dedicated to the reigning Duke. He there also entered into a deadly feud with the Protestants Boetius, as the Pastor of the Evangelical Church, excommunicated him. He then left Helenstadt and went to Frankfort. Bruno had asked for a trial, and appealed against Boetius, but the trial was not permitted, and from Frankfort he fulminated against the Brunswick theologians. Frankfort, next to London, must have been the brightest spot in Bruno's wandering life. One remarkable feature of the time, and more manifest in this city than in any other, was the position of booksellers and printers. The typographical establishments of Frankfort, Basle, Venice, Lyons, Rome, Florence, were famous. In each city they formed a centre, round which assembled the learned of all countries. They hospitably entertained

scholars while they were printing their works, and by their partnerships and correspondences in other countries, kept up a constant communication between learned men in each.

Fairs, of which the great Leipsic fair of our days is the only remaining example, were also a great means of communication between nations and individuals. The most valuable works, the most splendid editions, all the literary novelties of the epoch, were to be found in these fairs, which were attended by all the distinguished men of the day, and the books there collected were thus carried off and made known to other countries. Here philosophers, mathematicians, historians, met and argued and philosophized, surrounded by a crowd of listeners, as Socrates and Plato might have done in the groves and porticoes of Athens.

Bruno's life here was, like his life in London, one of entire study and literary labour. Wechel's honour to his name), his printer and publisher, maintained him at his own cost, while Bruno was preparing the works which were afterwards printed. He found him an apartment in a neighbouring monastery, not having room for him in his own house, and here Bruno wrote and taught and studied. He wrote three works, and had even time to design the woodcuts necessary to their demonstration. The names of these works are: *De Imaginum, signorum et idearum compositione*, *De Minimo seu de Magno et Mensura*, *De Imaginum, signorum et idearum compositione*. These were all written in Latin, and have this recommendation to be known as written in Latin—that in them he almost entirely set aside the Latin theories and demonstrations, himself on the most latent of metaphysical truths and their application to the new scientific doctrines which were daily gaining ground.

The book *De Minimo* is written in hexameters, and, according to his biographers, is of all his works the one which gives the most distinct image of the man himself, of his indomitable industry, his insatiable thirst for learning, and his simple-hearted earnestness in its pursuit. At the same time it reveals with unconscious candour his ardent fiery soul, his bold acute intellect, and his passionate sensitive nature.

The varied drama of Bruno's life was now drawing near to its tragic close.

During his residence at Frankfort Bruno had become acquainted with the Venetian bookseller Ciotti, who, during the Frankfort book fair, lodged in the same monastery. Ciotti when he returned to Venice spoke enthusiastically of Bruno, and disseminated his books amongst all his clients and customers. At that time the young patricians of Venice, who affected a love for literature and science, frequented the booksellers' shops, and met each other there. Mocenigo, a name destined to as lasting an ill fame as Torquemada's, was in the habit of going to see Ciotti, and became so interested in all he heard of Bruno, and so ambitious of knowing him, that he wrote urgent letters to him, inviting him to Venice, and entreating him to become his guide, philosopher, and friend.

These flattering offers from the Venetian nobleman gained added weight from the intense yearning in Bruno's heart to revisit his native Italy. In an evil hour he accepted them. Venice, in itself, had many claims on his interest, for in Venice more books were printed than in all the rest of Europe together. The great Greek and Latin authors of antiquity, the Fathers of the Church, the works of the Reformers, the earliest translations of the Bible into the modern languages, were all first printed in Venice. The

famous University of Padua was in its dependence and was supported by it. The Government, with all its faults, was a far more equitable and well-poised one than that of any other Italian State.

The young nobleman who had invited Bruno, and who is infamous for ever for the base treachery of his conduct towards him, was a vain, weak, malignant man. He aped his betters, and slavishly followed the fashion and whims of the day. It was a distinction to be the patron as well as pupil of a man of genius, and therefore he sought Bruno. No two men could have been greater contrasts in character. Bruno's passionate impatient nature was terrifying to Mocenigo's shallow deceitful disposition. By great persuasion Mocenigo had induced Bruno to live with him, but except during the hours of instruction they soon ceased to meet. Mocenigo honestly supposed Bruno to be 'possessed,' *endemoniato*, so awe-struck was he at his assertions, and so alarmed at his jests. Bruno attended the literary and scientific receptions which were held in the evening in many of the Venetian palaces, and especially frequented the house of Andrea Morosini. Mocenigo was devoured by the basest jealousy. He found that his patronage was quite useless to Bruno, and moreover, that Bruno preferred the society of others to his. It is evident that Bruno loathed him. 'I soon found,' says Bruno, 'that misfortunes were gathering thickly around me, and that I had committed myself to a perilous destiny, having built up for myself the walls of my own prison, and delivered myself up to my own ruin.'

This bitterness overflowed at last in accusations and recriminations. All Bruno's words, his witty sarcasms, his daring sallies, were watched and listened to, and repeated, with every species of exaggeration and perversion, by Mocenigo to his confessor. The confessor wrote to Rome. The answer was not long delayed. Bruno was identified as the Dominican monk, against whom an accusation had been drawn up about sixteen years before.[1]

Meanwhile Bruno had found his position in Mocenigo's house untenable. He at last informed Mocenigo that he must leave him and return to Frankfort, where he had some works in the press. Mocenigo went at once, and denounced his guest to the Inquisition of Venice. Bruno had arranged everything so as to be able to leave Venice the next day, and Mocenigo feared his victim would escape. He therefore made up his mind to constitute himself his guest's gaoler till the Inquisition took that office on itself.

At midnight on this same day (the eve of Bruno's departure), while asleep in his bed, Mocenigo knocked at his door. Bruno recognised his voice and bade him enter. He did so, accompanied by five gondoliers, Bartholomeo his servant, and another man.

Bruno started up and vehemently protested against this intrusion. On the pretext of explaining it, Mocenigo begged him to rise and accompany him to another room. Bruno, still unsuspicious of treachery,

[1] Both Bartholomeo and Leonardo agree in stating that from the moment Bruno had announced some intention of leaving Venice he was watched and precautions were taken to prevent his departure. There are reasons to suppose that he was forcibly taken away from Frankfort. He left it very secretly, and Mocenigo afterwards by his despatches proves that he was aware of his departure. It is also remarkable that the Inquisitors at Venice reported the Inquisitors at Venice as to what was expected of their zeal, and that both sent their emissaries to control and guide Mocenigo in his infamous treachery.

complied with his request. Mocenigo led the way to the other side of the palace, that farthest from the water, and then ascending the stairs opened the door of an attic. He drew aside to let Bruno pass him into the room, and then, without having himself crossed the threshold, turned round, closed the door, and locked it outside. When the prisoner was secure, this man, who had thus outraged every law of honour and hospitality, returned to the philosopher's room, and taking possession of all his effects, his books, his MSS., and papers, sent them instantly to the Inquisition. The next night at the same hour Bruno was transferred to the dungeons of the Inquisition.

In 1592 Galileo made his entrance at Padua as professor and teacher in the University. In the same year Bruno was thrust into the dungeons of the Inquisition at Venice previous to being transferred to Rome, where his execution preceded Galileo's trial by thirty-four years. Campanella's trial, tortures, and death, were fifteen years later than Bruno's, and took place at Naples. These dates are suggestive. In the twenty years which elapsed between Campanella's trial and Galileo's, some consciousness of weakness was felt, or some progress in humanity had been made, or no abjuration would have saved him.

Bruno's trial commenced. It was conducted with great apparent moderation. Mocenigo's monstrous accusation he declared utterly, and then proceeded to give a list of all his works to his judges. He discussed with them some of his opinions, here and there with a clearness of reasoning and a clearness of exposition which made him appear rather in the light of a Professor giving a lecture than a criminal on trial for his life.

Bruno made a clean breast of all he believed and disbelieved without misrepresentation or concealment. He said that undoubtedly his philosophy and the inferences to be drawn from it were contrary to the tenets of the Roman Catholic apostolic faith, but that he had never taught or written in direct opposition to it or to uphold any other. It was true that he carried the doctrine of immanence to the extent of placing final as well as formal causes inherently in matter, that he believed the universe was composed of an infinite number of worlds, that these worlds are similar to our own; that the universe is governed by a law which he called Providence, in virtue of which all creatures live and move and have their being, that God, or Providence, has three attributes – Mind, Intellect, Love—so that all things have first their being by reason of mind, then their order and distinct succession by reason of intellect, then their concord and symmetry by reason of love; that the word Creator signifies the ever-renewed and renewing dependence of the universe on the first Cause. This first Cause he defined as: *Atto di sua virtù infinita, non fuori della sua sustanza, ma in quella, la quale è una, semplice, eterna, infinita, immensa. In the part, as in the whole, infinite. Tutto è in tutto. Uno l'universo, infinito per infinita virtù, infiniti in infinito, e non essere in tutto le cose. Eguale per tutto, non è in universo suo maggiore in parte alcuna. Essendo tutto in ogni parte secondo diversi essere, ora humano, ora altrimente e presente. Tutti, passeggiere mutazioni, e di infinite proprietà, parti, le quali giamai sono compiute dove pervengono.*

He confessed he doubted of the Incarnation, the Word by philosophers being considered the intellect, the offspring of the mind: the third person of the Trinity, the Holy Spirit, he considered as the soul of the universe, and he quoted in support of this, the words of Solomon, 'The Spirit of the Lord shall fill the whole earth,' &c.

The examinations were tedious and prolonged, with lapses of months between them. The yet unquenched hope of freedom, the eager aspiration to live and to be permitted to learn more and more, induced Bruno to seek to be reconciled to his judges by recanting whatever in these beliefs seemed contrary to the dogmas enforced by the Church. He acted on the same principle as Galileo did some years afterwards under similar circumstances. Before we condemn either of these men, let us place ourselves in their position and in that of many another martyr who, like Cranmer, from a temporary weakness, afterwards gloriously overcome, yielded for awhile to persecution and tyranny. In Bruno's case there was added a traditional feeling of loyalty to the views of his youth. Three times had he endeavoured to renew his connection with the Order which now disowned him—in Milan, at Toulouse, and in Paris.

What would have been the conduct of the Venetian Inquisition if left to themselves it is difficult to conjecture, but the enquiries made by Mocenigo's confessor had brought their fruit. Bruno was a renegade monk, the three early trials were evoked to identify him, and Rome claimed him. At first there was a hesitation in Venice as to the propriety of giving him up. It was an unwise precedent thus to concede to the jurisdiction of Rome[1]

The latent antagonism to Rome, to be afterwards so wrought upon by Sarpi, was partially roused; but Venice, not being at this precise moment ready for the struggle, considered it politic to keep terms with the Pope by the sacrifice of one poor life. The Council resolved that Bruno should be transferred to Rome. This was done, but with what would now be called a recommendation to mercy; that is, Giordano Bruno was given up to his ecclesiastical superiors with the order that every respect consistent with his safe keeping should be shown to so remarkable and learned a man.

When Bruno reached Rome he must have felt that all was over. Work, study, composition, tuition, lectures, all were finished. With men (actively) he had nothing more to do; henceforth all that remained was passively to endure the pitiless patience of his judges. But by this time his mind was roused from the demoralisation produced by alternate hope and fear. The actual result of a life of noble pursuit and unwearied application became apparent. All vacillation ceased, and he took his stand on the indefeasible right of a man to think for himself.

Seven years were passed by him in the dungeons of the Inquisition[2] His printed works and his MSS. were examined one by one. He was tortured to make him confess intentions where there was nothing reprehensible in words. His free and ample confessions in Venice were united to the former trials, the one during his novitiate, the one during his early priest's life, the one projected in Rome before he commenced his brilliant and wandering career, and the circle was complete. The heresy which seemed the most abominable to his judges was that which concerned a plurality of worlds. Hitherto there had been no inference of heresy from it, but the Roman Catholic hierarchy was beginning to understand the mat-

[1] When the Roman Inquisition made their claim for Bruno to be surrendered to them, the Venetian Council answered 'That as the matter was of great importance and the State very specially powerful at the time they could give no answer' or hasty decision, but would consider the matter and give their answer.

[2] Here Perti and Leo. ends, but I follow Berti as to dates.

darity between all intellectual developments. There had been, up to this time, a theological astronomy; an astronomical theology was needed. The Copernican system had in itself the germ of a plurality of heresies, and the heresies of Bruno contained, as in a calyx, the heresies of Galileo, Campanella, and Descartes.

Bruno was condemned.

The sentence was pronounced in the Church of Sta. Maria sopra Minerva[1] — the spot where in these days Tenerani's Angel of the Resurrection waits in sculptured beauty, as if listening to the last trump which is to set straight distorted wills and rectify all false judgments.

There was assembled in the year of the jubilee, 1600, in the month of February, one of the most imposing tribunals which were ever gathered together for the purpose of sentencing a heretic. The supreme members of the Holy Office, the commissioners, the assessors, the council, the Doctors of Law and of Divinity, the secular magistrates and the Governor of Rome, S.P.Q.R., all those who had been brought to Rome allured by the magnificence of the festivals, and to whom this also was part of the splendid programme.

Before them stood a man (if we are to trust the portrait prefixed by Wagner to his edition of his works) of slight and slender presence, wasted and pale, thoughtful and sad, with dark eyes of mingled melancholy and ardour, and noble, regular features. Something of Greek grace, something of Neapolitan fire, gave him an air of striking and attractive command.

As he turned from his judges, bold, calm, and prophetic, he let fall these words, which across the gulf of time echo proudly on our ears: 'You are more afraid to pronounce my sentence than I to receive it.'

Eight days afterwards Bruno was burnt at the stake.[2]

[1] The Church of the Dominicans.

[2] Here, Wagner has [illegible]. We [illegible] have been the [illegible] and where [illegible] as to date and [illegible], has [illegible].

IRELAND'S BAPTISM;

Or, The Legend of Fedelm, 'The Red Rose,' and Ethna, 'The Fair.'

(From the ancient chronicles of Ireland.)

Where once with battle shouts old Tara rang,
The harper sat amid the hillocks bare;
The legend of past times once more he sang;
Of Fedelm, 'The Red Rose,' Ethna, 'The Fair.'

I

Like two sister fawns that leap,
Borne, as though on viewless wings,
Down husky glade and ferny steep,
To quench their thirst at silver springs—
From Cruachan, through gorse and heather,
Raced the Royal Maids together.
From childhood thus the Twain had rushed
Each morn to Celmch's fountain-cell,
Ere earliest dawn the East had flushed,
To bathe them in its well:
Each morn with joy their young hearts tingled;
Each morn as conquering cloud or mist—
The first beam with the wavelet mingled,
Mouth to mouth they kissed.

II

They stand by the fount with their unloosed hair—
A hand each raises—what see they there?

III

A white form seated on Celmch's stone;
A kinglike presence: the monks stood nigh:
Fronting the red dawn he sat alone,
On the morn-star fixing as keen an eye.
That crosier he grasped stone bright; but brighter
The sunrise flashed from Saint Patrick's mitre!

IV

They gazed without fear. To a kingdom dear,
Dear from their birth had these Maidens been;
Of wrong they had heard, but it came not near,
They hoped they were dear to the Power unseen.
They knelt when that Vision of Peace they saw,
They knelt, not in fear, but in loving awe
The 'Red Rose' blushed like that East afar;
The 'Fair One' alone has that morning star.

V

Then Patrick rose: no word he said,
But three times made the sacred Sign;

At the first, men say that the demons fled;
At the third flocked round them the Powers divine,
Unseen—Like children devout and good,
Hands crossed on their bosoms, the maidens stood

VI

'Blessed, and holy! This land is Eire!
Whence come ye to her, and the king our sire?'

VII

We come from a Kingdom far off, yet near,
Which the wise love well, and the wicked fear:
We come with blessing and come with ban,
We come from the Kingdom of God with man.

VIII

'Whose is that Kingdom? And say, therein
Are the chiefs all brave, and the maids all fair?
Is it clear from reptiles, and that thing, sin?
Is it like this kingdom of King Laeghaire?'

IX

The chiefs of that Kingdom wage war on wrong,
And the clash of their swords is sweet as song,
Fair are the maids, and so pure from taint,
The flash of their eyes chargeth sinner to saint;
There reptile is none, nor the ravening beast;
There light has no shadow, no end the feast

X

'But say, at that feast hath the poor man place?
Is reverence there for the old head hoar?
For the cripple that never may get on the race?
For the maimed that fought, and can fight no more?'

XI

Reverence is there for the poor and meek,
And the great King kisses the worn, pale cheek;
And the King's own waits on the pilgrim guest,
And the Queen bears the little child to her breast
With a gladness known there to the just man crowned,
But the proud and the wrongful are bruised and bound
In the fetters of sorrow, and flung without gate
From the feast and the walls of the saintly city

XII

[illegible] the [illegible] Master was [illegible],
That [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
And [illegible] sweet love grew [illegible]
But [illegible] and the [illegible]

[illegible]

XIII

'Are gardens there? Are there streams like ours?
Is God white-headed, or youthful and strong?
Hang rainbows there o'er the happy bowers?
Are there sun, and moon, and the thrush's song?'

XIV

They have gardens there without noise or strife,
And there is the fruit of immortal life:
Four rivers circle that blissful bound;
And Spirits float o'er it, and Spirits go round:
There, set in the midst, is the golden throne;
And a rainbow Him girdeth that sits thereon:
Seven Virtues enweave it; and lo! therein
The beams are his Holy Ones washed from sin.

XV

As he spake, the hearts of the Maids beat time
To music in heaven of peace and love;
And the deeper sense of that lore sublime
Came out from within them, and down from above;
By degrees came down; by degrees came out:
Who loveth, and hopeth, not long shall doubt.

XVI

'Who is your God? Is there love on His brow?
Oh how shall we love Him, and find Him? How?'
The pure cheek flamed like the dawn-touched dew:
There was silence: then Patrick began anew.

XVII

The princes who ride in your father's train
Your love have courted, but sued in vain;—
Look up, O maidens; make answer free:
What would ye have; and what would ye be?

XVIII

'As pure we would be as yon wreath of foam,
Or the ripple which now yon sunbeams smite:
And joy we would have, and a sorrowless home;
And one to rule us, and Love's delight'

XIX

In Love God fashioned whatever is,
The hills, and the seas, and the silver fires;
For love He made them, and let them be,
Substance, existence, unities, degrees
That God is Father, and Son, and Spirit;
And the True and the Spotless His power inherit,
And God made man, with the great and heart,
That hungers when held from its God apart

Your sire is a king on earth: but I
Would mate you to One who is Lord on high:
There true maid is bride, and her joy shall stand,
For the King's Son hath laid on her head His hand.

XX

As he spake, the eyes of that lovely Twain
Grew large with a tearful but glorious light,
Like skies of summer, late cleared by rain,
When the full-orbed moon will be soon in sight.

XXI

'That Son of the King is He fairest of men?
That mate whom He crowns is she bright and blest?
Here she chase the red deer at His side through the glen?
Here she charm Him with song to His noontide rest?'

XXII

That King's Son strove in a long, long war:
His people He freed; yet they wounded Him sore;
And still in His hands, and His feet, and His side,
The wounds of His sorrow are 'graved, deep-dyed.

XXIII

Then the breasts of the Maidens began to heave
Like low harbour waves, when, beyond the bar,
The great waves gather, and wet winds grieve,
And the roll of the tempest is heard afar.

XXIV

'We will kiss, we will kiss those bleeding feet;
On those bleeding hands our tears shall fall;
And whatever on earth is dear or sweet,
For that wounded heart we renounce them all

XXV

Show us the way to His palace-gate'—
That way is thorny and steep, and straight;
But none can His palace gate be sure,
Save those who have washed in the waters clean

XXVI

They knelt, on their heads the wave he poured
Three, in the name of the Triune Lord
And their foreheads he signed with the Sign adored
On Feltrim, the 'Red Rose,' on Lilma, 'the Fair,'
On the dew of the height in that morning air;
And they say that Saint Agnes, 'twixt sister and sister,
As the Cross last and each, bent over, and kissed her

XXVII

Then sang God's new-born Creatures, 'Behold!
We see God's City from heaven draw nigh:
But we thirst for the fountains divine and cold:
We must see the great King's Son, or die!
Come, Thou that com'st! Our hope is this,
That the body might die, and the soul, set free,
Swell out, like an infant's lips, to the kiss
Of the Lover who filleth infinity!'

XXVIII

The City of God, by the water's grace,
Ye see; alone, they behold His face,
Who have washed in the baths of Death their eyes,
And tasted His Eucharist Sacrifice.

XXIX

'Give us the Sacrifice!' Each bright head
Bent towards it as sunflowers lean to the sun:
They ate; and the blood from the warm cheek fled:
The exile was over, the home was won:
A starry darkness o'erflowed their brain:
Far waters beat on some heavenly shore:
Like the dying away of a low, sweet strain,
The young life ebbed, and they breathed no more:
In death they smiled, as though on the breast
Of the Mother Maid they had found their rest.

XXX

The rumour spread: beside the bier
The King stood mute, and his camp, and court:
The Druids from dark woods drew surlily near:
And the Bards storm-hearted, and humbler sort:
The 'Staff of Jesus' Saint Patrick raised:
Angelic anthems above them swept:
There were that muttered, there were that praised:
But more who gazed on that marvel wept.

XXXI

For they lay on one bed, like Babes new-wed,
By Christ's well: and, the days days over,
On their sleeping faces a veil was spread,
And a green mound raised that bed to cover.
Such were the ways of those ancient days
To Patrick for aye that grave was given,
And above it a church he built in their praise;
For in them had here been opened to heaven

MARIANA.

ISAMBARD KINGDOM BRUNEL.[1]

NO doubt it is true that genius must frequently make its first appearance in a family previously not distinguished by the possession of any remarkable ability; but it is also true that the full and perfect development of any particular intellectual excellence must be largely influenced by surrounding circumstances and opportunities. Each of these facts is illustrated by the Brunels. The father rose to eminence as the first famous man of his name, and the son's unquestionable innate disposition for mechanical science on the grandest scale was fostered and rapidly ripened by his father's example and teaching. No one can presume to say why the elder Brunel was what he was. That the younger Brunel was what he came to be must be admitted to have been in a great measure the result of his having been his father's son. The career of the engineer of the Great Western Railway and promoter of the Great Ship was as much a consequence of that of the inventor of Block Machinery at Portsmouth and engineer of the Thames Tunnel that a knowledge of the father is necessary as an introduction to the life of the son.

Sir Marc Isambard Brunel was the son of a farmer, whose family had for several generations occupied Hacqueville, near Rouen. From his youth he showed the strongest mathematical proclivities, and originally destined for the priesthood, was educated to enter the French navy, which he took devoted interest in the scientific part of navigation. At home he had always delighted in mechanical pursuits, and even when at college he made for himself an astrolabe, with which he was able to take good observations. On the breaking out of the French Revolution the royalist tendencies of his family obliged him to take refuge in the United States of America, and here he obtained employment as a civil engineer in the laying out of a canal from Lake Champlain to the river Hudson. He also practised as an architect, sent in designs for the Houses of Congress at Albany, and built a theatre in New York. But it was in England, and by the invention and execution of the well-known automatic block machinery, that the elder Brunel laid the foundation of his subsequent reputation.

It was in 1799 that the elder Brunel came to England, and soon afterwards he married Miss Sophia Kingdom, the mother of his equally eminent son, whose second name was derived from her. At fourteen young Brunel was at school at Hove, near Brighton, and was already acquainted with the subjects to which his future life was to be devoted. He was making boats, and amusing himself by taking a plan of Hove, for which in a letter he asks for the use of one of his father's professional measuring tapes. He is also said to have prevented the fall of a newly built house, from noticing the bad way in which the work upon it was being done, and had a bet, which he won, that the building would come down during a certain stormy night. For rather more than a year the young man studied at the Lycée Henri Quatre at Paris; but otherwise was much at home, and had the opportunity of seeing all the works in which his father was at the time engaged, comprising sawing machinery at Battersea, the Government works at Woolwich

[1] The Life of Sir Marc Isambard Brunel, Civil Engineer. By Isambard Brunel. London, 1870.

wich and Chatham, and the self-acting machinery for making shoes.

From 1823 he was regularly employed in his father's office, and it was at this time that the project of the tunnel under the Thames was first seriously entertained. Hardly any engineering operation has ever attained more celebrity than the Thames Tunnel—a fame, however, rather owing to the admiration excited by the novelty and difficulty of the work, and by the genius and perseverance shown in completing it after many failures and much discouragement, than by its ultimate utility. In an age which has seen the completion of the Mont Cenis tunnel, and been asked to consider seriously schemes for crossing the British Channel by means of a submarine passage, the plan for a subaqueous thoroughfare under the river Thames a little below London Bridge may seem insignificant; but forty-five years ago it was in fact a far greater undertaking than it would be now, and all subsequent works of the same kind have been rendered more easy by the experience and skill then exhibited, and the practical experience then gained.

The great tool, if it may so be called, by which the boring was carried forward, and a permanent and secure passage left behind it as the work proceeded, was the celebrated shield devised for the purpose by the elder Brunel. Sir Isambard himself described it as "an advancing cofferdam, traversing horizontally." The shield formed an iron framework, consisting thirty-six cells, in each of which a miner could work, with arrangements for excluding any inward rush of water, the danger of which was much diminished by this breaking up of the work into so many parts, which were capable of being separately attended. The work of the tunnel itself was commenced, and in the course kept by the engineer there is record of the important and efficient services rendered by him soon during its progress. On the last day of the year 1826, after twelve months' horizontal advance, young Brunel with nine friends sat down to dine in the tunnel, and by the end of the next month four hundred feet of it were completed. The difficulties of the undertaking, however, continued to increase; and at the beginning of 1828, when about 600 feet of the tunnel had been completed, a second great irruption of water took place, and the work was arrested for seven years. The Thames burst in so suddenly upon the contractors on his domain, that all the lights were extinguished by a rush of air driven before the advancing water; the young engineer narrowly escaped with his life, and was much injured in his endeavours to save others, having to swim to the shaft, up which he was forced by the rising water; and six workmen were killed.

After this the connection of the subject of the present memoir with the Thames Tunnel ceased. He soon became engaged upon works of his own; and it is only necessary to mention that the tunnel was completed in 1843, eighteen years after its commencement, and that the elder Brunel died in his 81st year, in 1849.

The next important work in which Brunel the younger engaged on his own account was the Clifton Suspension Bridge, the history of which is somewhat remarkable. In the year 1753 one William Vick, of Bristol, bequeathed a sum of £1000, to accumulate at compound interest until it should amount to £5000, and then to be applied to the erection of a stone bridge across the Avon at Clifton. In 1793, the accumulating fund had reached nearly £8000, and a committee was appointed to consider if it was possible to execute the Act in accordance with the donor's design, but on obtaining estimates

it appeared that a stone bridge must be employed, and recourse was had to the alternative of a suspension bridge. Designs for this were invited, and Brunel sent in no less than four, all of them having reference to parts of the river within the specified limits. Of these, two were much considered by himself, giving respectively lengths of the floor of the bridge of 1,260 feet and 1,916 feet and distances between the points of suspension of 620 feet and 1,010 feet and estimated to bear an excessive load of 650 tons. His design for the shorter distance had the merit of combining with the short connecting chains previously used in the chain suspension bridges, and strengthening them with those of a double set of iron passing over towers, thus distributing the power of gunite and pressure and the whole over an expanse of weight.

These projects were submitted, for the first time, by Brunel, in detailed designs, which have since been adopted for subsequent structures of the same description. Of two of the four projects, viz. those of Hungerford and Charing Cross, were rejected for the reason that the whole bridge was to be supported by the piers, which Mr. Telford and others thought would be an obstruction to the navigation. Brunel was at the time a practical engineer, and was employed by Mr. Telford, and the latter was at the time engaged in the construction of the Menai Bridge, and it was at the suggestion of the latter that Brunel was induced to turn his attention to the subject of suspension bridges. Brunel's plan was to have a single span of 1,000 feet, and to support the roadway by means of chains passing over towers on the piers, and the whole was to be supported by the chains. The towers were to be of iron, and the whole was to be supported by the chains. The towers were to be of iron, and the whole was to be supported by the chains. The towers were to be of iron

have hung over all his greatest enterprises. The Thames Tunnel, the Clifton Bridge, the broad gauge system of railways, the atmospheric principle of locomotion, the *Great Eastern* ship, were all marvels of ingenuity and of difficulties overcome; nevertheless they more or less all of them suffered from the canker of disappointment or miscarriage. Brunel reached the highest eminence open to his career, and the world owes much to him; but the mere mention of his most famous enterprises carries with it an uncomfortable recollection of objects imperfectly attained, and results incommensurate with expectation.

Years afterwards a company was formed to complete the work of the Clifton Bridge, partly as a monument to the memory of Brunel, and, as it was expressed, 'for at the same time removing a slur from the engineering talent of the country.' By a singular coincidence the chains ultimately used had been constructed under Brunel's own directions for another bridge in a distant locality. It so happened that the Hungerford Suspension Bridge erected by Brunel over the Thames was taken down to make way for the railway bridge which now carries the South-Eastern line across the river into the Charing Cross station, and the chains rendered useless in their original site were taken in 1854 to complete the renewed works at Clifton.

Mr Isambard Brunel, in arranging the materials for his father's Life, has deemed it right to keep separate the account of his professional achievements, which occupies the great bulk of the volume, from the details of his private life, to which a very moderate amount of space only is devoted. This plan may possess some advantages, but it is not best to be observed that the two threads of his professional and private career could have been made to intertwine more closely in the biography; and it may be surmised that the result would have been to render the reading of the present book more generally interesting than under the actual distribution of its contents.

The next phase of Brunel's professional life is coincident with the great revolution in locomotion which led to the development of so much engineering talent, as well as to that enormous addition to the wealth and resources of the country which was the consequence of the general use of the railway system. A very brief allusion may be convenient to the state of affairs which preceded the famous Battle of the Gauges, in which Brunel was so conspicuous a combatant. Without noticing previous insignificant lines worked only for local mineral traffic, the first passenger line opened was that between Stockton and Darlington in 1825, and next, of far greater importance, that from Manchester to Liverpool, dating from 1830, the parent of the line subsequently connecting Liverpool and Birmingham, of that from Birmingham to London, and so in short of the whole narrow gauge system in all its widely extended ramifications. While the great commercial centres of the north and middle of England were thus active in their own interests to secure access for their goods and passenger traffic to the metropolis, the West was not unmindful of itself. Brunel had thought of a railway as early as in 1825, and in 1832, when the Liverpool and Manchester line was an ascertained success, it was resolved to attempt a line to London. The first thing to be done was to procure an engineer to make the preliminary surveys and prepare the necessary estimates. Here I was by chance brought into contact with Brunel, not only by his engineering talent, but by various family ties, the Hungerford Hartleys being, however, other connections

dates, and a competition was suggested, in which the offer of the lowest estimate was to ensure success. Upon this Brunel declared he must withdraw his name, and wrote to the committee: 'You are holding out a premium to the man who will make you the most flattering promises. It is quite obvious that the man who has either least reputation at stake, or who has most to gain by temporary success and most to lose by the consequences of disappointment, must be the winner in such a race.' Brunel was appointed engineer without passing through the scrambling process to which he had so righteously objected. A rough preliminary survey was made by him of the country between Bristol and London, a company was started, and the regular survey commenced previous to an application to Parliament. The functions of the chief in command of such a survey are not unlike those of a general directing a campaign, and it was at that time a campaign in an unknown country and under revolutionary rule of war. His staff of assistants had to be formed out of raw material for the most part, but their own previous experience here was of service, and all were—to a man—of a kind which in the railroad was a total abomination—but to be corrected by every method. He spent weeks in travelling by night to save time, and in riding about the country by day, sometimes as much as twenty hours a day.

A bill for the construction of part only of the intended line was introduced in the Parliamentary session of 1834. It passed the Commons, but was thrown out in the Lords, after long discussion, and strong opposition, now almost inconceivable, from the various classes who supposed their interests or enjoyments would be more or less affected by the railroad. The London terminus contemplated at this time was to have been on the north side of Vauxhall Bridge, and to have been approached through Brompton, while in other respects the line differed from that afterwards constructed. Brunel's cross-examination in the Lords' Committee occupied eleven days, and is described as exhibiting marvellous knowledge of the country to be penetrated, and of the principles of mechanics involved—displayed with rapid thought, clear language, and with no loss of presence of mind. Some of the objections made seem now utterly ridiculous. It was contended that a tunnel a thousand yards long could not be traversed in safety, and that the noise of two trains passing in it would be so tremendous that no passenger could be induced to go a second time.

In the following session the application to Parliament was renewed, and this time for powers to make the whole line from Bristol to London, and with arrangements for using the London and Birmingham line for the first four miles out of town, so as to obviate the objections made to the creation of another metropolitan terminus. The Bill now passed after lengthened opposition, and the Great Western Railway was constructed with few deviations from the line sanctioned, but with its actual terminus at Paddington, instead of as at first proposed. The successful issue of this contest was no doubt the most important event of Brunel's life, and placed him at the age of twenty-nine in the highest rank of his profession.

In all Brunel constructed 1,200 miles of railway, of which one line extends from London to the Land's End, and another line to Milford Haven, 285 miles from Paddington. He was most circumstantial in giving his best personal attention to everything undertaken by him, and from his accurate scientific knowledge, and acquaintance with details,

brought an unusual amount of supervision to bear upon those employed under his direction. The practical experience acquired in the Thames Tunnel always stood him in good stead when dealing with contractors for railway works, who were sometimes astonished at a knowledge superior to their own and in their own special business. He had the reputation of being a perfect witness diplomatic and yet honest in his answers; but he always declined to give evidence except in support of undertakings for which he was himself concerned, or in which his own companies were interested. Hence his evidence carried unusual weight; and he never yielded to the very objectionable habit of practising as a professional witness whose testimony could be procured, like the services of an advocate, by the temptation of a sufficiently large pecuniary retainer. His powers of work are said to have been unequalled; he took little sleep, and smoking was the only luxury in which he ever indulged. Working hard and zealously when he was at work, he was always ready for play when the time for play came, and was then ripe for any boyish amusement or fun. He had a fine temper, was loved by those around him, and never forgot those who adhered to his fortunes.

The history of the great conflict between the broad and narrow gauges is an instructive one, and highly illustrative of the manner in which the most important things are sometimes done in this country. The narrow gauge seems to have been adopted for the early locomotive lines without thought or consideration: it represented a width of 4 feet 8½ inches, which was that of the old tramways, and had no doubt originally been determined to suit the wheels of the country carts in the North of England. So that Stephenson and all succeeding locomotive engines, with all their vast powers of speed and traction, continued to run in the old ruts left by the rudest and almost aboriginal horse-drawn vehicles. There was of course, at first, the convenience that the colliery-waggons could run on the newly constructed railways; but it does not appear that the point was discussed or ever received any serious attention. And thus the old gauge spread from the Stockton and Darlington line to the far more important one between Liverpool and Manchester, and from that to Birmingham and London. In the wheeled vehicles of the old road, the burden, whether of goods or passengers, was always carried between the wheels, and the limited weight which could be drawn by horse power would have rendered any increase in the size of the load impossible. But when the locomotive engine came into use, in order to increase the load and give space for its reception, the wheels were reduced in size, and the body of the carriage placed over and projecting beyond them. When Brunel became engineer of the Great Western Railway he debated whether the gauge thus fortuitously determined was the best possible, and in their Act the gauge to be employed on the Great Western was purposely left undetermined for future consideration. He afterwards (in 1835) recommended the broad gauge, and in the following year a Royal Commission appointed to report on Iron railways also advised an increase in the width between the rails, although to a less extent than Brunel. The Great Western gauge is 7 feet, and the Irish gauge is 6 feet 2 inches. The resistance to both locomotives would be the same, the obvious advantages proposed being that of carrying greater loads, with the increased safety of a low centre of gravity, and that of the wider space afforded for enlarging the engine

and its accessories, and in securing a higher rate of speed for passengers and of tractive power for goods. He intended also that the carriage body or truck for goods stock should be placed between the wheels, and not over them, and the width of 9 feet was fixed on so as to admit of an ordinary carriage body being placed between the wheels. This was never done, but it affords another instance of the force of habit; and it is not easy to see why the width of the usual carriage body used on the old roads should be an element in determining the size of railway carriages, which have, however, been always built in England on a novel and unreasoning principle to suit the ancient type of conveyance.

How little the future extent of the development of the railway system in England can have been appreciated, by even such a man as Brunel, may be judged by some of the reasons given by him in answer to the anticipated inconvenience of a diversity of gauges. He contended that the whole of the West of England, South Wales, and Ireland was the legitimate domain of the Great Western Company, and that the practicability of direct communication by railway between the North and the West of England (on the other hand, was it endeavoring to maintain that the existing narrow gauge was the best possible, which the Irish report had shown it not to be), there was much to be said in favour of retaining it on the mere ground that it had been already extensively adopted. There are also many other inconveniences attendant on the existence of gauges such as the increased cost of the works, the greater size of the carriages, with consequently increased dead weight, and so on. The line was opened from Paddington to Maidenhead with the broad gauge, but the question was referred for an opinion to the most eminent engineers of the day. Mr James Walker and Robert Stephenson declined to interfere, but Mr Wood of Newcastle-on-Tyne and Mr. Hawkshaw went into the matter, and did not altogether support Brunel. The substitution of a continuous bearing of timber for blocks of stone placed at intervals as supports for the iron rails was a capital improvement introduced on the Great Western line, but this also did not at the time meet with unqualified approbation. Nevertheless both the broad gauge and the continuous timber bearing were adopted for the whole line by the directors and shareholders, and the Great Western became what it has since remained. This was a great triumph for Brunel, and was due almost entirely to his own genius, power of management, and determination to overcome all obstacles that stood in his way. The line was opened from London to Bristol in 1841. Its perfect romance gave great satisfaction, and there was a truce in the warfare of the gauges until it became necessary in the increasing demand for railway communication to determine which gauge should prevail in the parts of the country lying between those already occupied respectively by the rival systems. The quiet occupation of their own district, as at first contemplated, became no longer possible for the Great Western Company, and they had to engage in the contest for the possession wholly or in part of fresh territory. At this time (1844) there was a Railway Department of the Board of Trade, which in the opinion of many afforded an excellent means of obtaining a sensible and settled judgment of questions of truly national interest in connection with the construction of railways than could be obtained by the interested strife of contending barristers, lawyers, engineers, and speculators in Parliament. Its

existence, however, was a short one, as it failed to find favour with the great authorities of the land, then intoxicated with the first transports of recognising the principles of free trade, which were supposed to apply to the making of railroads as well as to all other applications of capital and labour. Rival schemes of extension, promoted by the Great Western and the London and Birmingham Companies, were referred to the Railway Department for decision on the place where the break of gauge should be made, which would, in fact, have determined in a great measure the future predominance of one or other of the two gauges. On commercial considerations the Board of Trade fixed the break at Oxford, and decided in favour of the narrow gauge schemes to the north of Oxford as against those of the Great Western. Parliament reversed this decision, but, as was stated, without reference to the comparative merits of the two systems of gauge, and with the stipulation that narrow gauge rails were to be laid down if required by the Board of Trade; and the whole gauge question was, on the motion of Mr. Cobden in the House of Commons, sent before a Royal Commission. The Commissioners were of the highest eminence—Sir Frederick Smith, a distinguished Royal Engineer officer; Mr. Airy, the Astronomer Royal; and Professor Barlow, of Woolwich. Of forty-eight witnesses examined by them, thirty-five were advocates of the narrow gauge. Only four champions of the broad gauge entered the lists, and all were officers of the Great Western the secretary, the traffic and locomotive superintendents, and Brunel.

The Commission made their Report in 1845, and pronounced in favour of the narrow gauge. This conclusion was not accepted without resistance on the part of the broad gauge champions, and the controversy continued to rage upon paper for some time. Finally came the Act of Parliament to regulate the gauge of railways, passed at the close of the Session of 1846, enforcing the established narrow gauge in England, and the medium gauge for Ireland; but with certain exceptions of lines in the west of England and South Wales, and leaving it open for future Parliaments to deal with any special cases as they might arise. A mixed gauge has since grown up, in which a third line of rails laid within the two of the broad gauge enables narrow gauge carriages to run upon broad gauge lines.

The contest was renewed by an attempt in 1847 to carry the broad gauge to Birmingham, made by the Great Western Company, and in this they were successful; but the final result of the great battle has been that, in order to avoid the inconvenience of a break of gauge, especially felt in the carriage of goods, the third line has been provided on all the broad gauge railways, and is carried into London; while the Northern lines worked by the Great Western Company are on the narrow gauge only. The broad gauge is still confined to the districts in which it was first applied, and its adoption for them must be attributed to the great and unyielding perseverance of Brunel, rather than to its own merits or any other cause.

The mode of propulsion on railways, no less than the construction of the lines themselves, naturally engaged the attention of Brunel, and his espousal of a system differing from that of traction by the locomotive engine again placed him in opposition to the majority of engineers. The so-called atmospheric system, no doubt, presented many attractions, and, but for the difficulty, which ultimately proved insurmountable, of dealing in practice with one point essential to its proper

working, it might have been adopted on many lines with signal advantage. Instead of a locomotive engine—itself of great weight, and carrying heavy supplies of fuel and water—running on the rails and drawing the train after it, fixed stationary engines at intervals of about three miles were to communicate motion to the train in the following manner. The power of the engine was in the first instance applied to extracting the air from an iron tube which ran between the rails, and in the tube moved a tolerably close-fitting piston which was urged forwards by the pressure of the atmosphere upon the vacuum before it. So far all was easy, and the problem was how to connect the train of carriages with the piston, so that they might travel along with it. This was effected by having a short bar fixed to the piston, and passing through a longitudinal slit along the upper part of the tube, covered by a leather flap or valve of leather or some similar substance so prepared and secured as to air-tight, until forced open by the passage of the bar, and capable of returning to its air-tight condition before the passage of the next train. It was in making provision for this that the main difficulty lay, and the ultimate failure to receive a successful solution of the almost element of the system. It had been tried elsewhere before Brunel adopted it for the Kingstown Railway. In 1844, and in the then condition of the locomotive, the gradients to which the system would now be made were considered quite unfit for working by locomotives. The South Devon Railway presented fearful gradients—steeper than the powers of the locomotives of that time, and which would have been worked by stationary engines and rope with at a saving of speed out of the question when quick passenger traffic was desired.

Here, as in the former important conflict, Brunel was opposed to Robert Stephenson, who, in reporting on the question of using it for the Chester and Holyhead Railway, came to the conclusion that, on ordinary gradients, the vacuum traction would be more costly than that by the locomotive, and on steep gradients more than that by rope traction.

It was, nevertheless, adopted by Brunel on the South Devon line, and worked for some time. The difficulty, however, of keeping the long valve air-tight defeated the calculations made of the motive power to be relied on, and the imperfect means of telegraphic communication available at that time did not allow of the necessary communications being made between the several engine-houses during the progress of a train. Neither did the working of the stationary engines prove so economical as had been anticipated. So that, owing to the leakage along the tube, the engines were expending three times the power required for their intended duty, and the cost per horse-power was also three times as great as was expected. However, the destruction of the leather of the valve by exposure to the weather, and by contact with the iron of the tube, and its tendency to become permeable by air, led to the abandonment of the system. Twenty-five thousand pounds would have been required to renew the valve and alter the engines for the whole distance from Exeter to Newton, and under Brunel's advice in favour of his own favourite scheme, the atmospheric system on this line was dropped.

The chapter in which an account is given of the many important railway bridges and viaducts designed and executed by Brunel will probably have more interest for the professional than the general reader. It exhibits very variously the fertility of his resources, and his knowledge of materials and of the best

mode of applying them to meet the exigencies of different occasions. Many technical details are necessarily introduced highly valuable to students in engineering, and of which they will do well to take advantage.

We have hitherto followed Brunel in his great works on land, and we must now pursue him when he takes to the water; for while he was engaged in the many works on railways, of which some sketch has been attempted, he was also occupied in promoting the advance of steam navigation on the largest scale. The *Great Western* (the first steamship making regular voyages across the Atlantic), the *Great Britain* (the first large iron steamship, as well as the first large ship in which the screw propeller was used), and lastly the famous *Great Eastern*, were all built under his direction. The first of these originated in what might have passed for a joke. At a directors' meeting of the Great Western Railway Company some one objected to the enormous length of the proposed railway from London to Bristol. Brunel said, 'Why not make it longer, and have a steamboat to go from Bristol to New York, and call it the *Great Western*?' A committee was afterwards formed to carry out the project, and their report, made in 1836, contained the following passage, inserted by Brunel, briefly describing the principle of the advantage to be gained by large vessels:

> The resistance of vessels in the water does not increase in direct proportion to their tonnage. [illegible] the resistance of vessels of the proportions usually employed as steamers [illegible] a vessel of double the tonnage [illegible] encounter as much as double the power, [illegible] the resistance [illegible] the power [illegible] the vessels [illegible] the power of the engines and consequently [illegible] may be reduced.

It was at a meeting of the British Association, held at Bristol in 1836, that Dr. Lardner made his well-known assertion that a direct steam voyage to New York could not be successfully made, which for the moment obtained assent, although Brunel was himself present at the discussion upon it, and broke a lance with the Professor, who was also one of his antagonists in the fight of the gauges. The objection to the possibility of such a voyage now seems as ridiculous as that made against railway tunnels, and must be taken as an illustration of the way in which the pains and difficulties of one generation often become the sport and ordinary routine of the next, yielding as they do to the industrious agency which sooner or later is sure to overcome the inert resistance of ignorance and prejudice. The *Great Western* was built, and made her voyages, running regularly between Bristol and New York until 1846, when she was transferred to the West Indian service, having completely solved the practical problem of great ocean steamships.

The *Great Britain* was still larger, being of 3,400 tons, was of iron, and was worked by a screw propeller in addition to paddle-wheels. After four rapid voyages across the Atlantic, she started on a fifth from Liverpool in 1846, and most unfortunately ran ashore in Dundrum Bay, on the north-east coast of Ireland. The event created considerable sensation at the time, as Brunel's efforts to protect the ship by a breakwater, and finally to float her off, were of the most remarkable kind. The *Great Britain* is still making regular voyages between Liverpool and Australia.

Immense as the *Great Britain* had been as compared with previous steamships, her size was not great enough to satisfy Brunel's desires. He was thoroughly convinced of the practical advantages

of a large capacity for carrying the amount of power, saying that to make long voyages economically and speedily by steam required the vessels to be large enough to carry the coal for the entire voyage at least outwards, and, unless the facility for obtaining coal was very great at the out-port, that for the return voyage, and that vessels must be larger than had been previously built could be navigated with great advantage for mercantile purposes. Accordingly Brunel now advised the Directors of the Atlantic Mail Company to have a vessel of 3000 to 4000 tons, so as only to have to touch for coal at the Cape. He pointed out that what was contemplated in order to render the passage of the Atlantic practicable by steam, was merely to make the vessel large enough to carry its own coal, and that for a short voyage it would only be necessary to make the same proportion larger as Brunel expected that the performance of such a vessel were, as usual with him, extremely sanguine, and he concluded that no steamer could be produced, with any chance of success, that did not carry coal for the whole of the Atlantic and back, that is, 7000 tons of coal for 3000 tons of cargo. The difficulties in the arrangement of a vessel of such dimensions were, as it must be remembered at the epoch of the *Great Eastern*, great, its breadth, height, and its power to carry coal being then unprecedented. Brunel felt that he should have proved himself unworthy of his profession if he could not get over such difficulties as these, and he did it well. He estimated the labours far beyond the mere powers of the strongest man, and drew up valuable reports on the general management of the great ship, and on the duties of the commander, officers, and chief engineer. To launch the stupendous weight of metal which Brunel now grew to be the fear of, it was required extraordinary power and precautions, and special motive power was used by hydraulic pressure, of which Brunel's reports give a full and interesting account. It was a time of terrible trial and anxiety, and his exertions and the unusual heat had brought on a bad attack of the disease of which in eighteen months he died. The vessel was completed and made a first voyage to New York in 1858, but Brunel's life was not spared to see the latest creation take its full and perfect shape, and we do not propose now to follow the subsequent fortunes of the great ship.

We pass to the details of his private life contained in the last chapter of the volume before us. Of his general temperament and character in later years Mr. William Hawes has furnished a most pleasing but not flattered picture:

> [illegible]

> [illegible]

And all the good qualities exhibited thus early in life cease to be observable as he advanced in years and reputation. Mr Hawes says:

> [illegible]

All his friends of his own age were attached to him in no ordinary degree, and they watched every step in his future career with pride and interest.

In fact, he was a generous, open-hearted, considerate friend, willing to contribute to the pleasure and enjoyment of those about him, well knowing his own power, but never introducing it to the annoyance of others, unless he was thwarted or opposed by pretentious ignorance; and then, though at times decided and severe in his remarks, he generally preferred leaving such individuals to themselves, rather than, by noticing them, to give permanence to their deficiencies.

His appreciation of character was so exact, and his dislike to anything approaching to vulgarity in thought or act so great, that to some his exemption was mistaken for pride; but to his friends many became endeared to him, and the extent to which his society was sought out in private life, and in the social circles of his own profession, marked strongly the distinguishing features of his mind and character.

In 1836 Brunel settled in his house in Duke Street, Westminster, overlooking St. James's Park, and in the same year married the eldest daughter of the late William Horsley, the sister of the eminent Royal Academician of that name, who has contributed some interesting personal recollections testifying to Brunel's love of art, and describing a journey to Italy with him in 1842.

In the year succeeding a strange accident happened to him, which was very near being attended with fatal consequences. He was playing at conjuring with his children, and in pretending to pass a half-sovereign from his ear to his mouth, the coin unfortunately slipped down his throat. The accident happened on April 3, and on the 18th Sir Benjamin Brodie was consulted, who concluded that the half-sovereign had passed into the windpipe. The operation of opening the windpipe was performed. The introduction of the forceps, however, occasioned so much irritation that the experiment could not be persevered in. Finally, and at the end of six weeks, the coin dropped from the mouth of the patient while in an inverted posture, and on the application of a gentle blow on the back.

Ten years of prosperous labour, though mixed with much anxiety, followed Brunel's release from this hazard. In 1857 he received the honorary degree of D.C.L. at Oxford in company with Robert Stephenson. In the following year his health began seriously to fail, and he was advised to winter in Egypt. At Cairo he found Robert Stephenson, and the two dined together on Christmas Day. He returned to England in May, resumed his professional duties for some months, and was busy in superintending the preparations for getting the *Great Eastern* ready for sea. On September 5, 1859, the day before that on which she was advertised to sail, he was on board early in the morning, and he intended to have gone round in her to Weymouth. But in the middle of the day there were symptoms of failing power; he went home, and it was clear that an attack of paralysis had taken place. Ten days afterwards the end came; and so, at a comparatively early age, closed the life of one of England's greatest workers in that field of enterprise to which so much of her material prosperity is due.

WHAT THE CHINESE REALLY THINK OF EUROPEANS

By a Native Literate

[This very curious paper was written a few months ago in Chinese and in China by an educated native of that country and has been translated by Dr. Legge, who has added a few explanatory and further notes to the article. It may be read as a remarkable supplement to another article in our present Number (p.).]

The Master said, 'My doctrines make progress. I will get upon a raft and float about on the sea.'—Confucian Analects, book v. ch. 6.

A STRANGER from the Province of Kanseh, on arriving at Nanking, applies to a graduate from Shanghae for information respecting the manners and customs, religion and morals, trade and laws, of the foreigners residing at the open Treaty ports.

Stranger. 'It seems to me that we ought to be truly grateful for the many benefits we have enjoyed since the opening of the ports to foreign trade. In the first place our daily wants are supplied at a very moderate rate by the foreign merchants, our rivers and oceans are turned into highways by the sailing junks and steamers, our literature and literary productions are carefully studied by eminent scholars for the public purposes, the ignorant and vicious are reformed by the preaching of the Catholic and Protestant religions, while free hospitals are founded to heal diseases not curable by our native physicians.'

Graduate of Shanghae. 'How extensively all-embracing you are, sir! It is not only the surface of affairs (Chinese) that appear to be on friendly terms with foreigners, but their secret hearts they still strongly dislike them. Though from fear of our military force, they never demonstrate their feelings openly, yet internally

A[illegible] ... charges ... these, ... not clearly understood the foreigners' purpose in the matter. I will explain to you what I know of their proceedings here, or what grievances we have to complain of.'

Graduate of Shanghae. 'Since you have asked me for information on these five subjects, I will explain them succinctly, but I will not go beyond these limits on the present occasion. At the same time I beg you thoroughly to understand that the opinions I state are those held by the public generally, and not any particular views of my own. It is a rule of universal application that of all ills, those which are permitted to grow gradually and without check are the most formidable, seeing that after a lapse of time they become impossible to stop, while with regard to advantages, it is most disastrous to have them slowly and gradually abstracted, whereby, after years of encroaching and scraping, we eventually fall into poverty and distress. When foreigners deprive us of our advantages and do us injuries, is it likely that we should acquiesce without murmuring? We naturally harbour feelings of resentment, often, I allow, on account of very trifling causes, but which, I fear, will one day tend to very serious consequences. Instead of, as you suggest, feeling very grateful, I desire on these subjects only to cause me feel more and, and if you will listen to what I am about to say, you will perceive that I have good cause for so doing.

'1. With respect to religions, the Protestant faith is propagated by the English and Americans, and the Catholic by the French. Their ostensible motive in undertaking to reform mankind, their leading doc-

trine being to "treat others as themselves." This is the same as our Confucian doctrine of "reciprocity," but their reasons for promulgating it are very different from our own.

'Owing to the dissimilarity in habit and disposition, foreigners fear that we shall insult and injure them, and therefore preach this doctrine of reciprocity in order to protect by its application. Their real motive is to obtain protection through preaching, and thus enable their trade to be carried on without hindrance or disaster; and they look to such Chinese as may go over to their persuasion to give them timely warning in case any hostile aggressions are contemplated.

'Anticipating that few of our nation would believe their doctrines, they try to draw them into their toils by making use of grandiloquent terms, such as "The Lord of Heaven," "The Supreme Ruler," "The Creator and Governor of heaven and earth, of mankind and all things," while they violently traduce our Confucian, Buddhist, and Taoist religions, on account of the absurd rite of ancestor-worship to the spirits of our ancestors. Admitting for argument's sake that what they say is true, what Being, pray, created "the Supreme Ruler" or "the Lord of Heaven," or where did he reside before the heavens were created? These tales always remind me of our own Pwanku, who is also said to have created the heavens; but all this is merely conjecture and application, for in the days of high antiquity writing was unknown, and so neither facts nor dates have been handed down for the enlightenment of posterity.

'Again, the Protestants and Catholics discriminate each other on every occasion; and not only can those natives of Europe, even the foreign-learning natives, attain to no unity between one foreign country, as, for example, England, and France, but Catholics among Protestants, while in France there are Protestants among Catholics. Again, among these Christians themselves there are many disorderly characters and even criminal offenders, and therefore it would seem hopeless to attempt to make the Chinese perfectly good, even though they were made thorough believers. In short, to leave their own countries to come here to preach is to stultify themselves by throwing away the substance to grasp at the shadow. A few persons here and there join their religions, but they are without exception the idle and dissipated; there are also, I believe, one or two reading men amongst them, but they are notorious scamps and vagabonds. In sum, people who [illegible] Christianity are invariably said to [illegible] Christianity, because they use their religion as a means of getting their livelihood: hence it is very apparent that the ruling motives with the converts are, either to obtain a living, or to take advantage of the indiscriminate mingling of the sexes in the chapels to gratify their lusts. Still worse, many converts, like the fox in the fable, who associated himself with the tiger to avail himself of the latter's awful majesty, act in the most lawless manner, and persuade the foreign missionaries to screen them when arrested by the mandarins, while many disputes with their neighbours and fellow-countrymen they call on their confederate religionists for assistance. The harm these men do increases with lapse of time, and is a case in point. I may mention that the Taeping rebels set apart every seventh day for worship, when they recited the prayers of the Almighty Ruler and Jesus.

'At the present time the Protestant missionaries are tolerably well behaved, but all sorts of strange things go on amongst the Catholics. These latter, with the exception of Spanish Fathers, and in some parts of the interior as many assume the

position and dignity of our Civil Service of the 3rd class, when the common people make use of [illegible] as a cover for the perpetration of all sorts of enormities. Several years ago, before the ports were opened to foreign trade, although even then the religion was tolerated, the foreign missionaries did not dare to go about freely through fear of arrest by the local authorities, but were only carried from place to place by native converts dressed in Chinese costume, travelling on land in great mule carts, and on water in boats. Nay, so much did they apprehend danger, that they actually assumed the recumbent posture of dogs to prevent any exposure of their feet. As far as their persons were concerned, they did very well; but their actions rather resembled those of evil doers, being performed under cover of the night. Not that they were engaged in any unlawful pursuit, but the prejudices of the people, who were of the opinion that foreign women were devil worshippers, rendered it necessary to attend to such precautions.

In front of the French [illegible] there is a [illegible] which, though [illegible] than the [illegible] of the other [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

and that while affecting to inculcate morality by the mingling of the sexes, they subvert the manners of our countrymen. Therefore no just man ever becomes a convert. Again, there are foreign missionaries, *both male and female*, who arouse the suspicions and excite the odium of the people by dressing and parading the streets in Chinese clothes; and this vagary gave rise some time ago to a popular demonstration in this very city.

'In sum, the only religions worthy of the name are those which do not injure, but benefit mankind. What reason is there, then, for reducing all religions into one, thereby aiding the selfish schemes of evil-minded men, who disgrace the name of their co-religionists, call down upon them the grave disapproval of our scholars and officials, and the resentment of all well-meaning men?

'2. The hospitals are established by the missions, and the foreign physicians pass examinations before they are permitted to practise. They are intimately versed in anatomy, and their treatment of wounds and ulcers is marvellously skilful. There are only one or two in a hundred who are not very well acquainted with the lesser points, become nervous when operating, and send to other practitioners for advice and assistance.

'In dealing with outward diseases they are very fond of using the knife and lancet. They first stupefy the patient with medicine, so that he cannot feel pain, and then perform operations with the knife and saw. If, however, they first paid some attention to the various constitutions of their patients, they would not meet with so many failures as they now do. Stupefying medicine lowers the animal spirits, while the use of the knife causes a loss of blood, and if these two methods are employed in combination a patient is very much enfeebled by disease. I have known four or five cases where death has resulted from amputation of the thigh or operation for goitre.

'They usually treat internal complaints with opening medicines and emetics; but, in my opinion, too strong doses are given. Where, however, they most signally fail is in cases of low fever and the convulsions of children, when they lose very many of their patients. This is the result of the diet they order being unsuited to the nature of the disease.

'What, however, our countrymen take the gravest exception to is the immodest employment of male practitioners in midwifery cases. They are not at all aware that this is the immediate result of the high esteem in which slender waists are held among Europeans, and the consequent tight bandaging—a custom which, like the tying up of the feet of our own countrywomen, has come down from the times of remote antiquity.

'The scandals which were afloat some time back in this city of Yangchow and other places, though highly exaggerated, took their origin in well-known facts. Foreign physicians are ever hunting after and gaining possession of the dead bodies of young children for the purpose of finding out the causes of their deaths by dissection. Some years ago a boat was upset in one of our rivers, and a foreign doctor, seeing the dead bodies float past, had them dragged ashore and taken to his house. The relatives of the deceased having traced their bodies, the doctor was ordered, at the instance of our magistrate, to hand them over, when, on removing the wrappers with which the bodies were enveloped, they found to their unspeakable horror, that vast alterations had been made in their bodies and limbs.'

'The few Chinese who were acquainted with foreign usages knew that this was merely a case of dissection performed for the sake of

learning only, but even they were inexpressibly shocked, for, as they naturally said, "What fearful crimes can these dead have committed that they should thus be cut to pieces, a punishment more barbarous than our extreme penalty of death by decapitation?"

'On the other hand, the great bulk of our population, who, of course, are totally ignorant of foreigners and their customs, believe that they extract the hearts, brains, livers, and eyes from dead bodies to mix with their medicines, and angry complaints take to the effect that they have dug up children by means of stinging ferment medicines, throwing what is left of their bodies into the surgery buckets, where they are dissolved or otherwise made away with. These suspicions cannot be explained away, and there result much resentment and hatred.

'Foreign merchants coming to this country for the express purpose of selling their own products and purchasing ours, it would appear at first sight that we reaped a great benefit by obtaining foreign goods cheaply and selling our own at a fair rate. But ultimately, however, these woollen and cotton cloths have quite driven our staple silk and cotton fabrics out of the markets. Now, our countrymen indulge in very severe comments on the conduct of foreign merchants in draining away gold from over the empire as the tide ebbs from the sea-shore; but instead of emptying off the spring, they only think of damming up the stream for after all it is quite as much our fault in employing as there in selling the foreign articles, there is so great a quantity grown in our country now, that there would still be an abundance supply in case it were no longer to be derived from abroad. In a few matters the subjects of the foreign powers have advantages. They have the power to make roads, not from public-spirited motives, but to gain by the land tolls, and that is the reason why they are so anxious to open gold, silver, coal mines, &c.

'With regard to transportation of foreign goods into the interior, not one venture in a thousand is really despatched by foreign merchants, but they obtain transit certificates from the foreign custom-houses to enable the Chinese purchasers to evade the local dues and imposts. The most extraordinary circumstance of all, however, is that foreign merchants are simple enough to war against their own interests by furnishing Chinese dealers with transit passes for goods purchased by Chinese from Canton, and even Ningpo native dealers, thereby enabling them to fly the British flag and evade all inland dues, while the foreign custom-houses prudently resolve to take no notice of such acts, as they derive the benefit of additional transit dues.

'Again, natives of Ningpo and Canton, who are either friends of or are themselves compradores in foreign houses, establish business premises of their own in back streets, where they display large sign-boards, with the style of "Messrs So and So's Eastern or Western Warehouse," while all their bills and drafts run in their own trading name or designation. Not requiring much capital, and having no expensive establishments to keep up, these men sell their goods at a much lower rate, and, in fact, nearly drive their foreign masters out of the market, who, like simpletons, get them out of their difficulties with regard to transit certificates, as well as any troubles with the mandarins. Thus these Chinese owners of pseudo-foreign warehouses evade all local dues, at the same time taking away business from the foreign merchants and causing a perfect stagnation in their trade.

'Tea and silk are the staple exports from this country. When the samples arrive from the in-

terior a fierce competition commences amongst the foreigners, and the prices gradually increase. The teas are sold by sample, after inspection of which the buyer ships off his tea without taking the trouble to examine the bulk, so that he does not know, until it has crossed the ocean, whether it has been injured or is of inferior quality. There have been flagrant cases in which teas have been wetted during the transit from the mountains, and then have been re-dried, mixed with good teas, and sold to the very great loss of the foreign purchasers, who fall into the toils so craftily spread for them by certain of our native tea-dealers.

'Again, foreign merchants are unable to combine for any object. Some years ago, at a southern port, they agreed at a public meeting to receive specie only in payment for their goods instead of promissory notes, as had been the custom formerly. During the ten days next following no business whatever was done, and none could imagine in what manner the buyers obtained their usual supply of foreign goods, when to their utter astonishment it was discovered that one of their number had transported his goods to a warehouse in a back street of the city, where they were privily sold by him compradore, thus also forfeiting his own self-respect, and breaking faith with his fellow-merchants.

'In our country, when goods are sold inferior in quality to the sample, instead of the buyers being called upon to take delivery, the sellers are heavily fined. Now, when foreigners sell goods inferior to sample, they ought to consider themselves very mercifully dealt with in not being subjected to fines. Instead of this, they not only force the native dealers to take delivery of the goods, but make them pay interest after they have detained on the ground of delay and consequent loss of capital. It does not seem to occur to them that so long as the money is not paid or the goods delivered, no injury is done to either party, and there is no reason why the vendor should not look out for another purchaser. Instead of doing so, however, they petition the consul to write to the local authorities to force the native traders to take delivery of goods inferior in quality to the samples from which they purchased.

'On the other hand, when foreigners buy goods from Chinese merchants, in case they do not come up to the samples they not only decline to take delivery, but levy a fine or forfeit in addition. Still worse than this, it often happens that though the goods plainly tally with the samples, foreign merchants make all sorts of objections, and insist upon a difference of quality in the hope of making the seller abate his price. This he is naturally very unwilling to do, but viewing the impediments in the way of securing the particular venture again, as also the expense of porterage backwards and forwards, he is often constrained to extricate from his difficulties by parting with his goods at a lower rate. Now this kind of thing is practised by one or two foreign merchants out of every ten.

'Formerly both Chinese and foreign merchants had large fortunes, but now they make one note out of six or seven out of every ten entered. The merits having gone before the opening of the new ports in 1860. After the foreigners lost their capital they tried to retrieve their losses by a variety of chicanery, but they found to their cost that they were only converting light into heavy battles. They entertain a very different opinion from that severe, however, but are quite large very tenderly dealt with by foreign laws. Consequently when a foreigner's affairs are in an embarrassed state

he exports all the merchandise he can lay his hands upon across the ocean, when, if the speculations turn out well, the Chinese seller obtains payment. Should, on the other hand, the venture turn out badly, the foreigner becomes bankrupt and the Chinaman obtains no assets. This is gross unfairness, and seems based on the principle of taking the profit ourselves and letting others bear the loss.

'Still worse than this the Cantonese compradores take advantage of their masters' ignorance of our language to cheat the native dealers on every conceivable opportunity, while the latter have no means of exposing or complaining of their conduct to the foreigners. They can only quietly repine, but their grievances grow in magnitude and bear proportion with the lapse of time. With regard to the Chinese native trade it is gradually and surely falling off at the open ports, business certainly improves, but in the interior it is in a deplorable condition.

'In the transaction of business, drafts are payable on presentation, but at first are not treated as accepted. After a quotation, however, it is contrary to custom, in short above a month, not to pay them. Now the foreign merchants ought to combine to put a stop to such practices instead of leaving their grievance by retaliation.

'When foreigners have become, no matter what their rank in life may be, they assume themselves without exception, frequently most glaring airs of superiority, and display in sports as horse racing, regattas, feats of strength, &c. Now the dress of foreigners, whether male or female, is very different from our own, and I do not think we can attribute this to their ambition to display their wealth in the use of their wives, but there can be no doubt in the absence of all stronger than the foreign women ride about in sedan chairs, while the men trudge alongside on foot. They support the women when walking, and are altogether so studiously polite and attentive as to resemble our own footmen. All this strikes our countrymen with wonder and amazement, and they naturally crowd around to stare, when they are at once struck or otherwise insulted. Again, when looking at the flowers and trees in foreigners' gardens, or at the furniture in their houses, the foreigners either drive them out with thick sticks, or call for their Cantonese servants to beat and insult them.

'When their day's business is over foreigners stroll into the neighbouring country, and amuse themselves by setting their dogs on the passers by, or on the dogs or pigs of the villagers. Also they ride through the standing corn and cut off branches from the trees without the villagers making any complaints. Should the tables be turned, however, the natives are either soundly beaten by the injured foreigners, or sent to the mandarins for punishment.

'When foreigners walk in the streets of our cities, in case a crowd has collected, or porters carrying heavy burdens in front occasion a temporary stoppage, the former make a way for themselves by belabouring the bystanders with thick cudgels. Although these matters are in themselves very trifling, yet they lead to very grave feelings of resentment.

'4 Consuls are appointed at the various ports to settle disputes between themselves and foreigners, but their mode of procedure is very different from our own.

'I have heard that their codes of law are of stupendous magnitude, and that all cases, however trifling, must be settled in accordance with the strict letter of the written statutes. Now in our country the custom of people to go to law in

prohibited by the Penal Code, but foreigners are accustomed to employ lawyers to conduct their suits. Owing to some want of clearness and method in the arrangement of these statutes and reported cases, immense power is thrown into the hands of these sharpers, who are able to bring forward clouds of precedents in favour of their clients. Thus at a foreign trial the award is not given to him who has right on his side, but to the litigant who employs the craftiest lawyer. Our merchants have over and over again lost cases against foreigners, although they have employed the services of these men, on account of their ignorance of their respective abilities, while the foreign merchants secured the services of the ablest at any cost, as they well knew that the cleverest man would invariably gain the day.

'The most important of all legal cases are those in which human lives have been taken away. Now there are many cases on record in which foreigners have shot Chinese, and have either been wittingly permitted to abscond, or allowed falsely to swear that the homicide was accidental. In no instance yet has life been given for life. Occasionally the sentence of death is passed, but then it is given out that the execution must imperatively take place in Hongkong, forsooth—a statement we none of us are simple enough to believe.

'On the other hand when our people tell lies in the judgment hall, they are severely tortured by the presiding officer, in case they abscond, all sorts of stratagems are adopted to effect their arrest, while if they break out of prison, their punishment, when retaken, is highly aggravated.

'Now consuls have no power to use torture, however grave the nature of the case before them may be, and they can inflict no other punishment than a fine.

'When Chinese indebted to foreigners become bankrupt, their estates are confiscate, the offenders themselves are imprisoned, often for several years, their wives, children, and even brethren being also implicated. Should they pay their debts in full, without any great delay, the foreign creditors require the payment of interest in addition to the principal.

'On the other hand, by the foreign laws of bankruptcy the latter only pay a small per-centage, at the very utmost one or two tenths as dividend, while no efforts are made to obtain possession of their property, although it may be well known that it is deposited with other foreign merchants. Not only are they perfectly happy and easy in their minds at the time of bankruptcy, but immediately afterwards they recommence trading as though nothing whatever had happened. Of course, in these remarks, I in nowise allude to those persons who have only failed through unavoidable misfortunes.

'Now the British consuls are on far too intimate terms with the merchants. It is contrary to human nature to expect them to deal fairly when suddenly called upon to pass judgment upon the actions of their bosom friends. Chinese officials give away a portion of their salaries to the poor, but consuls never part with a cash except from the public funds, which cannot be unauthorisedly touched for such a purpose. Besides, their pay is insufficient for the maintenance of a proper official status, so that instead of being able to perform any acts of charity, they may be deemed recipients of the charity of their merchants.

'When foreigners have any trifling disputes with natives, they at once complain to the consuls, who cause our people to be severely punished by the mandarins. The Chinese and foreign officials are ignorant of the story respectively, and as both

parties to an international law-suit for the most part toil agreeably to rules, it comes to pass that the officials of either nation also mistrust each other, a circumstance which, I have heard, sometimes leads to complications in their relations.

'In case our people, when walking through the foreign quarters, pick flowers, walk in the dark without lanterns, or stop on their way either to stare or to relieve the calls of nature, they are at once arrested on the charges of attempted theft or breach of the police regulations, and either fined or sent to the tribunals for punishment.

'When our countrymen are assaulted or insulted by foreigners, as a general rule they make no complaint. Not but that they would be glad to do so if they could obtain redress, but when they attempt legal proceedings they are sent hither and thither, backwards and forwards, and have to put up with an interminable amount of worry, vexation, and delay.

'Again, when natives bring actions of debt against compradores, their foreign masters rush to the consuls to request them to write to the local authorities. Under this powerful protection these compradores become lawless than ever, so that when sentenced by our tribunals they are not given up, and there is still more exemplified the saying of the fox borrowing the majesty of the tiger.

'All the evil deeds of the Canton rowdies arise from the protection they receive from foreigners, while most of the harm done by foreigners has been at the instigation of the Cantonese. When Cantonese go into the Chinese quarters of the cities, even old men and little children revile and abuse them. They dare not retort, but the foreigners pass by, but they make use of the name of foreigners to abuse others. In fact, we natives have a perception of the measure of treatment we feel we must [illegible]

'With regard to the Coolie traffic, although it is given out that these men are sent abroad to cultivate waste lands, and that sums of money are advanced to them before starting for the subsistence of their families, yet the greater portion emigrate against their will, being kidnapped by rascally natives, and taken straight to the depots. The kidnappers pocket the subsistence advance, and the kidnapped have no means of making known their grievances, still less of effecting their escape. Not one in a thousand of these men ever returns to China; and the very few who have ever succeeded in so doing effected this object by being possessed of money. Even they bring back pitiable tales of their loss of freedom, and of the unspeakable hardships they have undergone. What, therefore, must have been the sufferings of the others, who had no money and never returned to our country? After fourteen years their period of forced service is over, when some die on their way home, some from pestilential climates, some, from want of money, are obliged to remain at their former labour, while some have to undergo the sad lot of begging their bread in strange countries.

'For these reasons our people thoroughly dread the system of coolie emigration, and of late years, although tempted by the most liberal offers, not one single man has gone abroad as a coolie except those unfortunate wretches who have been kidnapped. If after the completion of their fourteen years of captivity they were given free return passage to China, a great number of coolies could, however, be obtained.

'[illegible] More than half the goods conveyed by steamers up and down the rivers and coasts of China belong to Chinese merchants. Since the opening of ports to foreign trade

the receipts of the native custom-houses at the unopened ports on the rivers and sea-board have alike fallen off considerably, in very many instances the sums fixed by Government not being made up. The money which formerly reverted to the inland custom-houses, now swells the foreign customs treasury, in the form of tariff duties and tonnage dues, while the transit dues are abstracted from the local war taxes and imposts.

'Moreover, the trade in the interior has fallen off very much. The larger portion of the hongs in such large marts as Ch'en-chow in Hunan, Ch'ang-shun in Che-kiang, and Yushan in Kiang-se have been closed, whilst the large junks on the Yangtsze are daily diminishing in number. Not only is the trade in the interior in this disastrous state, but the daily falling off of the number of the junks of Canton, Fokien, Ningpo, Shanghae, Shantung, and Tientsin shows a like state of affairs on the sea-board. The large profits formerly made by these vessels have been wholly swept away by the foreign steamers, while any stray fragments which remained are now picked up by the foreign sailing vessels.

'Again, news is conveyed too quickly by steamers. In case rates rule high at any place on the coast, in five days' time the markets have fallen again. Our people have lost so much money that they are afraid to buy goods on speculation, and so a perfect stagnation of trade exists at the unopened ports, the goods accumulating until they block up the warehouses.

'Chinese junks go quickly or slowly, anchor or continue on their voyage, according to the dictates of the passengers. The reverse, however, is the case with foreign steamers. At Chinkeang, Ankeang, Kewsang, and other places, no matter what wind storms may rage, the Chinese passengers are turned out at any hour of the day or night, without a moment's time, at the peril of their lives. Then, again, if the captain's eye happens to fall on any eatables or fruit, or any little articles which are cheap and do not pay foreign customs dues, they are thrown overboard. In case two steamers race, the Chinese passengers have no voice in the matter, while, should the boilers burst, they and their property are liable to be blown to atoms at any moment. Cases of this have already occurred more than once at Shanghae.

'Moreover, on the river Yangtsze, steamers often run down our native craft, drowning everyone on board, so that however much we may admire their speed, we are forced to perceive that they are fraught with extreme danger to our commerce.

'The rivers in China gradually increase both in volume and rapidity during the summer and autumn. When storms arise, and the tide rushes in, the waves are fearful and human strength utterly unavailing. At such times, should wood rafts and junks break loose from their moorings and foul foreign vessels, they are boarded, and made to pay fines several fold in excess of the cost of the damage they have done. Should the bowsprit of a foreign vessel be carried away after smashing a junk's poop, this being a case in which both parties receive damage, not only do the foreigners take away the cargo from the junk, but they exact expenses for repairs in addition.

'Again, in case rafts or junks are seen floating out at sea, or even down rivers, without anyone on board, although they have not been in any collision whatever, the first foreign vessel passing by sends off some one from a small boat to take possession, and exacts before rendition a very heavy ransom, saying that unless the craft had been saved, it would have been utterly

impossible to conceive what sad accidents *might* have happened."

"Now, when junks or rafts meet with accidents of this nature, one ought to be moved with compassion instead of exacting very heavy ransoms under the pretence of doing a great kindness. Therefore, when foreign steamers run aground, our people look upon it as an act of retribution, and, so far from sympathizing, are exceedingly delighted.

"On account of this steamer traffic foreigners have been appointed to act as Commissioners of Customs at the open ports, who, forsooth, are under the sole control of a foreign chief residing at Peking. This personage ranks as a high Chinese official of the second or third class; and I was once told by a man who had seen his visiting card, that he styles himself Commissioner General of Customs, a title equal to our Provincial Commissioners of Finances and Justice.

"The foreign commissioners at the ports were formerly under the orders of our Intendants of Circuit, but of late years they have put themselves on a footing of equality with them, and often have the audacity to present their addressing the Intendants on very important business. In external affairs they often address the foreign residents without any previous communication with the Intendants. Now, our rulers ought to put a stop to all such assumptions as a flagrant breach of the treaties. Consuls and Customs Commissioners may stand with the native authorities on the footing of equality, but, as we know, together with the native officials they are to their superiors subject to the authority of the foreign Ministers. The services of Customs were originally intended to act as foreign checks of our native Intendants at the various open ports; and as writers in the foreign papers say, Were they consuls and ambassadors or secretaries, we should not object, but it is intolerable that foreigners should be given the posts of Chinese officials.

"Perhaps it may be objected that we should meet with many difficulties if we did not employ the services of foreigners. To this I reply, that there is no necessity whatever for all this exorbitant expenditure. Japan opened her ports to foreign trade years after we did. How do they manage to collect their customs duties without the so-called invaluable aid of foreign officials? In short we have jumped at the conclusion that the services of foreigners are indispensable, without ever having made any effectual efforts of our own. Therefore the foreign commissioners are highly elated, saying, 'Ha, ha! they cannot get on without us.'

"It is also reported that the Commissioner General of Customs, having nothing in the world to do at Peking, spends his time in urging the Department for Foreign Affairs to build war steamers and establish arsenals along our coast. These recommendations are acted upon. He has, of course, more appointments to distribute among his favourites, and our people are not aware that he is ignorant of the minister importance of affairs, and that he serves his own private ends without any regard to the interests of our nation. Now does not this seem to be the case?

"On looking back to the past history of our country we find that foreign aggression has only been successfully resisted when perfect trust was reposed in the interior. At the present time the western part of the empire is in open rebellion, while the central provinces are overrun with bandits. How comes it then that we disregard present and only take preventive measures against prospective calamities? To guard our coast against foreigners it would be necessary to build a very large number of ships, a matter which may easily be post-

the receipts of the native custom-houses at the *unopened* ports on the rivers and sea-board have alike fallen off considerably, in very many instances the sums fixed by Government not being made up. The money which formerly reverted to the inland custom-houses, now swells the foreign customs treasury, in the form of tariff duties and tonnage dues, while the transit dues are abstracted from the local war taxes and imposts.

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'The foreign commissioners at the ports were formerly under the orders of our Intendants of Circuit, but of late years they have put themselves on a footing of equality with them, and often have the audacity to present their angry remonstrances merely for the purpose of showing how important their affairs are, and to threaten the foreign residents with at any price an interruption with the Intendants. Now, our officers ought to put a stop to all such assumption as a flagrant breach of the treaties. There are cases of this sort every year, and we have to write to the native authorities how to act, which, however, is neither more nor less than to their interference. In the case of the foreign Commissioners of Customs we are particularly interested in not allowing foreigners to act as foreign officers of our native Intendants, but the same as our people are employed as writers in the foreign legations. Were they employed as secretaries, we should not object, but it is intolerable that foreigners should be given the posts of Chinese officials.

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'On looking back to the past history of our country we find that foreign aggression has only been successfully opposed when perfect tranquillity reigned in the interior. At the present time the western parts of the country are in open rebellion, while the central provinces are overrun with bandits. How comes it then that we disregard present and hastily take precautions against prospective enemies? To guard against foreigners it would be requisite to build a very large number of ships, no matter which may easily be pur-

poned for a time, while, viewing that the troops have over and over again mutinied and disbanded through sheer hunger, the supplies of our armies in the west become day by day a matter of more pressing importance. In case these large sums expended on ship building were laid out on supplies for our armies and the relief of our poor, the one would not desert their camps, and the other their homes to turn bandits, while the stream being clear at its source, there would be no apprehension respecting ultimate tranquility.

'When our soldiers have been well drilled and properly cared for, it will be quite time enough to commence building war ships. Then all classes in our nation being actuated by the same sentiments, foreign nations will no longer despise us. It is extremely unlikely that any troops would go through the hardships of a journey of tens of thousands of miles to try their luck with us under those circumstances, without truly grave reasons for it

'The facts I have mentioned under these five heads are literally true, while the opinions I have expressed are eminently impartial. Should you disbelieve me, ask of anyone who has lived in the neighbourhood of the open ports what is the general opinion of the gentry and people, and he will confirm my statements. In sum, the merchants and people of the various foreign nations on every occasion resort to might rather than appeal to the dictates of reason, but they transact their affairs with an energy and firmness of purpose of which we Chinese are not capable. The acquisition of gain is their one object in life, and this they pursue with such an insatiable avidity as to appear a kind of disease. Could these above-mentioned causes of deep-seated resentment be gradually removed, Chinese and foreigners might maintain friendly relations, without either apprehension or dissimulation.'

The Stranger from Kansuh, rising with a profound obeisance:

'I am extremely grateful to you, sir, for your lucid explanation, and I feel convinced that your remarks must be quite fair and impartial. Still I am sure that there must be more than these five subjects of resentment, and therefore I must beg for some more details upon the subject. Besides, can you not devise some measures by which resentments may be turned to gratitude, and injuries transformed to benefits?'

The Graduate of Shanghae then upon commenced a lengthened discourse, which was so admirable and so very much to the purpose that I, an accidental listener, wrote it down in my tablets from beginning to end. On some future occasion I will transcribe it in full, but at present I will merely place before the enlightened reader these five subjects of national resentment, in order that he may join with me in admiration of this specimen of the vast knowledge and lofty talent of the Graduate of Shanghae

This conversation was overheard and transcribed by

A Wayfarer on a Raft

FRASER'S MAGAZINE.

APRIL 1871.

LIFE PEERAGES

[illegible]

PUBLIC attention has been of late [illegible] a good deal directed to [illegible] and there is no subject [illegible] worthy of attention, nor any [illegible] has greater bearing upon [illegible] interest [illegible] jurisdiction. Nor is it necessary [illegible] to be set by the [illegible] greater [illegible] with the [illegible] Perhaps [illegible] extent to which [illegible] and [illegible] of the Peerage and [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

that dignities annexed to estates were so. Those, however (the ancient baronies by tenure, as they were called), had already almost died out at an early period of our history. They had begun to die out at the time of Magna Charta, and to be replaced by personal dignities not usually hereditary, so that the real truth is just the contrary of what has been so often assumed, namely, that dignities, as such, have never been necessarily constitutionally hereditary, only became so usually at a comparatively recent period of our history. Nor has it ever been held or maintained until within the last few years that the peerage was necessarily hereditary. And it was then so maintained, as we shall show, in the face of all law and history to the contrary.

Mr. Selden long ago showed the ancient barons were barons by tenure, who originally sat in the great council of the realm merely by virtue of their baronies. At the close of the great contest between the Crown and the Barons, the House asserted the right of summoning barons to Parliament.

Mr Cruise, the great authority on the subject, says:

> It was always the practice, whenever our monarchs were desirous of convening a Parliament, to call for the attendance of the nobility by writs of summons addressed to each. In consequence of an article in Magna Charta particular writs were sent only to the barons and others, who were possessed of considerable baronies, but after a law that all the great barons and such others as were summoned by the King's writ should come to Parliament, the Crown assumed the prerogative of sending out writs of summons to persons not possessed of baronies, by virtue of which they were ranked among the peers of the realm and acquired a right to sit there.[1]

> A dignity by writ therefore is where the Crown issues a writ directed to the person who is a peer of the realm [or one] requiring him to come and attend Parliament or a great council, and by force thereof

with the peers of the realm on certain matters relating to the public. This has been called a writ of *personal* summons, to distinguish it from those writs which were issued to persons possessed of land baronies. And it has been held that unless such a writ contain something by which it can be connected with a land barony it will be deemed a writ of *personal* summons.[2]

These dignities thus created by writ of summons alone were, it will be observed, purely personal, and not necessarily hereditary.

No doubt in the course of the long-continued struggle between the Peerage and the Crown, it was a great cause of its ultimate issue that the Peerage, like the Crown, was hereditary. This gave it strength from age to age to continue its opposition to the continuing power of the Crown; and but for this important element of permanence and strength, it is probable that the result would not have been so happily attained. But then the peerage was originally hereditary, because it was connected with the tenure of property which was hereditary. Barons 'by tenure,' as they were called, that is, barons who held their titles along with their estates, were the earliest and most ancient order of peers. As these, however, died out, and were destroyed in the course of their long-continued contests with the Crown, their places could only be supplied by new creations from the Crown. These creations were of two kinds, neither of them necessarily hereditary. The old system of baronies by tenure (which became obviously objectionable and absurd, for the rule, a man, however ignoble in family, who bought an estate from a peer Peer [illegible] the Peerage with it) was not followed (except in cases of royal persons, as in the instance of the Duchies of Cornwall and Lancaster, annexed to the Crown, and only granted to princes of the blood), and so became obsolete and

[1] [illegible]

[2] [illegible]

died out.[1] And it was only this species of peerage which was necessarily hereditary. The new species of peerage, by creation from the Crown, were, as just mentioned, by two modes, neither of them necessarily hereditary. One was by patent, the other by writ. The creations by patent were for ages those only of the greater order of peers, that is, originally, the earls,[2] and afterwards the marquises and dukes. These creations being for dignity and reward, were usually coupled with grants of estates, and were, for the same reason, usually made hereditary, though not annexed to the estates (as the old peerages by tenure), so that they were not necessarily hereditary, as peerages were when annexed to property. And all through our history instances are to be found of creations of peerages by patent for life. It was not until the reign of Richard II. that a baron was first made by patent. Until then, the creations by patent were only of earls or dukes, with grants of land, and so were usually hereditary, though the mode of the tenure was entirely in the pleasure of the Crown, either to have general or limited, heirs general to be named. As, however, these peerages by patent were granted for favour or reward, they were often made descendible to heirs general, or to heirs male as well as male heirs general by name as well as general.

The other order of peers that are created by writ of summons were not hereditary, and they began to have an end at the sixteenth century. These were as a rule mere local gentry of the counties under the barons, and were not created for favour or honour or reward, as for the sake of useful service in Parliament. They may be called indeed the Parliamentary peerages, as distinguished from the peerages of mere dignity or rank, and indeed these barons by writ, as they were called, were also called Lords of Parliament, to distinguish them from those who did not derive their titles from being called to Parliament, but were called to Parliament on account of their titles. The great barons by tenure, or the peers created by patent, had a right to be summoned to Parliament. But the barons by writ, as they were called, were made peers of Parliament by being summoned to Parliament. It was, and always has been, admitted to be the prerogative of the Crown to summon any man to the House of Peers, and thereby, and by his sitting in Parliament, he was deemed to become a peer of Parliament. And it was most useful for the nation that the Crown possessed this prerogative, which was often most usefully exercised, and, indeed, Mr Carlyle says that up to the reign of Charles I. (he should perhaps have said James I.) it was almost always usefully exercised, and the persons summoned to the House of Peers usually men of mark and eminence, and qualified to do good service to their country. The truth is that the territorial peers were, naturally enough, not always met or used to work at the business of the State, though ready enough to fight for it and the business of the State required men who would work, and, moreover, men with a knowledge of business and an aptitude for it such as men were not always to be found among the territorial and hereditary aristocracy. They were found therefore among the lesser gentry, either lawyers, or professional men, or such as they might happen to be, and they were sum-

[1] Here the writer's view of peerage by tenure of estates was not quite correct.

[2] [illegible]

moned by their sovereign to the House of Peers, where in those times the chief power of Parliament resided, and were enabled there to assist in conducting the business of the State; and then, after having usefully served their country for many years, probably they would be rewarded by the grant of a higher order of nobility made hereditary. Thus it was with the Despencers and the Delawarrs, the Scropes and the De la Poles, and most of the more ancient of our present peerages. They were originally summoned to Parliament, and had not at first hereditary peerages. The ancestor of the Delawarrs, a gallant soldier, was first summoned to Parliament as Lord West in the reign of Edward II. The ancestor of the Scropes was summoned to the Upper House by Edward III. as a baron, and rendered the Crown and the country good service for many years, as Treasurer, Chancellor, or Councillor of State. So of the Despencers: they originally sat in Parliament as barons by writ of summons, and it was not until the reign of Edward II. that they obtained the grant of an hereditary earldom. But a more remarkable instance is that of De la Pole. He was the son of a merchant (who was made Baron of the Exchequer), and he became a soldier. He was summoned to Parliament as a baron by Edward III., and in the reign of Richard II. was Chancellor, and was then created Earl of Suffolk. The earldom was made hereditary, and descended to his heirs for many generations. So it was in other instances. Peerages for the sake of special services were not hereditary, and hereditary peerages were granted as matter of favour and reward. When they were granted for favour, for honour, and for reward, they were usually coupled with grants of estates, and, speaking generally, hereditary peerages were territorial. Peerages merely parliamentary were not hereditary. There were obvious reasons for this distinction. An hereditary peerage required estates to support its dignity. Hence, whenever the Crown granted an hereditary peerage it always granted estates for its support. It would be difficult, if not impossible, to find an instance to the contrary. Hence it was that barons or lords of Parliament were merely summoned by writ, which was not deemed, and did not, in law, purport to create any hereditary dignity, but merely summoned the person to Parliament. And though it would of course be renewed for the life of the person summoned, it was not renewed to the son, unless he also was a man of merit and of mark, and if he was not so it might be sent to another, or some other member of the family, who was of an age and character to be worthy of the honour. The writ of summons did not confer any hereditary dignity. As Mr Hallam says,

> [illegible]

It is true, indeed, that, when last authentic state, the person once summoned was entitled to a seat in subsequent Parliaments, and he was deemed to be a peer for life, and Mr Hallam says, "Such were certainly understood during the [illegible]

> [illegible]

Mr Hallam and Sir J Mackintosh both observe it was not until the sixteenth century that a writ of summons was deemed to create an hereditary nobility. And, as Mr Hallam observes, the course of proceedings previous to the accession of Henry VII by common assent was that the writ should be held in the latter end of Edward the Second's reign.[1]

It is true it was not until the latter end of the seventeenth century that it was finally established, by actual decision, that a writ of summons created an hereditary dignity. Lord Coke was, it is true, of that opinion, but, as Crose states, 'This doctrine was controverted by Mr Prynne in his *Register of Parliamentary Writs*; by Mr. Elsynge in his *Manner of Holding Parliaments*; and by Mr West in his *Essay on the Manner of Holding Parliaments*.'[2] And it was not until the latter part of the seventeenth century that it was actually decided in the House of Lords, and then only after a writ of summons issued at the beginning of that century, in the reign of James I.[3]

'Writs of summons were by degrees the foundation of custom, and of late years writs were ordered to issue to such persons only as were able to perform the services annexed to such honours. But writs of summons did not create any of their dignities. Writs of summons might have been omitted when the persons summoned or the documents had not a sufficient estate to support the dignity. An abbot, though a man of great estate, was not summoned to Parliament. It is true, it is said that the abbot was formerly the person who gave the first voice in Parliament, and therefore was more than a mere hereditary baron.[4]

So late as the latter part of the seventeenth century it was resolved by the House of Lords that a writ of summons (issued in the reign of Edward I.) did not create an hereditary dignity. The Attorney-General argued:

'Merely a writ of summons and sitting did not raise a baron's degree. Abbots were summoned by writ, but it was hard to say that they were barons. It was a strange conclusion that a writ for a man to come and sit in Parliament should create a peerage, and that the heirs should be entitled to be summoned, as they were. And it was for aught he heard to the contrary, that they were answered in their places.'[5]

And so the Lords resolved.

It was thus not until the close of the sixteenth century that the doctrine became established that a writ of summons conferred an hereditary nobility,[6] and then it was only by a sort of prescriptive disregard of the courtesy and custom of the Crown. As Mr. Hallam observes:

'Some who have seemed to have held a summons to Parliament sufficient to create an hereditary peerage, have yet admitted that a patent of peerage was necessary to transmit the same privilege to the heirs of the person ennobled. And all writs have now ceased.'[7]

Nothing can be more clear than that the only reason why peerages were ever hereditary was that they were originally annexed to land. Thus Crose says:

'At first every one of these honours [peerages] seems to have been annexed to some certain estate in land, and was for that reason called a barony, and the person who was invested with it a baron. In the first place [of] which [peerages] we find created.'

'Whether every one of these may be said to have originally been annexed to land, I cannot determine; but it is certain that many of them were so annexed, and that the person who was invested with any of those

[1] Mackintosh, 8.
[2] Crose, 8.
[3] Mackintosh, 8.
[4] Crose, 8.
[5] Mackintosh, 8 and 9.
[6] Crose, 8.
[7] Hallam, 8 and 9.

castles or manors, if he was tenant in fee simple, would have held the same estate in his dignity.'

Thus, therefore, as regarded either mode of creation by writ of summons or by patent, the peerage, after the extinction of the old baronies by tenure, was not necessarily hereditary. As regards creations by writ of summons it clearly was not so at all until the end of the sixteenth century; and as regards creations by patent, it was so only by reason of the terms of the patent, which was by the grace and favour of the Crown.

And the law was still the same, that peerages might be expressly granted for life. Thus in the standard work upon the subject, Cruise *On Dignities*, it is stated as clear, that 'the King may create a man or woman noble for life but not for years.'[2] Various ancient instances are given, and then some modern instances. There are several modern instances of dignities granted to a person for life with remainder over. These, be it observed, were instances of peerages by patent and instances of creations for life, although followed by remainders over. No doubt creations by patent were in modern times usually hereditary. As such creations by patent were always a great favour, and usually it was desired that the peerage should be hereditary, it was usually made so, though even then the patent prescribed the course of descent. And if it said nothing as to heirs, then the peerage was not hereditary. Again, some patents though for the reason already mentioned rarely so were expressly granted only for life.[3] And many were so granted with remainders to other persons not the heirs of the first grantees, in which cases the first grantees had only peerages for life.[4] Even as regarded peerages by patent, therefore, they were not necessarily hereditary, and were so only by the terms of the patents and the grace and favour of the Crown. And peerages by writ of summons were not so until after the lapse of ages they became so by a sort of prescription.

Now it is impossible not to see that there was great practical convenience and advantage in this system. It enabled the Crown to give the country the advantage of the services of men in the House of Lords who would not accept hereditary peerages. It is obvious that to a man with a family, without large property, an hereditary peerage would be a serious burden. Such men never were intended to have hereditary peerages, and never had them. They were summoned to Parliament for life, and it was only those who had estates which could support the dignity who obtained hereditary peerages. Nothing could be more sensible or convenient or advantageous to the country.

The prerogative of the Crown, which was clear and undoubted, having been exercised for ages, existed, as all its prerogatives do exist, for the sake of the public advantage, and up to the accession of the House of Stuart it was exercised usually for that advantage.

And when at that era it had become established by a sort of prescription that a writ of summons created an hereditary dignity, no one supposed that the prerogative of the Crown to create life peerages by patent was restrained. On the contrary, an unbroken chain of authority, from Lord Coke to Lord Campbell, affirmed that the prerogative remained. Lord Coke again

[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]

and again declares that it is clear the Crown can create a peer for life.[1] So said Selden, who states distinctly that peerages were sanctioned for life.[2] So Lord Chief Baron Comyns in his *Dig. of the Laws*, so the learned Blackstone in his *Commentaries*, lastly, so said Lord Campbell in 1851, for in the House of Lords, in the course of a debate on the subject, he said distinctly that there was no doubt the Crown by its prerogative could create peerages for life. How could it be otherwise? The power had been exercised for ages, and so much so, that not until the end of the sixteenth century was it established that a peerage could be hereditary without a patent expressly making it so. The Crown had always in granting peerages by patent exercised the power of declaring whether they should be descendible, and if so in what line, and had constantly granted peerages to one for life, with remainder to a different line. Clearly it had the power of granting peerages for life, and when had it lost that power?

The prerogative of the Crown, which exist only for the public benefit, cannot be lost merely by disuse, even if the prerogative in question had been disused, which it has not been, for in our own times there have been grants of peerages for life with remainders over. And if ever there were constitutional reasons against the exercise of the prerogative they ceased to exist after the Revolution, when the Crown remained responsible to Parliament while, on the other hand, the exercise of the prerogative became more desirable than ever with reference to the advantage of obtaining the services of men who would not accept hereditary peerages. This was more especially the case with reference to the appellate jurisdiction of the House of Lords. As Lord Eldon explained, few eminent lawyers care to burden their families with hereditary peerages. And yet the House requires to be replenished with great lawyers. Therefore during the administration of Lord Liverpool the Government came unanimously to the conclusion that it was necessary, with a view to the appellate jurisdiction of the Lords, to create life peers; and the intention was not carried out only because Lord Liverpool's mind became altered through ill-health, an alteration of opinion no doubt only due to prejudice, either in his own mind or the mind of the King, for certainly the weight of authority at that time was all in favour of the measure.

In the Third Report of the Committee of the House of Lords on the Dignity of a Peer (1822) it is stated:

> The committee find it has been asserted that the persons to whom such grants have been granted by the Crown have no right to sit and vote as hereditary peers, and that the grants themselves are void, for the grants have been upon the presumption that the grants were made [illegible] understood as conferring on the dignity of peerage where the terms of the patent by which it has been created have expressed the contrary.

Thus the power of the Crown to create peerages for life was there treated as beyond a doubt. As already shown the chain of authority on the question was unbroken. The question was investigated carefully by one well acquainted with the history of the peerage, and Sir Harris Nicolas thus summed up his conclusions on the subject:

> That the creation of hereditary peerages was originally intended to support the dignity of the peerage is unquestionable, but the power of the Crown to create peerages for life, when necessary for the performance of the duties of the House of Lords, is equally clear, and [illegible] danger to the consti-

[1] Instances in Reports.

[2] Selden was quoted by Lord [illegible] the Committee of Privileges in 1856. See Hansard's *Debates* [illegible]

tution, and almost certain degradation to the peerage

2. That it is desirable that the country should have the benefit of every description of talent in the House of Lords calculated to ensure the administration of justice in all the various cases brought before it.

3. That the expedient of multiplying hereditary peerages in order to prevent the Crown from appointing to the House persons whose personal talents and acquirements would be extremely beneficial to the country

When, therefore, in 1856, the Government of Lord Aberdeen, under the advice of that eminent lawyer Lord Cranworth, then Lord Chancellor, and with the concurrence of such high constitutional authorities as the late Lord Lansdowne and the present Earl Grey, granted a patent of life peerage to the late Lord Wensleydale, in order to secure to the country the great advantage of his long legal experience in the appellate jurisdiction of the House, they had no idea as they afterwards declared that they were raising any legal or constitutional question. The law, they thought, was clear. And so it was. And the opposition made to the measure was not only utterly unconstitutional, but entirely unwarrantable and inexcusable, and amounted, as Earl Grey showed, to the assumption of an arbitrary power of overruling the Crown, the Commons, and the nation. For there could be no doubt that the House of Commons, representing the country, was in favour of the measure, and therefore, in fact, the House of Lords arbitrarily assumed to override the will of the nation and the prerogative of the Crown. In this instance the prerogative was exercised wisely and beneficially for the good of the people, and the Lords illegally set themselves against both.

That the opposition to the measure was merely a party opposition is manifest from the fact that it was led by Lord Lyndhurst and supported only by the Tory party, and it is not the less true because—from miserable personal motives it was supported by Lord Campbell and Lord Brougham. They were both jealous of Lord Cranworth as Chancellor, and of Lord Wensleydale's superior reputation as a lawyer. It could not have been conviction which led Lord Campbell to act in the teeth of his own deliberate declaration five years before, that the Crown had the power to create peerages for life. Though, indeed, it is to be observed, that neither of those three noble and learned peers ventured to say that such creations were illegal. Only one law lord ventured to say that, and he was Lord St Leonard's, an eminent equity lawyer, but not a man with any great knowledge of the common law, and moreover, not a man of any enlarged mind. He, however, may have been sincere. This is scarcely possible of the others. As Lord Grey showed, they might have addressed the Crown against the exercise of the prerogative, but they had no right to oppose it. And the only pretence for opposition was that it might be abused—which was equally true of hereditary peerages. Had not twelve been created at once in the reign of Queen Anne for party purposes, and had not the House of Lords been often coerced by the prospect of being so swamped? Yet yet as it was admitted that the prerogative was not abused in the particular instance, but that it was a very worthy creation, there was no pretence for opposing the exercise of the prerogative in this particular case. It is remarkable, as an instance of the absence of legal knowledge on the subject, that no reference was made to the unquestioned historical fact that for more than two centuries the Commons of England have never sat, and were not necessary. Lord Lyndhurst indeed, with a poetry, made an allusion

to the subject of writs of summons in a manner well calculated to mislead. He said: 'To prove entitled by descent to sit in the House the writ of summons was essential.' Was it not? But this was totally untrue. In the only instance in which the Sovereign ever refused to issue a writ of summons to a peer entitled to it as a baron by tenure, plea or descent, the House refused to act until he was summoned. The cases in which summonses were issued but not used were, as Lord Lyttelton must have known, cases of peerages only created by writ of summons, as I am not hereditary. He said, indeed, 'There are cases in which peers have been summoned for a single Parliament,' &c. But he well knew that, as Hallam pointed out, the writ of summons in every case was to terminate only at a single Parliament, and that, in fact, they were for centuries, in cases of peerages only created by writ of summons, not used for a single Parliament. He ought to retract this statement. In these times the Crown could not create peerages without the consent of the Lords. The argument was, that the writ which had created, as Hallam said, for centuries, a peerage was to be treated by law in exactly the same manner as a patent of Henry VIII. was attended to. In the case of peerages for life with remainder over. No argument, no precedent, against a peerage for life. Would Lord Granville say, with such an authority [illegible]

[illegible]

The question was whether peerages for life [illegible] were to be considered separately, or that those peerages had never been granted at all in modern times except to persons who either had estates or were connected with families which had estates sufficient to support an hereditary dignity. But when cases arose of deserving persons who did not happen to be in that position, what was to prevent the Crown exercising its prerogative of granting peerages for life? In this case if Lord Wensleydale had happened to have married with estates fit for the dignity of a peer, and the patent had been to himself for life and then to his son and his heirs, there would, it was said, have been no objection, though as regarded Lord Wensleydale the effect would have been precisely the same.

Could anything be conceived more absurd than an opposition upon such grounds?

Lord Grey moved the following amendment:

[illegible]

And the noble Earl supported the amendment in a speech of great force, in which he urged that the House was not exercising arbitrary power if, because it was beyond a doubt that the patent was illegal—[illegible] it refused to give effect to [illegible]

If the peerage was to be considered [illegible] it would be difficult to [illegible] more unfitly [illegible] than that of Lord Wensleydale, a revered judge of [illegible]

He [illegible] weighty argument, [illegible] and pre-

[illegible]

vail against a party majority? In vain Lord Lansdowne and Lord Grey argued with all the weight of their great constitutional authority. In vain the authority of Lord Campbell himself in 1851 — only five years before—was appealed to. In vain was all legal and constitutional authority on the subject cited; a party majority prevailed, and carried a resolution:

> That neither the patent nor the writ of summons issued thereon gave a right to sit in that House.

The House had no authority to come to such a resolution, and it was wholly illegal and unconstitutional. They had no sort of authority to pronounce either upon the patent or the writ of summons; and Lord Campbell admitted that the writ of summons by itself would have conferred a right the House could not resist. The patent was a grant from the Crown, over which they had no authority. This had been laid down by Lord Holt and the Court of Queen's Bench after the Revolution, an authority of which, as Hallam observed:

> The principle will never be controverted by anyone acquainted with the original constitution of this country.[1]

Nevertheless it was utterly set at nought by the House of Lords on this occasion. The courts of law had declared that a peerage was a legal right, like an estate, and that a grant of it could only be set aside by a legal judgment of a court of law, subject, of course, to an appeal to the House of Lords as a judicial tribunal, but only as an appellate tribunal. The House of Lords had no original power to determine on men's rights, still less to vote them away as a political assembly by a mere party majority. The view has always been recognised as sound by the highest legal and constitutional authorities. But the House of Lords refused even to consult the judges. They resolved to decide it, and did decide it, by a mere party majority. They pretended to have the right—as a mere political assembly—without reference to any judicial authority, to determine against the royal prerogative and the right of the individual, and they resolved not only that the grant was illegal, but that the writ of summons conveyed no right, which they had no authority to consider.

Of course such a resolution carried no authority.

The following protest was signed by Lord Cranworth, Earl Granville, the Earl of Harrowby, the Marquis of Lansdowne, the Duke of Argyll, Lord Glenelg, Lord Stanley of Alderley, and others:

> 1. Because as the order of precedence did not direct any enquiry whether a writ of summons would entitle the Lord Wensleydale to sit and vote in this House the Lords purported to decide a question not judicial.
>
> 2. Because, according to the uniform course of usage of the Legislature, writs issue for almost two centuries and a half to the Crown by the prerogative of creating a peer for life, with all the privileges of hereditary peerage, except that of transmitting his honour to his descendants.
>
> 3. Because the creation of a peerage for life with a right to sit in the House of Lords, which has been exercised by several times and by such great men, would have been void if the prerogative were denied for that reason.
>
> 4. Because any person who has received a writ of summons to the House of Lords is entitled to take his seat.[2]

It is impossible not to feel the force of this grave and weighty protest, and we deeply lament that the Government did not safeguard the resolution and uphold Lord Wensleydale in taking his seat in spite of it, which it was well

[1] Master of the Rolls. And see the Earl of Selborne's Memorials, Part II. vol. ii. p. 182.

[2] Hansard, vol. cxxi. p. 1218.

known he would have been ready to do. The resolution had no binding force at all. All the writers on the subject lay down that the House has no authority to consider a peerage case unless it is referred to it by the Crown, and that even then its opinion is a mere opinion, and has no judicial consequence. The House of Lords can only determine judicially upon appeal, and the proper course to impeach a royal grant is by writ of *scire facias*, which is carried before all the judges in a Court of Error, and then goes to the House of Lords, not as a political assembly, but as a judicial tribunal, bound to consult the judges, and to determine according to legal authority. The resolution of the House, therefore, was legally impotent. Nevertheless the Government yielded to it, and gave Lord Wensleydale an hereditary peerage, which was of no manner of use, as he had no heir to inherit it.

It seems to have been assumed after this that the question must be settled by legislation, and that the power to create life peers must be conferred by Parliament, and so we are from time to time Life Peerage Bills introduced.

To a view, however, which sees the obvious absurdity that whereas there is no restriction on the creation of hereditary peerages, there is no power to create a peerage for life. Yet the only argument against that power is its inability to survive. As if every holder of a peerage had a right to it for his life, so far as he is concerned, and as if a statute were that could operate only from act to operate during his life. In an age of trade, when an estate was a peer was thought necessary to be a great territorial magnate with his levies of armed retainers and strong castles and fortresses to protect himself against an arbitrary sovereign, it was very important that his dignity, like his estates, should be hereditary. The dignity was originally annexed to the estate and went with it. But in our own age, when the fittest persons to be peers may have no estates or land, or small estates and perhaps large families, it is idle to make it a condition of a peerage that it should be hereditary; and, on the other hand, the peer will not be a whit less independent because his heirs are free from a dangerous and cumbrous burden. Besides, we know that in our own times the Crown really exercises its prerogative at the advice of a Minister responsible to the House of Commons, and still more to public opinion. What reasonable chance is there that it will ever be very seriously abused? On the other hand, the substantial advantages to be secured by its exercise are manifest and numerous. There are men of all professions who are not willing to take hereditary peerages and whose presence in the House of Lords would be of immense advantage. The continual accession of such men would tend to bring it more into accord with the great body of the nation and the other House of Parliament. In a practical view this would be of inestimable advantage to the public. With reference to the judicial functions of the House there would be an immense advantage in the addition of half a score of life peers. The present constitution of the House as an appellate tribunal is simply a scandal to the profession and a grievous injury to the nation. A few law lords of [illegible] an occasional common lawyer, three of them equity lawyers, and the fourth a Scotch law lord—can overrule the unanimous judgment of the fifteen judges of England! Nay, a majority of one in a house of com-

[illegible] the Lord Chief Justice of England in his [illegible] the House of Lords.

posed of three can do it, and perhaps one of them a Scotch judge, wholly ignorant of English law. The result is that the judgments of the supreme appellate tribunal have less authority than the judgments they overrule, and, of course, the necessary consequence is to unsettle and degrade the law. For such a scandalous state of things there is no remedy but the exercise of the royal prerogative. Life Peerage Bills are proposed session after session in vain. But why should a great prerogative of the Crown, useful and salutary for the public good, be sacrificed to a party majority in the House of Lords? The Government of Lord Aberdeen committed a great error in the course they took. They should not have yielded. They should have upheld Lord Wensleydale in taking his seat, and no opposition which could have been made could possibly have been successful. Whatever resolutions the House passed, the Crown should have disregarded them as the Court of King's Bench disregarded the resolution on the Banbury case. It is not too late to take a similar course. We have a bolder Minister than Lord Aberdeen; Lord Granville, who upheld the royal prerogative in a speech of consummate ability, and the Duke of Argyll, who spoke on the subject with unanswerable force, are members of his Cabinet. Let them advise the Crown to grant a life peerage to Sir William Erle or Sir Alexander Cockburn, or any other of the eminent men who would accept it, and they will soon see, let the House of Lords do what it likes, how the country will support the Government and resist any attempts of that House to overrule the prerogative of the Crown and to suppress the rights of the subject.

A PILGRIMAGE TO ST. DAVID'S

THE halidom of a great saint is always a district of more than usual interest. Its architectural relics are frequently of striking character and of great antiquity. Customs and ceremonies, forgotten elsewhere, often linger about the shrine with which they were once connected, shattered and even destroyed as that may be; and above all, the country is certain to contain those early and picturesque traditions which, however they may have arisen, connect the saint and his story with the surrounding natural features, the hills, the rocks, and the streams. Local folk-lore, having its roots far below all theological systems, has almost always been gathered into and made a part of the religious legend of every age, and in her hands it generally, if not always, reflects much of the character of the land.

It is to such a district, to a remote corner of Great Britain, perhaps [illegible] that I would invite the reader to accompany me in the present paper. The whole of the district of Dewsland, the [illegible] of the great patron saint of Wales, is richly worthy of a visit, and contains many [illegible] of Western [illegible] and [illegible] the most [illegible] of the saint [illegible] rude stone shafts, and [illegible] are here [illegible] that these attractions would alone be sufficient to draw the artist, antiquary, or lover of nature to the promontory of St David's with the exception of the Land's End, the most westerly headland of Great Britain. But to these must be added the historical interest of the district, the traces yet lingering in it of the real St David, besides those which mark his legendary story, and the wonderful group of buildings over which the cathedral presides, clustered in the hollow of a wild valley and backed by rocky hills of true mountainous outline. The place was always remote and difficult of access, and the toils and dangers encountered by pilgrims to the shrine gave rise to the saying that two visits to St. David's equalled the merit of one visit to Rome.

[illegible]

A glance at the map will show at once the extreme westerly point of St David's. It is the point at which the British coast approaches most nearly to that of Ireland, and the mountains of the Wicklow hills are occasionally seen across the Channel here not quite fifty miles in breadth. St David's Head, the Octapitarum of Ptolemy, is itself the most prominent point of a broad promontory separating the beautiful Bay of St Bride's from that of Abermaw. The coast of the promontory is broken into numerous small bays and inlets, and lined by cliffs of rock, the dark colour of which contrasts finely with the surf that breaks against them. These rocks, which belong to the Cambrian series, the most ancient sedimentary rocks known to geologists, and which extend through all Dewsland, indicate that the territory of St David has existed as an island in more than one primeval sea, when (except the few points at which they also ap-

pear—only in Wales, and at the Prawle and Bolt, the extreme southern headlands of Devonshire) the rest of Britain was still in course of formation beneath the waves. The surface formed by the Cambrian rocks is comparatively level; but over the district, sometimes parallel with the coast, yet extending far inland, masses of igneous rock, greenstones, and porphyries have broken upwards and form rocky eminences, of no very great height, but occasionally, as in Carn Llidi, of the grandest and boldest outline, resembling in general character the granite tors that rise from the high table-land of Dartmoor. The open country is intersected by deep valleys, through which streamlets find their way to the sea, the most important of which are the Solva and the Alan. The latter is the river on which stands the Cathedral of St. David's.

The character of the country is seen at once from one of the rocky heights, and best of all from the peaked, jagged Carn Llidi—the 'rock of the black lion,' or the 'rock of the black host,' as the name is variously interpreted. It is a wide-horizoned district—for the eye ranges over half Pembrokeshire, including the farther coast of St. Bride's Bay, and seaward looks straight across to Ireland. The bare landscape, treeless, but with good corn land; the lines of stone enclosures; the brown moors, with their masses of broken rock and water plashes; the blown sands, and the 'grisly, fiendy rocks blake' of the coast recal the scenery of the Orkneys, of the remoter parts of Britanny and Cornwall, and still more of the western coast of Scotland. In common with all similar regions, and partly owing to its monotonous landward colouring, Dewisland has a grave, half-sad expression, which, toward the twilight of a stormy day, is greatly increased by the whitened walls and roofs of the scattered farms. The slated roofs are said to be preserved and strengthened by this whitening, and are thus better able to withstand the strong winds that constantly sweep over the country. The air, bracing as it is, is soft and exquisitely pure. There is little or no frost. Very large hydrangeas display their pink and blue flowers within the stone walls of many a cottage garden, and the ilex, where it has been planted, grows to a considerable size. This mildness of climate, if we are to believe that it existed at the earlier periods of the historical era, cannot have been without its influence on the primitive settlement of the coast, and may partly account for the many 'cyttiau,' or hut-circles, enclosures, and cliff castles, which bear witness to a considerable ancient population. It may well be remembered, too, in considering the lives of the first Christian solitaries and ascetics, among whom was St. David himself, who founded their oratories in this remote district.

Such a country as this, wild and bare as it is, is one of those over which the sky-changes are most numerous and impressive. Every cloudlet, or the faintest break of light, produces its effect; and turning seaward, where the monotony of colouring at once disappears, nothing can exceed the beauty of the varying light and shadow, the half-veiling mists and the bursts of sunshine, as they follow each other along the lines of the rocky headlands and far over the open sea. From Carn Llidi the whole extent of coast is in sight beyond a foreground of heath and fern, strewn with rocky fragments and stretching away to the dark cliffs of St. David's Head, marked by its stone rampart, 'Clawdd-milwyr'—the 'Warriors Dyke'—within which rise fortifications and huts, enclosed with walls of rock, and whitened by foam flakes carried by

the wind across the headland. Here it is seen that off the whole coast lie numerous rocky islands. The largest and most important is Ramsey, with a fine mountainous outline, and a range of cliff precipices on its seaward front, haunted in spring and summer by myriads of sea-birds, whose eggs are taken with as much zeal as in Norway or the Faroe Islands, and with nearly less difficulty. Scale Holme, the caverns at the base of whose cliffs, and it is said that a long time since as many as forty young and old were taken in one night, extend a hundred feet under the mainland, and open on the north side of Ramsey, as well as 'The Bishop and his Clerks'—of course with reference to the neighbouring bishopric of St. David's. Ramsey itself, too, is pierced with caverns, which, whether natural or artificial, are now quite out of reach of the waves, which once must have lapped their base. The Bishop and his clerks are the dizzy pinnacles of rock which rise out of the water a short, but perilous, distance from the mainland. Each pinnacle is crowned with a cormorant's nest, and, though they are not actually inhabited, they have not been long deserted by the race of fishermen who are wont to dwell there. The Sound of Ramsey, between the island and the mainland, is full of dangerous currents and eddies, and boats have always found it a matter of difficulty to cross it. Here the sea-birds circle round the Deer's Head, with its headlands, its narrow pass, or Lavens, and its solitary ruined chapel, associated with St. David and all those who came to pay their vows to the saint to make offerings. Then follows the sweep of St. Bride's Bay, and off the mainland, at its southern point, the islands of Skomar and Skogholm—recalling the Danes and Northmen by whom for more than one century they were frequented, and from whom they received their present names. Against the horizon, on the farther shore of St. Bride's Bay, rise the ruined towers of Roche Castle, one of the many strongholds raised by the Norman conquerors for securing the subjection of South Wales. Thus the view from Carn Llidi presents existing relics, and suggests recollections, of the different races who have at various times possessed and frequented the district. The heathen Northmen paid little reverence to St. David or his cathedral. More than once they pondered the church and the 'House of the Clerks,' but it is probable that the shrine of the great Welsh saint formed a certain kind of neutral ground between the Welshmen of Dyfed and their Norman lords, and that the common reverence paid to it was not without effect in bringing the two races into better relations, so far as such harmony was ever attained.

In the view from the top, now in the hollow of the valley, the utter part of the tower just visible on Carn Llidi, and the stream of the Alan almost washing its western front, stands the great cathedral 'Ty Dewi,' as it was called 'the House of David,' regarded for ages by all true Welshmen as the most sacred spot in Britain. There are two very strong towns, from the north-east and from the south-west, of the cathedral and the group of surrounding buildings. In each of these views the stranger comes almost suddenly, owing to the steep fall of the river valley. Some trees cluster round the church on its north side, and, from their absence

[1] From these Mr. [illegible] and Fenton [illegible] sketches. A slight mistake has been omitted on the [illegible] page.

elsewhere, give an additional charm to the scene. In front extends the cathedral, chiefly dating from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, though the upper part of its tower, and nearly all its window tracery, built and inserted at a later period, give a Decorated character to its general exterior. The Lady chapel and adjoining portions are still in picturesque ruin. The restoration of the main body of the church, its nave and choir, is rapidly advancing. That of the choir and presbytery is complete. The nave, of transitional architecture, with a range of lofty clerestory arches much enriched, and with an elaborate oaken roof of the fifteenth century, which for the grace and intricacy of its peculiar ornament has no parallel in this country, is gradually recovering its ancient dignity and beauty. The warm colour of the stone of which the cathedral is built throughout combines with the richness of ornament to give an unusual air of completion to the interior. The eye does not seek, as elsewhere, for the additional decorations of fresco and polychrome; and even the bright hues of stained glass are not in too sharp contrast with the purples and dark greys of the sandstone. This stone, belonging to the ancient Cambrian rocks before mentioned, is brought from Caerfai, one of the most picturesque of the many small bays that indent the shore. No other important building in Great Britain is built of such primitive stone. Its use gives an additional and a fitting distinction to St. David's.

A gateway with an enormous octagonal tower, so vast that, as has been suggested with much probability, it may have served as a campanile, opens to the close from the crest of the hill. In the level of the valley and across the river, but closely adjoining the cathedral, with which it groups in every view, are the ruins of the bishop's palace—a vast and once magnificent structure, with a central court or quadrangle, now turfed with the brightest green sward, and a hall not unworthy of the most princely of prelates. The composition bears ample testimony to the taste and architectural skill of Bishop Gower, by whom the palace was built in the reign of Edward III. Its outer walls are crested by a parapet of open arches, most striking in the ruined condition of the palace, and especially by moonlight. The architectural group is completed by the chapel of St. Mary's College, on the north side of the cathedral. This, like the palace, is a ruin; but the walls, with a lofty and slender tower, remain entire, and contribute additional varieties of outline to the wonderful assemblage of buildings. No familiarity seems to lessen their effect. The lonely situation; the wild background; the picturesque grouping, and the rich details, especially of the palace; the sharp contrast of the stately cathedral with the ferny hills close at hand, and the green river-banks dotted with black cattle; the exquisite colouring—grey ruin, mossed walls, haunted by myriads of jackdaws, and tufted with pink valerian, the clear atmosphere, and the great arch of sky—day after day all these are seen as if enjoyed with fresh delight and increasing wonder. The most unantiquarian and least 'historical' of men can hardly help pondering how it happened that such a cathedral and such a group of buildings were raised in the extreme corner of the land, or desiring to know something more of the Saint whose church it is, and to whose shrine pilgrims once found their way from all parts of Christendom.

Before attempting to trace, so far as that is possible, the history of St. David, it will be well to review the church, and see the earlier pilgrims to visit what still re-

mains of the shrine. The shrine of a great saint usually consisted of at least three very distinct portions: (1) the stone base or foundation, a sort of altar tomb, on which rested (2) the feretory or portable shrine, plated with gold or silver, enriched with jewels, and containing the actual relics of the saint. The feretory was ordinarily hidden by (3) a covering of wood, carved and ornamented, which was raised by means of a pulley whenever the shrine was exhibited. The most usual position for a shrine of great importance was at the back of the high altar, between that and the extreme eastern end of the church. The shrines, for example, of St. Thomas at Canterbury and of the Confessor in Westminster Abbey were thus placed. In the Cathedral of Llandaff and of St David's, however, it does not appear that the shrines of St Teilo or St. David ever occupied the positions at any time. At Llandaff the shrine of St Teilo must probably stood on the north side of the presbytery. At St David's the shrine of the patron saint of Wales was on the south side of the presbytery, in a position which, of the many lay open to pilgrims from the west. What now remains of the shrine is only the stone altar tomb, with the feretory resting. The sides, toward the presbytery of the monastery in which the relics lay, are richly carved with figures of saints. Those behind the altar are much worn, but the figures of St David, St Patrick, and St Denis, can still be made out, and those from the east. The ward of the shrine towards the nave has at the base three recesses, arched and panelled, and the upper part. There can be no doubt that what we now see is part of the shrine begun by Bishop Richard de Carew in 1275, and it was before it then in all its fresh splendour, that Edward I and his queen Eleanor paid their vows and made their offerings when they visited St David's in 1284, after the famous subjection of the Welsh princes. The quatrefoils in front and at the back of the shrine are now partly closed, but they seem to have been once sufficiently open to admit the passage of the hand into a small space at the back of each, in which offerings were deposited. No long time since, stones remained in the aisle, indented by the knees of the long train of pilgrims who century after century had prayed there. In 1536, after the first translation of St David, the date of which is uncertain, his feretory or portable shrine was stolen from the church, carried out of the 'dimas' or city, and broken up, of course for the sake of its gold and jewels. Of the fate of the later feretory nothing is known; nor are we anywhere told what became of the relics of St David in the sixteenth century. The shrine was carried in solemn procession by the feretory priests, and the Litanies of St David's were chanted in time of war to follow the host, a day's journey. It does not appear that on any occasion the shrine was conveyed beyond the limits of the bishopric.

The shrine of St David was constantly frequented by pilgrims from all parts of Wales, and it is somewhat remarkable that while certain of the saints' wells on the coast retain some portion of their ancient honour, the tradition connected with the resting place of the great saint, and those of the more than one pilgrim-yielding

ning of the present century. At that time two old sisters who lived at a farm-house in the neighbourhood, when they visited the Cathedral on Good Friday used to put off their 'clogs,' or wooden shoes, at the top of the steps leading to the churchyard, and to walk barefooted down them and into the church. In this manner pilgrims formerly approached the shrine. No such token of respect now clings to it. But little honoured as St. David may be in his own country, we may well pause with reverence before the place so long regarded as that of his rest. Setting aside the legend that has grown up round his name, enough of truth is discoverable through the mists of antiquity to assure us that the prominence formerly assigned to him was not misplaced. From the school of learning and religion established here by him were sent forth some of the best and most active of the Irish missionary saints. If it be impossible to tread 'the barren rocks of Iona' without emotion, the old land of St. David, where we came the traditions and the teaching that St. Columba's carried northward, may be regarded with at least an equal interest.

The Life of St. David was compiled from ancient sources, as it is asserted, and probably within the last decade of the eleventh century, by Rhyddmarch, bishop of the see. Rhyddmarch's Life was rewritten in more classic style, 'ad litteram et lepidum,' by Giraldus Cambrensis, the famous Archdeacon of Brecknock; and one or two more Lives of the saint, of less importance, are in existence. All, however, are founded on that by Rhyddmarch, which, whatever amount of truth it may contain, is so full of palpable legend that it can only be accepted as recording the belief held about St. David at the time it was written. From other sources we glean the few facts of his history which may be looked upon as fairly ascertained.[1]

It is impossible to fix with certainty any date in the life of St. David. According to the *Annales Cambriæ* he held a council in the year 569, and died in 601. These dates are probably accurate. They harmonise sufficiently well with other and contemporary statements; and we may fairly enough regard the period between about 510 and 601 as that in which St. David lived. Throughout this period the English conquest was in progress. The kingdom of Wessex had gradually pushed forward its boundaries, and between the years 577 and 584 it advanced to the Severn, thus separating the Welsh principalities from the still Britain, Damnonia, then comprising Somerset, Devon, and Cornwall. The British Church, during the time of conquest and of narrowing dominion, underwent many changes. It is probable that in the later days of the Romans, and for a short time afterwards, there was an episcopal see at Caerleon on Usk presiding over the whole province of Britannia Secunda, the modern Wales. After the English conquests had narrowed the British border, the condition of Wales became greatly altered. The princedoms of Gwynedd, of Powys, of Dyfed, and of Gwent arose, and soon afterwards an episcopal see was established in each principality, the limits of the diocese and of the

[1] The principal authorities for the life of St. David are the Welsh Lives, which have been largely used by Mr. Jones and Freeman in their *History of the Cathedral Church of St. David's*, 1856. Mr. Freeman's account of the see is also worthy of attentive study. See also Haddan and Stubbs's *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents relating to Great Britain and Ireland*, vol. i. Oxford, 1869. Dr. Jones's *Life of St. David*, 1854, contains many interesting notices of great value.

principality being identical. The ancient see at Caerleon became extinct, and the whole change was thus one from Roman to British organisation. The four sees thus established were those which still exist in Wales—Bangor, St. Asaph, St David's, and Llandaff. St David was himself the founder and the first bishop of the see which bears his name.

The Lives of St David make him the son of Sanctus, son of Cerentus, one of those chieftains, perhaps of Scottish birth, who drove the Irish Picts from Wales. Cerentus gave his own name to Cardiganshire, and Welsh genealogists traced his descent from a sister of the Virgin Mary.[1] The mother of David, according to the same authorities, was Nonna or Non, descended like her father from the royal race. These genealogies are to be regarded with the utmost suspicion, but they are probably truthful in so far as they assert David a native of his own district. That Dewisland is full of traditions associated with the life of David does not perhaps prove much. The traditional scene of his birth is pointed to in a well and ruined chapel dedicated to his mother St Non. They are distant but a few paces from each other, and are placed on the side of a green knoll a little above the edge of the cliffs that stretch northward from Caerfai. In front opens the bay, and at the back the country rises wild and broken, so that the place would be altogether inaccessible. The well is covered with a pointed barrel vault, which was restored during the last century. At the side is a square recess in which may have been deposited such offerings of pious and public men as were formerly made. Here tufted in the wall hangs over the water, which is still held to be of great virtue in the cure of certain disorders. The chapel, a small parallelogram, like some of the earliest Irish oratories, has large and rude blocks of stone in its four latticed. Beneath the altar, according to the story in Rhydderch's Life, was a part of a stone which leaped from the head of St Non to her feet at the birth of David. Another well which had once a great reputation is in the valley of the Alun, a little above the place where it opens to the sea. The spring, which burst from the ground to supply water for the baptism of St. David, changed once or twice according to the Lives, with due consecration for its nationality, into mead or metheglin.

The chief place in the district, however, was 'Yr Henllwyn' or 'Hen Fynyw,' the 'old bush.' There St David 'was taught the psalms and the lessons and the public prayers,' and there he 'often times saw a pigeon with a golden beak contracting him and playing about him.' Afterwards he became a scholar in the ancient 'college' of Paulinus at Whitland in Carmarthenshire. Paulinus or 'Paul Hen' (the old) was, according to Welsh hagiology, one of the great teachers of his age; and Teilo, the saint of Llandaff, is mentioned as one of David's fellow-disciples. Such statements can only be received with hesitation, but the existence of Paulinus, at any rate, seems to be confirmed by the inscription on a stone found near Llanwnnen-Brychan in Cardiganshire, which contains notice of a person of that name in the sixth century.

[illegible]

Tradition (not the Lives) farther

[1] The genealogy given in the Peniarth MS. 16 is a Welsh Life of St. David, printed from three MSS. in the Cambrian Journal for 1854.

asserts that David became bishop or archbishop of Caerleon; and that, owing to the 'too great frequency of people' there, and to the neighbourhood of the pagan English, he removed the see to Mynyw, Latinised into Menevia, the site of the present Cathedral.

'Mynyw' signifies a 'bramble bush;' and the name is so far appropriate that the wild land round St. David's is still famous for its bramble berries. The present St. David's became afterwards known as Menevia, but the older settlement was at some little distance, although in the immediate neighbourhood. Wherever it was, it has been regarded by Stukeley and many later antiquaries, as the site of the Roman Menapia, which Stukeley made the birthplace of the famous Carausius—thus 'venturing,' in his own words, 'to restore to St. David's one true Briton more.' Unfortunately the existence of Menapia is only made known to us by an Iter in the *de Situ Britanniæ* attributed to Richard of Cirencester, a work which the ablest modern investigators, including the editor of Richard's *Speculum Historiale*, pronounce unhesitatingly to be a clumsy forgery. No Roman ruins whatever have been discovered at or near St. David's; and although it has been suggested that the foundations of the Roman town may have been covered by the blown sand which extend for some distance inland on the south side of St. David's Head, the fact that no mention of any 'ancient' building occurs in the Lives, or in any writing of Giraldus, who is eloquent on the Roman ruins at Caerleon, renders it more than probable that the Roman Menapia is in reality nothing more than a myth. The site of the city of Carausius must be sought elsewhere.

But if Menapia is thus disposed of, 'Hen Mynyw' still remains. It seems most likely that the place was originally on the tract now covered with blown sand, and that the advance of the sand caused its final desertion. At any rate, when David determined on founding a church or monastery in his native district, he did not choose the 'old bush,' where he had been first taught—where, according to the legends, Gildas, the 'wisest of Britons,' recognised the future sanctity of David before his birth; and from the shore near which St. Patrick, who had proposed settling in Wales, was shown in vision the whole of Ireland as the scene of his own labours, and was told that Wales was reserved for another teacher—but sought what was then perhaps the more complete seclusion of the valley of the Alan, the 'Vale of Rosina,' 'Glyn Rosyn,' as the Lives call it, no doubt from the Welsh 'Rhos,' a moorland. Of the condition of Wales at this time we know very little. Stories recorded in the Lives, and remains still existing in the country, may perhaps indicate that the district round Hen Mynyw was then wild and unsettled, a land of many small chieftains, constantly at feud with each other. David is said to have been greatly troubled by a certain Boia and his wife, the traces of whose fortress are pointed out on the summit of a rock named 'Clegyr Boia,' 'Boia's Rock,' between St. David's and the sea. Local tradition goes on to assert that a smaller 'stronghold,' overlooking the valley of the Alan, and much nearer St. David's, was constructed by the saint for the protection of his 'family,' as the monastic brotherhood of a religious house were then called collectively. Lists of Welsh chieftains, and their descendants, are preserved in manuscripts which were then common, and which may well have been consulted and arranged by the heroes of the Welsh Church. Most of these chieftains were probably the chief cause of trouble to the inhabitants of the house of

a place so remote and so little accessible. Except St Asaph, which stands on high ground, the sites of the other Welsh cathedrals much resemble that of St David's. They are placed in low and sheltered valleys, either close to a river or near the source of a spring, one of the most necessaries for those who established themselves on such sites, and by whom the sees were founded. At St David's, besides the river, there is a spring near the east end of the cathedral, which tradition says arose at the bidding of the Holy Virgin, and was called St Mary's Well, but which David is said to have called forth by his prayers for the service of his household.[1]

The Monastery established in this place by St David was, there can be no doubt, of the same character as those which were founded by St Martin in Gaul in the 4th century (the first in Western Europe), or like those of the same type established in Ireland by St Patrick (who was probably the nephew and disciple of St Martin) at the end of the 5th century. It was a time in which, while great merit was ascribed to the monastic, having many converts, there were to have been no sees of Bishops, as before the time of Patrick and David. Bards and Druids were extirpated. The clergy had no flocks and herds, and lived on the roots of the woods and on the milk of a few animals, and on the money and the charity of worshippers. With less of strife and more of friendly feeling than the first Irish missionaries, there was probably much assimilation to the early Druidical usages by the clergy of the Celtic Church. By far the greater number of the churches in the wide diocese of St David's were founded by David himself,[2] and were named from him. The Triads class him with Padarn and Teilo as the 'three blessed bishops of the Isle of Britain.' They were so called because they went as guests to the houses of the rich, the poor, the native, and the stranger, without accepting fee or reward, victuals or drink, but what they did was to teach the faith in Christ to every one with joy or thanks, besides which they gave to the poor and freely gifts of their gold and silver, their meat and provisions.[3] It is probable that St. David's influence was felt throughout Wales during his lifetime; and it is certain that the Irish Church was indebted to him, with his countrymen Gildas and Cadoc, for a great restoration of the faith and of order. A very curious document first published by Lesley, and dating from the middle of the eighth century, divides the 'Saints of the Irish Church' into three classes or orders.[4] The first, 'Sanctissimi, burning like the sun,' comprises those who took St. Patrick for their model, and followed him at once. The second order, Sanctissimi, 'shining like the moon,' had not seen St. Patrick, but had received the order of mass from David, Cadoc, and Gildas.[5] The third order, Sanctissimi, whose light was as that of the stars, were born in Ireland after the death of Patrick; and the legends of the later Irish saints being nearly all the more distinguished of them to study in Wales, at 'Menevia,' the 'Church

[1] [illegible] in the Bodleian, or New Welsh [illegible] among [illegible]

[2] [illegible] mentioned in the Liber Landavensis, p. 88 [illegible]

[3] [illegible] [illegible] Ireland, [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

of the bramble'—the Irish equivalent for Mynyw. St. Finian of Clonard, 'oidhe' or 'foster father of the Saints of Ireland' as he is called, himself the master of a famous school which produced 3,000 disciples—

> From whom in Erin
> Sorte fit Pastor humilis—

had sat at the feet of St. David. St. Moedhog of Ferns was also in the monastery at Kilmaine, as was St. Bar of Cork; and according to Rhyddmarch's Life of St. David, a third or fourth part of Ireland was obedient to him. It is to St. David, moreover, if we are to believe Rhyddmarch, that Ireland is indebted for her bees. Modomnoc, a disciple of David in Glyn Rosyn, passed thence to Ireland, 'and a large swarm of bees followed him, and settled on the prow of the ship where he sat.' They accompanied him and supplied him with honey during his Irish mission; but 'not desiring to enjoy their company by fraud,' he brought them back to Wales, when 'they fled to their usual place, and David blessed Modomnoc for his humility.' Three times the bees went and returned with Modomnoc, 'and the third time holy David dismissed Modomnoc with the bees and blessed them'—saying that henceforth bees should prosper in Ireland, but that they should no longer increase in Glyn Rosyn. This, adds Rhyddmarch, is found to be the fact. Swarms decrease at St. David's, 'but Ireland in which until that time bees could never live, is enriched with plenty of honey. . . It is manifest that they could not live there before, for if you throw Irish earth or stone into the midst of the bees, dispersed and [illegible] they will shun it.'[1]

It is especially noticeable that this 'second order' of Irish saints seems to have had no connection with Armagh, or with the institutions of St. Patrick. That saint is never mentioned in their Lives; and by their order of mass and their monastic rules they were immediately connected with Menevia and the Church of Wales. To this second order belong St. Columbkille and the numerous Irish missionaries who spread themselves throughout Europe from the end of the sixth to that of the eighth century. From Iona, as we know, came the teachers of the Scottish Gael and Picts, besides those first bishops of Northumbria who restored the faith in that English kingdom after the departure of Paulinus and the extinction of the Christianity introduced by him. We may well suppose that the see of these first Northumbrian bishops was fixed at Lindisfarne, the holy island,

> Seeing! by the mass of men unknown,
> Close to mere fierce as they

with a distinct recollection of Iona. Many of the first teachers of Christianity in Scotland are said to have had their oratories in caves in the coast. The cave of St. Columbkille is [illegible] out [illegible]ygleshire. St. S[illegible] east of Fife; [illegible] the 'ocean [illegible] by [illegible] It [illegible] ass[illegible] wal[illegible] scend[illegible] of saint[illegible] with Me[illegible] sufficient[illegible] Besides [illegible] evidence th[illegible]

[1] Rhyddmarch's Life of St. [illegible]

[2] It is nowhere asserted th[illegible] But he belongs distinctly to th[illegible] ever, as has been seen, under th[illegible]

of Dyfnaint or Damnonia, left his kingdom about the year 589 to enter the Monastery of St David. Constantine, or 'Cystennyn,' whose Roman name recalls the great Emperor whom Britain claimed as her own son, was the 'tyrannus whelp of the unclean Dumnonian lioness' apostrophised, with other sectaries of Britain, by Gildas in his well-known epistle. He was afterwards reverenced as a saint in his former kingdom, and at least two churches in Cornwall are dedicated to him.

We may also accept as certain the presence of St. David at two, perhaps at three, synods, convened, apparently, for the consecration and deposition of a penitential. The third synod was held at Caerleon in 601, the year in which the Chronicles place the death of St David. His presence is uncertain; but the synod itself was probably connected with the famous Conference of the British bishops with Augustine of Canterbury. If, indeed, it was not the same. It would be a striking picture if we could believe that St. David, old and about to die, was present at the momentous interview.

At what time St David received episcopal consecration is, as has been said, uncertain. There are [illegible] indistinct traces of the existence in Wales of 'monastic [illegible] as they were called, that is, [illegible] who performed episcopal [illegible] within their own religious [illegible] who were without a [illegible] cese. Such bishops [illegible] in Ireland; but if [illegible] ted in Wales, it is [illegible] that St. David did [illegible] their class. A succession, broken indeed, [illegible] istent, has been [illegible] est clearness as [illegible] the continuous [illegible] St. David's [illegible] to be re- [illegible] Legends [illegible] St. Teilo [illegible] in com-

pany with St Padarn they went on pilgrimage to Jerusalem, where 'they were raised by the Patriarch to the episcopal dignity, Teilo in the room of Peter, David in that of James,' but this pilgrimage and consecration are common to the legends of many Welsh saints; and the peculiar dignity assigned to Teilo was no doubt invented during the dispute for precedence between the churches of Llandaff and St. David's.

Besides the above chapels already mentioned, there were two on Ramsey Island, one at Porth Stinan, opposite the island, and one dedicated to St Patrick, near the White sands, below Carn Llidi. St. Patrick's chapel, of which the foundations remain, no doubt marks the place anciently called 'Patrick's Seat,' whence, according to the legend, he was shown the whole of Ireland in vision. Capel Stinan, of which the walls are standing, is placed on the verge of the cliffs looking across the Sound of Ramsey. St Justinian, to whom it is dedicated, was, says his legend, an Armorican who established himself on Ramsey and became St David's confessor. His servants killed him, were struck with leprosy, and spent the rest of their days in penitence on a rock called 'the lepers rock,' in the sound. The body of Justinian was carried across the sound, and landing at Porth Stinan was buried where the chapel now stands. All these chapels, according to a writer of the time of Elizabeth, were 'built for the devotion of seamen and passengers when they first came ashore.' Other pilgrimages went to them. What was there offered was carried to the Cathedral, and divided every Saturday among the canons and priests. Some yet living that belong to the Church can remember since the offering money was brought on Saturdays to the chapter-house, and there divided by dalfins, the quan-

tity not allowing them leisure to tell it.' Many pilgrims as they approached St. David's from the north made their first offerings at a chapel called the 'Chapel of the Fathom,' which stood at some distance from the sea. It contained a measure known as 'St. David's Fathom,' about three yards and a half, marked on one of the arches, and held to be the length of the saint's outstretched arms. St. David is traditionally said to have been of great stature. The paladins of Charlemagne and King Arthur's knights, especially Gawain, become giants in some forms of tradition; and St. David is not the only saint to whom a similar measure has been applied. It may be here remarked that the latest legends make David the uncle of King Arthur; and the arms assigned to Arthur, together with the shield given to Cadwallader, the last titular King of Britain, were formerly to be seen on the chancel roof of the Cathedral. As Welsh hagiology becomes more mediæval, it assumes more and more the character of the romantic *Morte d'Arthur*, and Arthur and his knights are sometimes made to play actual parts in the story.

The monastery founded by St. David possibly changed its character long before the twelfth century, when Bishop Bernard established a body of canons here. Before that time, according to Giraldus, the clerks of St. David's had been known only as 'Glaswyr' (=Eglwys wyr) 'churchmen.' The gradual loss of early discipline is indicated by the story of Bishop Morgeneu, killed by the Northmen about the year 999, and who, says Giraldus, was the first of the bishops who ate flesh. Accordingly he appeared after his death, and declared that his death had been caused by the neglect of the ancient rule. 'Quia carnes comedi,' said the spectre, 'caro factus sum' ('I ate meat, and therefore they made meat of me.') The Northmen, who hovered long about this coast, frequently plundered St. David's; and appearing for the last time in 1088, are said to have destroyed the place utterly. But if the church and monastery were burnt at this time, they speedily arose from their ashes. From about 1071 to 1098, under the last Welsh bishops, the school of learning at St. David's was at least equal to what it had been in the days of its founder. Bishop Sulien, called the 'Wise,' 'the best of all the bishops in Wales for counsel, learning, religion,' died in 1091. He had received the Conqueror at St David's in 1081, and was succeeded by his son Rhyddmarch, the biographer of St David. Rhyddmarch died in 1079; and after his time, according to the Welsh Chronicle, 'instruction for scholars ceased in Mynyw.'

A great change was indeed impending. In 1115, Bernard, Chancellor to Matilda, queen of Henry I., became the first 'foreign bishop' of St. David's. It does not appear that he began to build; and he was perhaps prevented with what must have been the very plain and simple church of his predecessors. But he established his canons here; and it was in his time, if we are to believe Godwin, that St David was formally canonised by Pope Calixtus II. But with the instrument of a foreign churchman—the instrument which was employed in Lanfranc's degradation of the English saints—Bernard added a new dedication to his church, which henceforth became the Cathedral of St David and St. Andrew. So St Peter was joined with St Teilo at Llandaff, and St Mary with St Deiniol at Bangor.

The existing church was begun by Bishop Peter de Leia (1176–1198), who had been precentor of Wells. Its architect, writes Mr

Gilbert Scott, in his first report on the fabric (1862), 'seemed determined to plant, in the farthest extremity of our island, the standard of the utmost advancement of his art at the period of its most determined progression. The building is thus a wonderfully interesting and valuable landmark in architectural history, taking, in the extreme west, a position parallel to that held by Canterbury in the extreme east of the island.' But on the architectural history and details of the church we must not dwell. To those the restoration in progress has already drawn attention. They are indeed full of interest, and the extent and beauty of the later works, the vast episcopal palace, and the distinguished prelates by whom the see was frequently held during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, prove that St David's, remote as it was, was then, from whatever causes (and probably the reputation of its great shrine was the principal), regarded as a position of no small dignity and importance. But at no period of its history was the place so remarkable, nor was its influence so great, as in that early time when St David ruled over the rude huts and simple church of his 'scholars' in the solitude of Glyn Rosyn.

THE EMPEROR JULIAN.

SOME three-and-twenty years ago or thereabouts Herr David Friedrich Strauss (the well-known author of the *Leben Jesu*) published a *Vortrag* on the character and motives of the Emperor Julian, under the title of 'The Romanticist (*Romantiker*) on the Throne of the Cæsars.' Although this essay purported to set before itself nothing more than a purely historical object, it was well understood that the author designed the application of his sketch not so much for Julian himself as for Frederick William IV. of Prussia, with whom at that time the thoughts of political speculators in Germany were much engaged, both as regarded the development of constitutional government in Prussia herself, and perhaps to a still greater degree in connection with the various projects of Teutonic unity. The parallel which Strauss wished to suggest is traced and illustrated in an interesting article contained in the 88th volume of the *Edinburgh Review*. The reviewer (as might be expected during the summer of 1848) is more occupied with the bearing of Strauss's volume on the Prussian politics of that exciting crisis than with the accuracy of the representation given of Julian. Under the circumstances, however, it is hardly likely that this picture should be faithfully drawn. Probably Strauss would himself admit that he had stretched his historical judgment for the purpose of giving point to his modern application. Perhaps there was something of personal bitterness in the feeling with which he contemplated the weakness, as it seemed to him, of Frederick William in throwing away the brilliant opportunity offered him by destiny. Strauss thought he saw a grand new epoch just ready to unfold itself in religion, in politics, in society. All the rising influences were calling across the deep to Frederick William of Prussia, claiming his hand to give them practical operation on German soil. And in such a proffered career of a new Constantine, who so fit to bear a distinguished part as Herr Strauss himself? The old Christianity was worn out, like the old idolatries of the Pagan world in the days of Julian. Strauss's expectation of a new Christianity almost independent of Christ was already before the world, and had produced no small effect in Germany. With these expectations, we can well imagine that the German doctor regarded with vexation and contempt the reluctance of Frederick William to fling his sceptre into the scale of the new era, and that he should seek in the dying days of old paganism for a parallel to such strange and wayward devotion to by-gone faiths and fealties.

In his eyes Frederick William was simply a *Romantiker*—a man prompted by mere sentiment to an abortive effort towards reviving a dead past, in preference to associating himself with the vigorous future. The Romanticist (we quote the words of the Edinburgh reviewer in summarising Strauss's explanations on the subject) is one who refuses to accept the fact of history; refuses to acknowledge that the past is past, that it has grown old and obsolete: one who regards the present age as in a state of chronic malady, curable only by a reproduction of some distant age, of which the present is not the child but the aborter. And this class of men, Strauss will have it, spring up more particularly in those epochs of human history when an old system has already fallen into decay, and the new one which is to succeed has not yet fully

developed itself;—still wearing the character of an innovation, and exciting the alarm and disgust of those whose fancy still lingers round the old system though their convictions are but feebly enlisted on its side. Such men are Romanists.

But was Julian such a man? That is to say, are we to suppose that the earnest desire to rehabilitate the old religion, to which he devoted his life, was nothing more than a fancy or a sentiment—perhaps even a foppery and a pretence, like the Romanticism of Mr Browning's Pietistical potentate?

> [illegible] Duke believes, with [illegible]
> [illegible] Pacchiarotto, who was, with [illegible]

If the German doctor meant this, as it is what we gather from his [illegible], he must have wholly failed to grasp the mind of a man of great reason and the rightful intellectual Julian.

We can quite believe, indeed, that [illegible] considerable element [illegible] in Julian's temperament. He crossed on the world from the seclusion in which his youth had been passed, and found the decrepitude of the great Roman State strangely contrasted with the reality of that power which was tottering to her fall. It was now nearly three centuries and a half since the Roman empire, advancing for eight hundred years, had turned back before Arminius and the Germans, and never faced northward again except behind the Rhine and Danube. For all that long period its ramparts were the limit reached, and against which the waves beat even in our time still [illegible]. The earthworks and palisades of the Roman camps gaze in the green waters of the great river, the Roman Arms now constitute the actual boundary of the Roman Empire; and from beyond their passes not yet made ready for Alaric and Attila rises ever and anon the wild *barritus* of some hitherto unknown tribe, startling the Roman outposts with the token of a new enemy. But it was not in the outward strength of the Empire alone that decay was to be seen. Even then Julian might have said in Latin what was said centuries later in Italian: *Roma, Roma, non è più come era prima.* The city was ceasing to be the *caput mundi*—the centre of the world's government. A new capital of the world had arisen by the shores of the Bosphorus, and the Imperial rule was assuming a new character in conformity with the change in its local administration. When Constantius made his public entry into Rome A.D. 357, a period of thirty-two years had elapsed since Rome had witnessed the presence of an Emperor in her streets; and the citizens who thronged to witness the event were amazed at the changes which had passed on the Imperial Court. The Roman simplicity of the earlier Emperors, who had borrowed their purple from the old badge of republican magistracy, had been replaced by the stately affectation of the Asiatic Courts' (as Gibbon calls it), of which Diocletian had set the first example. Constantius, borne through Rome in a lofty car, paraded before Roman eyes all the barbaric pearl and gold which the generous East showers on her kings, and around him gathered the eunuchs of his palace, his magnificently equipped body-guards, and all the other accessories of a sovereign's retinue. Nor was the Roman army less strange to the citizens than the habits of the Court. Long before this, the men who bore the Roman eagles over the world had ceased for the most part to be genuine Romans. Even in the days

of Augustus they were so habitually drawn from the neighbouring provinces of Italy, that *Marsus et Appulus* in Horace's verse was at once understood as a natural description of the Roman soldiery. But at the time of which we are speaking Rome had gone much farther afield for her military defenders. The legions had been filled with Gauls, Spaniards, and Britons, and still more recently with Germans, Goths, and Scythians. These soldiers, while they rapidly acquired the Roman arts, learned nothing of Roman feeling, except fidelity to their standards.

All this decay Julian would note, and would remark that it was coincident with the repudiation of those religious usages with which, probably, he had never quite lost his sympathy. He was a close student, thanks to the strict seclusion to which the jealousy of Constantius consigned his youth. He pondered over the pages of Livy and the other chroniclers who related the old glories of Roman history. He remembered how proudly those historians had always associated the triumphs recorded by them with the favouring care of the ancient Roman divinities—the 'gods of our Fathers and of the Soil,' invoked in Virgil's verse as keeping ward over 'Etrurian Tiber and the palaces of Rome.' He saw, that as their worship was fading from the 'moveless rock of the Capitol' and all the sanctuaries which it overlooked, so the glory of Rome was departing. At least, there was something generous in the enthusiasm which urged the thoughtful boy to dream of efforts which might yet roll back the tide of time, which might avail to build again the high places that had been trodden down, and reconcile those old sanctities with the life and thought of a younger world.

Julian has told us something, though not much, of those early years of his. Assuredly his experience at that time was not such as was likely to impress him in favour of the new religion in its struggle against the old. The history of Constantine's family is not one which does much honour to the first Imperial house which professed the Christian faith. When Julian ascended the throne he was the last of that numerous band of princes who had sprung from the father of Constantine. The jealous timidity of Constantine himself had been wrought upon (as far as we can gather from historical testimony) to bring about the destruction of his eldest son Crispus and his nephew Licinius. After the death of Constantine came that frightful massacre of eleven princes of the Imperial house which some historians charge to the violent passions of the soldiery, but which Julian himself fully believed to be a crime for which his cousin Constantius was more particularly responsible than anyone beside.

When that slaughter of the princes took place, Gallus was about twelve and his half-brother Julian six years old. Let us hope that it was some humanity in Constantius which prompted him to spare these children. At all events, their lives were for the present important as regarded the succession of his dynasty. Whether in fear for them or in fear of them, the boys were placed under close surveillance. 'We were shut up,' says Julian, 'in some country palace or other in Cappadocia, where they suffered no one to come near us. For this purpose they brought my brother back from banishment, me, being yet a mere child, they took away from those who were charged with my education. How (he proceeds) can I speak here of those six years during which we lived as strangers live within the gates of another, like those who are guarded in fortresses among the

Persians,[1] no traveller coming near us, and none of those whom we had known before being allowed to visit us? So we passed our time, shut out from all liberal education and from all the generous training appertenant to honourable families, making companions of our own slaves in our exercises, for no comrades of our own age and rank ever approached us." Julian speaks bitterly on this subject, having regard to the great importance which the Greeks and Romans always attached to the association of equals as an element in a young man's training. But it must not be supposed that the education of the two princes was neglected, in the ordinary sense of the phrase. The control of these matters was placed in the hands of Eusebius, Bishop of Nicomedia, who was charged to preside not only over their progress in learning, but also over their due instruction in the Christian religion. But at this time the Arian controversy was distracting the Church and the Empire, and Eusebius was a partisan of Arius on whom a scandal hung that of Arius himself. It is likely enough that the Bishop was more anxious to impress the tenets of his party with the special doctrines which were suggested by the opponents of Athanasius with whole-hearted fervour and hopefulness. However, in those early days, at all events, we may well have been with Julian a matter of feeling, and not of conviction. Arianism and Catholicism were but words to him. He would not easily feel much to draw him towards the new faith which was associated with the murder of those dearest to him. He came fresh into the world much in the same circumstances with our Mary Tudor when she emerged from the restraints of her joyless girlhood to the throne of England, with no friend but her mother's God, and no story but her mother's wrongs. It is not surprising that both should have made it the main purpose of their lives to establish once more the old religion, so deeply associated with their spiritual being. Had Julian, like Mary Tudor, recollections of a happier childhood, which would further bind him to this service? It is likely enough. No doubt his mother Basilina had openly conformed to the faith of the Imperial family. But it may easily be guessed, that in the newly Christianised Court of Constantine there would be many, especially among the women, who would still keep a reverence for the old names which were among the solemn recollections of their childhood. Basilina died shortly after the [illegible] in which her husband fell. But she was able, it seems, to secure for her son, in his captivity, the attendance of the eunuch Mardonius who had watched over her own early years, and had taught her to love the verses of the great Greek poets. Of this man Julian always speaks with the most affectionate regard, more particularly in a passage of the Misopogon. He is offering his personal excuses to the gay people of Antioch—the Venice of the East as it for that he loves the life of the Greek empire better than those manners of their own which you love, as I were so practically followed in and around the groves of Daphne. For that Homer's pages as he turns them over in his solitary study, large but to him the harpings of Phemius, the song of Demodocus the dancers whose twinkling feet amazed Ulysses, the heroes of Phaeacia striving in the race, all with a personal delight

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [

than he could feel in the shows of the theatres and the hippodrome of the Syrian capital. 'This perverted judgment of mine,' he says, in his bantering way, 'is all owing to the old man who led my unsuspecting youth astray. Do you wish,' he proceeds, 'that I should tell you the name of this guardian of my childhood, and what nationality he boasted when he taught me these things? A very barbarian he, by the gods and goddesses!—a Scythian by nationality, and a namesake of him who prompted Xerxes to make war against Greece. He, as he led me to the teachers of my boyhood, pressed on my thoughts, in regard of these things, but one way: neither caring himself to know, nor suffering me to diverge into any other. But when you join his name with my reproach, as well you may, consider that he had been himself beguiled by others—men whose names you have often heard cited with derision—Plato, and Socrates, and Theophrastus. These men and others like them had so wrought on the foolish disposition of the old fellow, that when he found me a youth and a lover of study, he persuaded me that if I were to follow in all things those exemplars of his I should become a better man—not perhaps than others (for with that I had nothing to do), but than my own natural self. And I yielded to his persuasive; and now I am unable to mend my ways.'

It is evident from this and similar passages, that the moral lessons which the young Julian learned from Mardonius appealed for their authority mainly to the Greek philosophers. Now it was part of the teaching of these same philosophers, more particularly of Socrates and Plato, to enjoin on their followers the pious observance of all those sacred usages which their fathers had cherished. Socrates himself, no doubt, in those last words of his, 'O Crito, we have to offer a cock to Æsculapius,' reverted to his old fancy for speaking in parables, and wished to illustrate his view of death as a recovery from the long sickness of life. But he also, we may easily suppose, meant his words to be taken literally, and intended the sacrifice to be actually offered. At all events we know, from the testimony of his disciple Xenophon, how careful he was in rendering the customary worship to the divinities acknowledged by his country. It cannot be supposed that Mardonius, in turning over the roll which contained the wisdom of Plato, would omit to point his pupil's attention to that earnest seeking after a personal God which is so eminently characteristic of Plato's writings, and in which he always recognised the humble practice of the popular religion as no less needful a help than the deepest enquiries of philosophy. Julian himself, as bearing an imaginative spirit, would be naturally open to the influences of that old Satrap reverence which most nearly informed the Asiatic theology of Mardonius, and such influences might well be potent in the loneliness of his Cappadocian seclusion. In his oration in honour of the Sun he says: 'I have been all through my life a vassal of the Sun-king, for even as a child there came upon me a strange yearning love of the god's radiancy; and in those early days I used to be so raised out of my own being by the heavenly light, that I not only strove earnestly to gaze on the sun's face itself, but when the nights were cloudless I would wander forth and become lost to all things save only the glory of the heavens, so that I was at such times wholly unconscious of what anyone might say to me, or of what I myself was doing.' We have here an interesting and truthful picture of the imaginative boy, whose soul had been imbued from his earliest thought with the spirit of oriental

religion, such a spirit as the patriarch spoke of in its workings on the dwellers in Arabian solitudes, who 'beheld the sun when it shineth, and the moon walking in brightness, and the heart is secretly lifted up, and the mouth kisseth the hand.' Julian, however, earnestly endeavours to show, in the oration to which we have referred, that in his mind, at least, this Sun-worship was no mere Sabeism of the vulgar type. He insisted that the Sun was worthy of worship, as being the outward and visible manifestation of an unseen divinity, only to be apprehended by the mind; a divinity who was, in his turn, an emanation from the one great Source of all things.

We have dwelt on these traces of Julian's early years for the purpose of showing how far they suggest the probability, at least, that his religious feelings were drawn rather in the direction of the old heathenism than of the lessons which he received from Eusebius; and that consequently the application of the word, which subsequent times fastened upon him, was hardly applicable to his case. It is true, no doubt, that Julian was looked upon by his contemporaries as having been unquestionably a Christian at this period of his life. Cyril of Alexandria, in that elaborate work of his, *Contra Julianum*, expresses the general belief on this subject, though rather in a vague way: 'In the period of his sovereignty,' he says, 'he was accounted in the number of the believers, he was thought worthy of holy baptism, and was instructed in the sacred books. But by some means or other, foul and superstitious men having become known to him engaged him in the speculations which led to his apostasy. And so having taken Satan as their fellow-worker in this enterprise, they drew him aside to the customs of the Greeks, and at last made him a

vassal of unclean spirits, who had been brought up among holy churches and monasteries. Aye, "evil communications corrupt good manners," as says the all-wise Paul.' If the good Archbishop had been less bitterly prejudiced against the 'customs of the Greeks,' he might have learned that St. Paul himself was here quoting Menander, and not using his own words. However, this passage of Cyril merely amounts to a statement of that which we know already, that Julian was ostensibly brought up in the profession of Christianity and fully instructed in its doctrines, and indeed Julian himself speaks to this same effect when, in the Epistle to the people of Alexandria, he is expostulating with them on their readiness to embrace Christianity, and exclaims: 'Listen to me, for I myself travelled by this path up to the twentieth year of my life.' All this, however, is quite consistent with the inference which we have drawn from the circumstances of Julian's early life that his sympathies were with heathenism all along. He never speaks, as far as we are aware, of any epoch in his life connected with a change of belief, a topic which converts, in the strict sense of the word, are generally eager to dwell upon. We find, almost as soon as he became his own master, at all events when the dignity of Cæsar was conferred on him by Constantine, that he had fully chosen his form of religious belief and was engaged, though secretly, in the observance of the Pagan rites.

We need not recapitulate in detail the more patent facts of Julian's public life. The exigencies of dynastic policy, consequent on Constantine's want of heirs, induced that Emperor to withdraw Gallus from his retirement and to invest him with the title and dignity of Cæsar, which in those days implied not only the next succession to

the Imperial purple, but the actual military command and vice-royalty over such part of the empire as might be placed in his charge. In the case of Gallus this share comprehended the eastern provinces, and the young Cæsar fixed the seat of his administration at Antioch. This change in the life of the brothers took place A.D. 351, when Julian was twenty years old. Gallus seems to have exerted himself to procure additional liberty for his half-brother, who spent this period of his life in various places of Ionia and Bithynia. But the time of Gallus' prosperity was short; his own disposition prompted him to deeds of rashness and violence, and his wife, whom the contemporary historian Ammianus Marcellinus describes as 'rather a fury than a woman,' is said to have urged him forward in his passionate moods, the result of his career being, that by an Imperial mandate he was beheaded in prison, three years after his exaltation to the dignity of Cæsar. Julian generously endeavours to excuse the violence of his brother; arguing that his rustic and uncouth training would naturally bring about a corresponding character in his behaviour in public affairs, and that the blame of his deficiencies rested with those who had interfered to abridge his education. He also dwells bitterly on the fact of Gallus' execution without trial; rather a curious ground of complaint in the case of all those bloody proscriptions which had stained the annals of Imperial Rome, and strongly exemplifying that reverence for law which Julian had intuitively drawn from his studies in the history of the old Republic, and by which, in after times, his own principles of government were so eminently distinguished.

The fall of Gallus, certainly not altogether undeserved on his part, marked a very critical period in Julian's life. The Emperor's thoughts naturally turned to the only surviving male scion of his dynasty, but it was at first rather with the suspicion attaching to a possible avenger of Gallus' blood than with the hopes belonging to an heir of the Imperial house. There were not wanting among his courtiers those who strove to aggravate this jealous alarm. In this undecided state he kept Julian about his Court for some months, carrying him with his retinue from place to place, but for the most part avoiding all personal communication with him. At this time it was that Julian first experienced the benefits of the friendship of Eusebia, the wife of Constantius. The oration which Julian composed in honour of this Princess and her virtues is among the most earnest and eloquent of his writings. 'Unless,' he says in the Epistle to the Athenians, 'some one of the gods, who willed my preservation, had procured for me the kindness of the Emperor's wife Eusebia, a lady as good as she was beautiful, assuredly I should never have escaped his hands.' It was through the good offices of Eusebia that Julian was at length set free from this painful and hazardous position, and enabled to fulfil the wish which he had long cherished, of going to study at Athens. He was twenty-four years of age when he set foot in the groves of the Lyceum, the Porch frescoed with Persian battles, and other spots consecrated by the old wisdom and eloquence of sages whose words had charmed his boyish thoughts. Athens was still the University of the world, and we may easily imagine the ecstatic zeal with which a spirit like Julian's would listen from the very lips of the place itself, imaginative, and progressive. He had refused to accept the mere statement of that which Plato had vaguely longed for, a divine power moving

known to men the way of life; and to him Plato's philosophy seemed capable, and abundantly capable, of solving and satisfying all the obstinate questionings of the soul. It was in this spirit that he addressed himself eagerly to the studies of the place, and it may well be believed that the footsteps of Socrates by Ilissus' banks were holy ground for him. In a subsequent letter to two of his companions of this time, whom he addresses as his class-fellows (*συμφοιτηταί*) he sorrowfully complains of his separation from their pursuits. 'To follow philosophy and to have nothing else to do,' he says, 'is of all lives the most delightful, and the most beneficial to men. It is now more than four years since we were separated: what would I not give, Eumenius and Pharianus, to talk over with you the progress that you will have made in the period! For myself, I am so utterly barbarised by the service among which I live' (he is now at Milan) 'that I do not scruple to write from the seat of his government to a friend, that it is a wonder if I can even speak Greek.'

Among the young men of his own age who resorted to Athens at the same time with Julian, taking part in the same studies, and afterwards in the same theological controversies, was Basil, afterwards Bishop of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, and Father of the Church. Both were, as there is reason to believe, on terms of familiar intercourse with their fellow-student of the Imperial house. In after years Julian says, writing to Basil, 'I do not blame you for what you say against me, I do not part with the feelings which you and I in our youth entertained for each other.' And Basil, on his part, assures his Imperial correspondent that he has not forgotten 'how we studied together the sacred and noblest literature, the God-inspired scriptures.' He says this sadly, in allusion to the character which all the Christian Fathers naturally fixed upon Julian, that of a renegade from their faith. And the regard which Basil may be supposed to have entertained for Julian, would account for the silence generally observed respecting that Emperor and his doings, throughout the various works of Basil which remain to us. Gregory is not so reticent, and loses no opportunity of putting on record his abhorrence of the Apostate. He takes credit to himself for a sort of prophetical foresight, in exclaiming on their first acquaintance, Οἷον κακὸν ἡ Περσὶς τρέφει· 'what a bane the Persian school hath in training!' His description of Julian's personal appearance and bearing at this time, is assuredly not flattering. 'An unsteady neck-shoulders hitched and swaying—eye listless, wandering, distraught; gait hesitating and short; nostrils expressive of contempt, shown also in his ridiculous contortions of countenance—unrestrained guffaws of laughter—unmeaning nods and becks—speech unevenly and pausing for breath—interjectural and dilatorily delivered questions, with answers of the like sort, stumbling over each other and disordered by no culture.' The picture, drawn by an angry adversary, is no doubt a caricature, subject to that consideration, however, we may suppose that there is a general likeness to the original. Julian himself frequently hints, in the *Misopogon* and elsewhere, at his consciousness that he did not look the part assigned to him by his Imperial destiny. In the Epistle to the Athenians he dwells at some length on the offence which he gave at his first introduction to the Court, by his tardiness in ac-

quiring the courtly guise and deportment. 'I used to walk,' he says, 'not as they did, strutting and staring about them, but with my eyes on the ground after the fashion which I had learned from the tutor who brought me up: and in this way I became to them first of all an object of ridicule, soon afterwards of suspicion, and lastly a bitter spite manifested itself against me.' This contemplative demeanour was an old ground of reproach against philosophers at Rome. Persius puts such a gibe into the mouth of one of his 'Philistines':

Quod satis est cupio mihi: non ego curo
Esse quod Arcesilas aerumnæ, Cleanthes
Ohstupo capsto et figentes humine terram

The worldly Roman, conscious of the citizenship which gave him a share in the rule of the world, cultivated that 'pride of port' which he held to be no less befitting to a Roman than the toga. Those who gave themselves up to the study of philosophy (which word for the Greek and Roman comprehended all that relates to man's spiritual and moral being) were comparatively careless of such outward seeming, and fell into a musing attitude which corresponded with the character of their pursuits. Julian, who would far rather have been a teacher of philosophy at Athens than the ruler of the world, was no doubt delighted to disencumber himself of the Court manners, and perhaps exhibited those of a student even to an eccentric degree.

But this sojourn at Athens, the happiest portion of Julian's life, was soon destined to close. A few months after he had parted from Constantius, the exigencies of Imperial policy caused him to be once again summoned to the Court, and he was now invested with the title and dignity of Cæsar, as taking the place lately occupied by Gallus in the immediate succession to the Imperial throne. Gaul was assigned to him as the scene of that apprenticeship, as it were, to sovereign rule which he was now to fulfil. The post was not a bed of roses, for a considerable part of the Celtic population of Gaul had risen in revolt, and Julian's duties were rendered still more irksome by the proofs which he soon received that there was no abatement in the feelings of jealousy and distrust with which Constantius had formerly regarded him, and that his own subordinate officers were, in fact, instructed to keep guard against him no less than against the enemy. It would not have been wonderful if Julian's spirit had altogether failed him under these untoward circumstances. Cut off from the society of his friends and companions—his dreams of Athens and Athenian philosophy rudely interrupted—forced to exchange the pursuits which he loved for that uncongenial public life which he hated; this was a lot which, to his unambitious mind, could in no sort be compensated by the power and grandeur of a Cæsar. A man of mere sentiment would have sunk into a state of inert despondency. But there was stronger stuff in Julian than Herr Strauss ever dreamed of. He set himself vigorously to confront the difficulties of his situation, and to discharge the duties which had fallen to him, however distasteful and dangerous they might be. He would not unpraise the doctrine of his master Plato—the 'divine Plato' as he loves to call him—that practical wisdom is the true guide for the active life no less than for the contemplative. Then it was that the neglected recluse of Cappadocia, the awkward student at whom Gregory Nazianzen laughed, showed out as a bold and able administrator of affairs in peace and war, triumphing alike over the intrigues which surrounded his Court and over the powerful foes opposed to him in the field.

We need not recapitulate in detail these achievements—written as they are, and right eloquently written, in the book of Edward Gibbon. The fields of Champagne and Alsace, where Julian fought the invading Alemanni, have been in our own time the theatre of mightier wars. But on a comparatively small scale, Julian had the opportunity of showing himself an accomplished general and a gifted leader of men. His campaigns secured the pacification of Gaul, and he had liberty to turn his thoughts to the arts of peace, rebuilding the cities which the invaders had destroyed, settling the boundaries of the Roman province, and restoring its industry by the importation of corn from Britain.

Although it was so much against the grain that Julian had undertaken these active duties (being, as we have seen, rather of a temper which would have led him, had he been a Christian, to a monastic life), yet it was not in the nature of things that he should not learn to take a warm interest in work for which he was so eminently qualified. He had found his vocation, and he set himself conscientiously to fulfil it. There was much for him to do even after the enemies had been repulsed from the frontier, in organising and consolidating the Roman power in Gaul, and to this task he addressed himself with all the earnestness of the most practical statesman. Seeking for a fit seat of his government, he alighted on a spot which pleased him so well as almost to console him for the loss of his beloved Athens. He describes it in the Misopogon: 'The city is placed in the midst of the river on an island of no great extent, the whole of which it comprehends within its boundary. On each side it is connected with the main land by wooden bridges, and it has the advantage of a river which seldom rises or falls, but continues much the same in summer and winter. The water is singularly clear and beautiful to the eye, and tempting to those who would drink. The inhabitants, enjoying an especially mild winter, grow excellent vines, and some have even undertaken the cultivation of fig-trees, covering them up in the winter (as if they would clothe them) with wheat-straw and other such things as are used for the protection of trees against the inclemency of the atmosphere.' How little could Julian dream, when he adorned his favourite island in the midst of the Sequana, of the massive towers of Notre Dame and the gorgeous embroidery of the Sainte Chapelle, to be associated with the worship of the Galilean so long after the Olympian divinities, for whose honour he contended, had passed away as

> [illegible]
> [illegible]

As little, when he reconciled the Salian tribe of the Franks with the Roman people, could he speculate on the fortune which was to connect these names with the great monarchy afterwards to be seated in the city which he fondly calls his 'dear Lutetia.' Paris, it is likely enough, owes to him the importance which afterwards made it the capital of the Franks. The Parisians of to-day admire the remains of the vast thermæ by the side of the new Boulevard de Sebastopol, still testifying to the zeal with which Julian strove to introduce among the ruder Gauls the social usages and civilisation of Rome. But comparatively few among modern Parisians can appreciate the great monument of Roman occupation which is built up in the French law. Among those who accommodated the learning of Roman jurists to the needs of the Gallic population Julian was undoubtedly one of the most eminent. It was a work for which he was especially fitted, and to which he would love to apply the princi-

ples which he had gathered from Plato's writings. Suidas, though heartily concurring in the reproaches which most Christians of that day heaped upon Julian, is nevertheless unreserved in praise of his judicial administration.

This process of adapting the Roman law so as to satisfy the wishes and instincts of populations so distinct from the Romans in race and habits, was one to tax the highest powers of statesmanship. It was too often, as we know from Juvenal's seventh Satire, perverted into an engine of oppression and injustice, whereby the provincial governors were wrongfully enriched, and the native peoples alienated from Roman rule. That Julian should have succeeded so well in it is an eminent proof not only of his love of justice, but of the versatile vigour of his intellect, especially when we remember that the Roman law was itself at this time in a state of considerable confusion, from which it was partly redeemed afterwards by the code of Theodosius, and more completely, at a later period, by that of Justinian. This was not the sort of man to play the part of Strauss's sentimental *Romantiker*.

Julian's decision and strength of character were no less shown in face of the successive circumstances which brought about his final rupture with Constantius. When his last proposals were rejected by that jealous and timid Emperor, he saw that he must fight or fall. He did not hesitate long; his army was full of confidence in him, and was quite ready to march with him on Constantinople. Once more, then, he crosses the Rhine, on this bold and hazardous errand. Sending the bulk of his army across the North of Italy, he himself with three thousand chosen men plunges into the wilderness of the Black Forest, pressing over the long hills, with swollen rivers, which shut in the valleys of the Murg and the Enz, and so making his way to the Danube below Ratisbon; from which point he descends by boats, and at Sirmium, on the Save, rejoins his army, which had lost him for many a day. Constantius, on his part, thoroughly aroused by the bold attitude of his kinsman, made all due preparations for his defence; but the civil war which seemed to be imminent was prevented by his death in Cilicia at the close of the year 361.

We now see Julian the undisturbed master of the Roman Empire, and within his grasp, as it might seem, the opportunity of carrying out those plans over which he must often have brooded in secret, having for their object that great religious restoration which was next his heart. And we may obtain, with his writings before us, a tolerably accurate view of his ideas in relation to this matter. If it be true, as we believe, that the hopes and fears of the growing boy associated themselves from the very first with the old reverences which his forefathers had owned, this is of itself a sufficient contradiction of Strauss's theory that he only adopted the design of maintaining Paganism as a matter of fancy and caprice, and had no thorough conviction of his own to guide him in this course. That no such charge ever passed over the mind of Julian as would correspond with that 'strange and fatal apostasy' which is ascribed by Gibbon in the case, may easily be gathered from the passages to which we have referred, and the probability is confirmed in a far greater degree by the whole tone of Julian's writings and the utter absence of any language which might be meant to refer to a genuine conversion.

Whether this was so or not, however, we have still abundant evidence of the depth and beauty of his religious convictions after

the time when he had avowedly and confessedly placed himself on the side of heathenism. From what he has told us it is not difficult to discover the spirit in which he now approached the great controversies which agitated the Empire. He had gone about for years with his life at the caprice of a jealous-hearted despot, one who had no cause to entertain affection for him, and every reason to regard him with mistrust. In these terrors and dangers he had learned to place his highest security in the protection of the gods. A man of devout and mystical spirit, he was able to read in a high degree the consciousness of the protection, which is always so powerfully present to men in those crises when they believe that they have great work marked out for them. We have seen the steady purpose with which he had thrown himself into the work of military command and civil government, and the eagerness of heart with which he strove to be guided in all these matters by the oracles which he received from Pessinus and Delphi. We have no reason to think that he was repelled and rendered distrustful of the oracles when he found that they would not encourage him in what he had already resolved to do. He was not, however, guilty of that kind of fanaticism which is content with a mystical sense of the terms of divine worship which it shall thereby prevail to extort the presence of the god whether such presence be certain or not. If we have at all succeeded in conveying to our readers our own belief as to the state in which Julian's religious being was during the critical years that they were years of struggling with us that took what we may call the conduct of the emperor, it is impossible that he could have been acting a part, or even that he could have been guided by a mere sentiment—such as dictated, in after times, to Schiller his *Ideal und das Leben*—such as, perhaps, half unconsciously influenced Milton when he sang the Christmas Ode!

> This [illegible]
> [illegible]
> And [illegible] Heaven,
> [illegible]
> [illegible] with joy and love
> Triple [illegible] greet,
> [illegible]
> The [illegible]

But Julian, though not a man to sit down and pine over days that are no more, was no persecutor when the supreme power at last came to his hands. His principles of government in this respect are avowed in his Epistle to the Bostrenes, a mixed population which he thus exhorts "Let the several sects of your community live in concord together; let there be no hostility or wrangling on the part of those who are in error against those who are upright in piety and law. For nothing is more hateful to the gods than such conduct as this. Let the others, who were, in the days of Galilean folly, led from worship of the gods through ignorance rather than from evil purpose, be brought to the same mind by reasoning, not by blows and insults and judicial outrage."

Julian's tolerance has, however, been impugned in one or two particulars. The first of these certainly bears the appearance of an unwarrantable interference with the liberty of prophesying. He prohibited Christians from publicly teaching the Greek or Roman literature, whether as rhetoricians, grammarians, or sophists. It deserves to be remembered by Ammianus Marcellinus, himself a pagan, as a laudable precaution. Julian has at least tried to justify it in case of

his letters, writing to the following effect: 'We hold that to be true education which concerns itself, not with skill of words and sumptuousness of rhetorical effect, but with the healthful ordering of an intelligent mind, and with the right judgment of things good and evil, noble and base. All who profess the work of education ought to be men of reasonable temper and to refrain from propagating their own private opinions for purposes of proselytism, where they are at issue with those entertained by the community. If they hold that the words of those great thinkers, whose priests and preachers they are, are the words of wisdom, let them first of all imitate their piety towards the gods; but if they think that their authors were in the wrong, let them go to the churches of the Galileans and lecture in Matthew and Luke; in obedience to whom it is a law of yours to "refrain from things offered unto idols." How I wish that your ears and tongue might be "born again" (as yourselves would say) to that literature which I trust may always be dear to me and to those whom I love! This then is a general law for all teachers, for no restraint is laid on any young man as to the source from which he will seek education.'

We are afraid that there is something a little sophistical in the passage where Julian takes credit to himself for allowing full liberty to the pupils while he had abridged that of the masters. The Christians complained, and with good reason, that their sons were virtually excluded from the benefits of a liberal education, as this edict prevented them from obtaining it except at the hands of those who would teach a pagan theology at the same time. They endeavoured to meet the difficulty by supplying text-books of their own, which should serve in some measure to exemplify to the student the style of the great classical authors, and at the same time convey Christian lessons and avoid the stringency of Julian's ordinance.

Another charge of intolerance has been brought against Julian by Spanheim and others, which appears to have less foundation. In the Epistle which we have already quoted, and which is evidently animated by a bitter feeling consequent on some popular disturbances which his measures against the Christians had excited, Julian says: 'The clerics, as they are called, are hauling at every cable of disorder, and pouring fire on fire as the proverb says; presuming to add greater wrongs to those which they have already done us, by drawing the multitude into sedition. This they do because they miss their former ascendancy and are no longer permitted to adjudge causes and to write wills, and to divert to their own uses the inheritances which belong to others, and to get everything into their own hands.' Ezekiel Spanheim, the great Berlin scholar who bestowed so much valuable care on Julian's works, seems to have understood the words γραφειν διαθηκας in the above passage to import that Julian had forbidden 'clerics' to dispose of their property by will. It is more likely that the expression simply means that the priests of the Church were disabled from writing other people's wills, with the view of guarding against the undue exercise of spiritual influence.

In all those writings of Julian which bear on the questions at issue between himself and the Christians it is curious to note the spirit of sectarian animosity which so often lends bitterness to his language. This feeling may be said to be a new feature in the controversy. Julian's predecessors, even those who were persecutors, do not seem to have looked on Christianity as a rival religion to be put down. They thought of it either as a dis-

turbance of established religious customs and therefore obnoxious to the cause of good government, or else they supposed some danger to themselves and their dynasties in the growth of a community bound together by rules which the Imperial power had not sanctioned and could not very well understand. It lived, as the popular religion which was now decaying had never been a creed: it was incapable of being set up in opposition to Christianity. It had claim to no exclusive rule of faith, and pointed to no deposit of divine truth. Hence it frequently happened, as it would appear, that Romans of a religious turn of mind had, even in the days of Horace and Juvenal, adopted certain observances of the Jews, especially as to sabbaths and fast-days. There is even a tradition, though scarcely supported by sufficient evidence, that the Emperor Tiberius designed to introduce and establish the worship of Christ as one of the Roman gods. Julian must have been well aware of the outward difference in this respect between Christianity and the motley array of traditional usages which made up the religion of the Pagan world. But he laboured, perhaps unconsciously to himself, to infuse into the dying embers of the old religion with a something of the light of Christianity, thinking that he could raise on that foundation a system of belief capable of satisfying the strong yearnings which shook the religious life of his time. Thus it was that the superstructure of his own greatly assumed in his eyes the lineaments of a definite religious creed, sanctioned by the authority of traditions which went back to the prime and dawn of civilisation. And thus also his controversial tone gathered a certain amount of sectarian bitterness from the fact that his theories and efforts were eventually brought into collision with the positive teaching of Christianity. However, we are bound to remember, in justice to Julian, that his enmity was directed not so much against Christianity itself as against the aggressive spirit in which some of the Fathers of the Church, emboldened by the rapid advance of their faith, were now proclaiming its doctrines. Pressing a rhetorical phrase of St Paul further than St Paul himself probably ever meant it, they insisted, as a matter of doctrine, that the Gentile divinities were but demons to be classed with the devils of Rabbinical tradition, among whom accordingly Milton gives the gods of Greece and Rome a place in his Pandemonium as angels fallen from heaven. But St Paul himself has elsewhere spoken, in one of his most profound and eloquent moods, of the operations of Nature, the sunshine, the rain, and the harvest, as in themselves constituting a kind of revelation by which God had left Himself 'not without witness' to the heathen mind; and in his speech at the Areopagus he recognises the result of this instinctive religion in the Athenian rites as the 'ignorant worship' of that God whom he came to declare unto them, — the God whom their poet Cleanthes had invoked, under the name of Zeus, as the Father of us all. And the history of Cornelius, as recorded in the Acts of the Apostles, is a still earlier proof of the comprehensiveness of Christianity in the recognition of devout spirits among the heathen (for a heathen Cornelius seems to have been), and of a faith among them which might serve for a foundation of Gospel truth. All this is evidently very different from the views which controversial hostility tended to impress on Christian divines of a later date, as, among others, St Augustine, who says, speaking of the heathen, *De Civitate Dei*, ii. 25: 'Non daemones quos illi deos esse putantes colendos et venerandos arbitrabantur.'

Julian, as we have said, was angry at this exclusive tone now adopted by some of the Christian controversialists, and with his reverence for the forms of Pagan religion it is not wonderful that he should have been betrayed into the spirit of a bitter polemic. He insisted that his faith was built on the same foundation as theirs,—the conception of One God, and His investiture with personal attributes by the human mind. No doubt the wisest and purest minds among the Greeks and Romans pierced through the polytheism around them to the recognition of one supreme God, whose nature should be above and beyond the limits which must be necessarily supposed under a system of more gods than one. 'With Æschylus,' says Karl Ottfried Müller,' Jupiter is the only God, in the true sense of the term.' And as the thoughts of such men as Æschylus were guided in this direction by their religious feeling, so we read in the *Timæus* and other treatises of Plato how the reasoning of philosophers led them to the same truth. Julian's cast of mind was such as would instinctively attract him towards this monotheistic philosophy, even if his acquaintance with Christianity had not impressed it more positively on his mind. All those forms of dignity and power which the Pagan fancy portrayed were, he maintained, the varied types or emanations of one supreme God, 'by whose providence the frame of the universe is held together; the King of all things, about whom all things exist.' So far he insisted that he was on common ground with Christians—that all alike were worshippers of God, though using different names and different symbols. Speaking of the Galilæans, in his Epistle to Theodorus, he says: 'They nevertheless have their part in right religion, in that they honour Him who is truly most mighty and most good, who controls all the world cognisable by our senses, and whom, as I well know, we also worship under other names.' In the same sense he writes to the Jews: 'Offer up prayers on behalf of my sovereignty to the all-ruling and all-making God, who has deigned with His pure right-hand to place the crown on my head. Which also you ought to do in order that I may prosper in the Persian war, and that thus the holy city Jerusalem (which I have for many years wished to see inhabited by you) may receive me also, coming to restore it by my earnest endeavour, and therein to give thanks with you to the Mighty One.' And St. Cyril, quoting Julian's actual words, or the effect of them, makes him say: 'I am ever a worshipper of the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob.' Cyril's comment on this profession is hardly warranted by Julian's recorded utterances. 'Ay,' he says, 'he would place the God of Abraham among the local and tutelary gods of his own religion, and so do Him honour, not as the one Deity which is over all.' Julian did in fact, as we have seen, recognise 'the one Deity which is over all,' and it was on this ground that he claimed religious community with the Christians and Jews, identifying, if we have not misinterpreted his thoughts, his own conception of the Supreme God with theirs.

But Julian at the same time sought to sustain the popular polytheism. He did this not only for his own sake, but from a wish to save the religious customs of the people about him. He had persuaded himself that they satisfied their own spiritual needs, and he believed that they might also satisfy those of the men of his time without divorcing them from the devotions of their fathers. He must have been aware of the vastness of the problem set before him, an enterprise, that of bringing man into per-

sonal relations with a Deity of absolute perfection and infinite power. As a student of Christian theology he must have appreciated, in some sort, the solution of this problem offered by the mystery of the Incarnation. He, however, clave to the belief that the old forms of anthropomorphous Divinity which the heathen mind had pictured to itself in its struggles towards a like solution dimly imagined, might still, by the aid of Platonic philosophy, be made subservient to the end which Christianity had attained.

But we need not stop to compare Julian's theology with Christianity. All that we are concerned to show is, that he held it conscientiously and with the conviction of a reasonable man. We have referred to his endeavours to form Paganism with something of the spirit of Christianity, with the view of showing that he was not actuated by a blind prejudice but was ready to avail himself of the new teaching in so far as it might be used to revivify the old. It was not only the 'example of Christianity,' as we may call it, to which Julian trusted for help in the task of revivifying the old Paganism. He strove also to imitate it himself, and to make heathenism imitate. the holy lives and self-sacrificing charities of Christians. He even wished, as we learn from St Gregory Nazianzen, to found heathen churches with a system of hymns, monasteries and nunneries, at better than Christianity for devotion and charity. 'In such sort,' exclaims Gregory, 'are the heathen learning apes of our institutions (σεμνότητος τὸ μίμημα).' We have Julian's own testimony to the examples set by the lives of Christian men and women. In a letter to Arsacius he says: 'That the forms of (Christianity) do not deserve so low, I wish to the last of those who profess it. That which the gods have done for us is great and brilliant, beyond all prayer and all hope, for who could have ventured to hope for so great a change in so short a time? But why should we be content to rest there instead of taking example from those things which have done so much to promote the cause of godlessness' (a favourite term with Julian when speaking of Christianity), 'that kindness towards strangers, that carefulness about the burial of the dead, and that studied decorousness of life?' He urges Arsacius to exercise a vigilant control over the habits of those appointed to the priesthood, warning them 'not to appear in the theatres, not to drink in taverns, and not to engage in any pursuit or handicraft that is unbecoming and base.' Above all, he urges the priests to practise hospitality towards strangers and charity towards the poor, adding: 'Surely it is discreditable, that while no Jew asks alms, and those impious Galileans minister not only to their own poor but to ours as well, we should not aid those among ourselves who are stated in need.' And in another letter, written to the Pontifex Theutes, he says: 'I have always reasoned within myself, when I saw those who belong to the sect of the godless show such fervency in their persuasion that they choose to suffer death for it, and to endure every kind of want, even starvation, rather than eat swine's flesh or the things strangled, while we are so careless in divine things that we have forgotten the rites handed down to us by our fathers, nay, in many cases are wholly ignorant whether such and such a thing is ordained by rule or not.'

In order to form a right estimate of Julian's character, to gauge the intensity of his convictions and the manliness of his purpose, we must always bear in mind that he was but little in the thirty-fourth year of his age, and that the few years of his reign, crowded with political trou-

bles, had given him no leisure for practical action as a religious restorer or religious reformer. If opportunity had been afforded him to develop his plans and enquiries, one might easily conceive that so pure and devout a spirit might have been attracted more and more towards the point at which he would have surrendered his own theories to the common voice and common action of the Church. One can conceive, too, the possibility of his elaborating such a scheme of Pagan restoration as might have satisfied many minds among the students of Plato and Aristotle, at least, and have thus retarded in a very considerable degree the progress of Christianity in those early days. Under the circumstances of his life, it would be no impeachment either of his sincerity or his intellectual power to suppose that, as far as concerned the public history of those who followed him, that life was a baffled and a fruitless one. But we must not rashly assume this to have been the case. It may very well have been that the appearance of so earnest and generous a champion of the old heathenism exercised a salutary effect on the methods by which Christianity was proclaimed—may have recalled its earnest preachers to a fuller realisation of St. Paul's word, that 'we are all the children of one Father,'

> Adored
> By saint, by savage, or by sage,
> Jehovah, Jove, or Lord

and have reminded them more distinctly of that which the Apostles and their immediate successors had so fully discerned—the great truths and high purposes which underlie all forms of religion. We may mark, in the generations after Julian's time, a greater tenderness on the part of the Church towards heathen worship than had accompanied its first acquisition of political power under Constantine

Julian's professed hostility, as we have said, was directed against the unwholesome development of the Christian creed through the dogmatic decisions of the Church. He claimed to hold in common with her the foundations of her teaching—the acceptance of one God, and the faith in His personal manifestation under a material form. Many, no doubt, were of his mind at the time. Ammianus Marcellinus has recorded the complaint of such thinkers where he says, speaking of Constantius: 'Christianam religionem absolutam et simplicem anili superstitione confundens; in quâ scrutandâ perplexius, quàm comprimendâ gravius, excitaret discidia plurima; quæ progressa fusius aluit concertatione verborum.'

We know now, with eighteen centuries of history before us, how this exercise of judicial authority was forced upon the Church by that vivacity of metaphysical speculation which commended itself especially to the Greek and Oriental mind. The Church claimed to be the final arbiter in such questions, and was at all times ready to interpose her authority; and it was the uniform tendency of her decisions to adopt the simplest and most popular forms of pronouncing on those recondite controversies which were then subject to such free handling. We suppose that it may be assumed that all Protestants, and a great many Catholics too, would wish that the body of judgments in rem passed by the Church had been smaller than it actually is, and that more questions had been left open. Julian, scholar and student as he was, revolted in his own thought from this minute guidance, and could not endure that his beloved Greek sages should be superseded for the purposes of theological enquiry.

And whatever view we may take of Julian's theological system, we must, at all events, remember that

he is entitled to our sympathy on this ground, that he was all along a protester against the worldliness of his age, and one who strove with all his might to raise men's souls above the small cares and paltry pleasures which engrossed the Roman mind in that cold and sordid generation. No man felt more deeply than he did the spirit which prompted Wordsworth in that beautiful sonnet of his:

[illegible]

As it is in the eyes of Julian the Pagan system was not yet a "creed outworn," but was still capable of rousing to zeal in His creatures, by filling the universe with forms of beauty and world-power. Perhaps from its very decay it was the better calculated to attract towards itself both poet and philosopher. It was now a discredited and discountenanced belief, and the new spirituality was at once exposed to the corrupting influences which must needs accompany State advancement, as the history of larger which, in the case of the Christian Church, Dante traced back to this very period as its origin:

[illegible]

Instead of the axe and the faggot Christian professors might now begin to look forward to high places in the political and social world; and it would have been strange if the worldliness which prevailed around them had not made its way into their community also. Even our own patron saint, George of Cappadocia (an acquaintance and correspondent of Julian's), is said to have been more intent on his army contracts in bacon than on the slaying of dragons, actual or metaphorical. This inward deterioration of the Roman character was a disease of old growth, and had long since attracted the attention of moralists as a symptom of national decline. Horace complained in his day of the narrowly practical education which was commonly given to the Roman youth.[1] And in Juvenal's time Rome had even already lost her interest in political matters, and could not be brought to care for anything beyond the most trivial business and enjoyments of the day [illegible]. Julian set himself with all his earnestness to rebuke that delight in amusements and worldly gains which had dominion over his time. His Misopogon is full of pungent but playful banter, playfully directed against the objectless life led by the rich, luxurious, fickle citizens of Antioch, reminding us of the picture contained up of old Venice by Robert Browning when listening to a flourish of trumpets. And he has more gravely recorded in his Counterblast the scorn which he felt for

[illegible]

that vulgar ambition which was satisfied with imperial pomp and power for their own sakes. Statesman and warrior as he was, and successful in both capacities, he still addressed himself to those duties in the spirit of a philosopher, a hermit, and a devotee. No wonder that the frivolous population of Antioch gibed and flouted at beholding such a phenomenon on the throne of the Cæsars. A *Romantiker* if you will—certainly so from a Strauss-Antiochian point of view. But such *Romantikers* have been the salt of the earth in all times.

However, we are debarred from any more positive speculation as to the results actual or possible of Julian's labours, by the arrow which smote him down on the Persian battle-field in the year 363—his schemes in embryo, and his hopes unfulfilled. It was a figment of later times which told how the mortally wounded Emperor turned his despairing face upwad with the cry, 'Thou hast conquered, O Galilean!' And yet, like many other figments of the same kind, it brings before us with dramatic propriety the situation of the alleged speaker. Julian must have been conscious that his life was all that yet stood between the old system of Paganism and the new powers which threatened its final extinction.

C. G. Prowett.

TWO SOLUTIONS

By the Author of 'Guy's Bay.'

NOVEMBER the fifteenth. To-day a young man was shown into my room at the Temple. I had seen him several times before, his name is a common and unpleasant one. A long time since he came to me and asked if I would buy some card-racks. I did not want them; cards are made for burning, not keeping; but there was something in the man's face that touched me, and I drew from him how that he was a mechanical worker in dentistry; how that he was married, his wife 'expecting to be confined,' how that all his tools had been one by one pledged until he had not the instruments to work at his calling, even were a million false grinders needed for matinée-class jaws to-morrow. What could I do but give him—*lend* him, of course, he called it—what he asked? He came again months after, with the same story. Again. The same tale, the same help. And now here he was once more. I was annoyed at the new importunity, but not angry that I was of him, but when I looked up I saw a change upon the man that drove down my resentment as down to Hell, whence it came—and made me stand up before a sacred statue of sorrow. The man, who but once or so, at most, just as the paper whereon I write, with an evil fire in his eyes, which were rimmed with the red of weeping, and the wild head-hair twisting over the white forehead—that 'intellectual front' which the poet ought not to have had, since he must needs have had a heart, which forced me to sympathize, when, according to the rigid maxims of modern economy, I ought to have hated me the man, with a strength that yet decent rust, stern, there arose to speak—

'Why, Mr. —, do you not forget?'—But as his teeth chattered and his knees knocked together, racking my sensibilities most abominably, I put him down into a chair and said

'Ah! your wife is dead—is she not?'

'Yes, sir.'

'When did she die?'

'Last Saturday, sir.'

A pause. I cannot tell you what was in it by one to the other—it was not in words. At length I said gently

'Have you any children?'

'No, sir (crying); she'd just been confined, sir. It was a terrible hard time, sir, and the child only lived a fortnight. She took on so to lose it; that's what made her worse and harder to. You know, sir, she'd had four of them, and this was the only one born alive.'

I groaned. O you two human hearts! Here is this slim, small man of twenty-four or so, married to some slim, small woman, companion of his famine-stricken life these last few years, now lying dead in a garret, and here he tells me, while the hard sadness scorches his eyes, how she took it so bitterly to heart she could not produce a pledge of their misery, as to fret herself to death.

O you two silly, infatuated lovers! Why had you not read John Stuart Mill? Ought you not to have resisted your bestial instincts and restrained your Christian ecstasies? Ah me, dear dead head, ought you not to have been glad when it found out your over-mastering passion brought no new burden to your misery and that of him you loved? Poor wretches, both of you—faithful, though adoring in your wretchedness, how unutterably human you are! How much that is beautiful—nay, alas! honourable—is there in your execrable imbecility!

Thus I thought, the man sitting there, while the slim, dead woman-that-was lay away in the fog-shrouded attic, dead of sorrow for a sorrow that was dead.

I dared not tell the man it was well, for I saw he had so loved her he might, upon the hint, have sprung at my throat like a tiger. So I said:

'Well, now what do you wish to do? She is not buried yet?'

'No, sir; that's what I wanted to see you for. I wanted some employment to help me to—'

'Stay. If I lend you—will that be of any assistance for the present?'

'Oh, yes: thank you, Mr. ——'

'Then you must live. How do you mean to live?'

'My tools are pawned, or I could get work. I have copied for a law stationer sometimes.'

'Can you write, then?'

'Very well; I was educated: my father was a surgeon.'

I trembled to think of this young man's sorrows. Intelligent—there was his large white forehead—educated, born a gentleman, married and lived a pauper—a dead love lying in the attic there—and he now here before me, thin and hungry, yet with one agony overruling that of hunger, how to get Her decently buried out of the damned world

I wonder if he were better or worse for the fierce purgatory through which he had to go faithful from first to last to the faithful dead.

The incident set me a-thinking again about the problem it suggests. I hope no one in England conceals from himself that this problem is one of a serious intensifying from day to day. If he does, he is the security of a man sitting on the edge of a cliff, an earthquake rumbling in the distance. The problem, according to the gospel of some social philosophers, is. How are you to thwart certain strong human instincts so as to prevent them from turning to social and political inconvenience? According to some plain-thinking people like myself, it is: Admitting certain inherent human and naturally right and healthy propensities, can you not devise how to let them play without danger, nay with advantage, to the morality and wealth of the community?

Here were a young man and a young woman drawn together by subtle and puissant influences, which it is as absurd for a philosopher to overlook as for a statesman to despise. You may preach 'prudence,' but you cannot wholly stifle these passions: you may wish the young to be wise, but you must legislate on the known and incontestable fact that the wisdom and prudence you admire are those of the Stoic, not of the ordinary man are far above their average characteristics—are clearly contrary to the impulse of their nature. Doubtless these two persons might have postponed marriage. So far their conduct would have been satisfactory to Malthus But unless Malthus were able as well to warrant that they should postpone indulgence—and in how many cases would he agree to warrant that?—I for one strongly protest that for themselves and for society that which actually happened was every way better than the alternative Give me for a powerful citizenship this sorrowful poor man who has loved and sacrificed with purity, rather than the man successful, with withered virtue and a rotten heart Give me the poor dead body in the garret there, as a better thing for State and society than—God save us if the other can be matched in worlds' Nay, I protest that it is needless for these terrible alternatives to be put before the youth and strength of England' Must we legislate for what men ought to be when we can legislate

for what they are and ought to be?

Some time since, in a little book of mine, I printed a chapter entitled 'Malthus and Man.' Therein an attempt was made to put in a concrete form the very problem now in discussion. In a satirical sheet published every Saturday, which wavers between lively expectations into the domains of politics or philosophy and playful forays to the region of the [illegible], a Reviewer taunted, at my expense, the epigram that, instead of 'Malthus and Man,' the chapter should have been called 'Arithmetic and Sentiment,' and he proceeded forthwith to take a scrap of my proposed argument and flip it with his wet pocket-handkerchief. The remark, like any mere conceit in the same vein, was more brilliant in the sneer than true in the metal. I had neither intended nor attempted that chapter to solve the terrible problem; but I clearly did try to present it in a definite shape, and to show that the [illegible] upon which [illegible] Malthus, Ricardo, and the whole school of political economists, was based upon [illegible] assumptions—and therefore was not to be received! That [illegible] Reviewer completely failed to [illegible].

What I intended to say in that chapter I may briefly state in a few sentences, and I must crave leave to repeat it briefly. Men and women—and we may take it in looking at human society, generally, as a fact, mainly the instinct for coming together. Absence of marriage generally leads to illegitimate intercourse. Marriage without property, in itself, gives no property or parental determinant; and in its absence, as a fact, it gives merely what it be understood that I am speaking in the general, and on a broad view of human experience [illegible] from the point of view of [illegible] practical politics than of religious or philosophic ethics.

Then I say a legislator should legislate in accordance with human instincts in so far as they are healthy and good. This human instinct is admittedly, in its origin, healthy and good, while its repression is admittedly hazardous to morals: therefore you must show an inevitable necessity to warrant your legislating against it. Does this necessity exist?

The 'arithmetic' so called by the 'Reviewer' have assumed that it does. They point to the undeniable over-population, rendering pauperism and innumerable evils a cumulative production of non-producers and dead-weights in the community: they say that there is no legitimate way of disposing of these, and therefore the remedy is to go to the fountain-head, and, just as you would regulate the market for calicoes, or linens, or hardware, stop the production. I suppose I am a 'sentimentalist' if I weigh into the argument here a remark on the essential difference between the productive material out of which goods and chattels are made, and the human being. The factory may be moral, or immoral, in its nature, to be affected by your enactments. It stops at your command, and there is an end. But the other is a sensitive-created sensible being, influenced either for good or evil by the circumstances you put upon him. He has impulses which rise above your rigid law and coercive power. There are the [illegible] respecting the latter is not, like the former, a simple one of supply and demand, but a highly complex problem of social and moral and [illegible] influences acting on and from certain intellectual and sensitive beings, when you try to force them to cease their incessant productiveness.

Bearing in mind that distinction, as one that cuts away any jot of analogy with supply and demand

theories in trade economy, let every one first ask: Whether the arithmetician's premiss is true? He counts heads, and says *There are too many*. Such a proposition as that is evidently a relative one. To be conclusively relevant, it must be true irrespective of circumstances. *Illustration*: A father looks round upon a dozen indolent children and cries 'There are too many.' He has 3,000*l*. a year, and spends 5,000*l*. If he must spend at the rate of 5,000*l*. per annum for twelve children, he clearly has too many; but on the other hand the condition is obviously not imperative.

Another father, more economic in his management, with only 1,500*l*. a year, of which he saves 300*l*., might look complacently on his thirteen children whom he had educated and brought up in homely fashion to work and win their way, and might even regret that he had no more.

Surely one need not in words extend that illustration to the body politic?

Before you are justified in resorting to the anti-human policy, you must prove that the real difficulty does not lie in the non-administration or mal-administration of your resources, but in over production of children. It is monstrous enough to propound as an economic principle the solution of a difficulty by a process demoralising to society—still worse to propose such a reform until every other possible solution is exhausted. Now in this case there is another solution.

For consider. You, Paterfamilias, may not only be unthrifty handling your income—so, for instance, as to starve half your family while you are overfeeding the other half, you may have failed to ascertain and utilise all your resources. Was it absolutely necessary in the present condition of our Imperial assets, that the love of my poor young grandmother-just and his angel-widow should vegetate and die in such sickly darkness as it did? Were the State father and mother to blame for their indifference to means which, well used, would have almost made the incident impossible? If the rough coast-line with its fierce waterward shut us in from external intercourse—if England were only England—if for our growing numbers there must needs be found sustentation from her bosom alone, the 'arithmetician's' case would wear a terribly rigid front. But it is not so. Let us apply again to our illustration. Suppose Paterfamilias with his dozen expenses suffered half his estate to lie in uncultivated wilderness, you would laugh at him when he cried out upon the hardship of his exorbitant progeny.

'Why, you old fool, six of your children are big enough and strong enough to work in that waste land, and you say you haven't enough to keep them' Send them there, give it to them; help them to begin to cultivate it Hush your silly outcry against Mrs. John for her fecundity, and use all your resources before you complain of numbers. Why, I believe you could do with half a dozen more, with all that land in your fist''

Whereto let us suppose Paterfamilias to reply: 'Mere sentiment, my dear sir, and worse economy don't you see it would only increase my expenses' It would cost me so much additional per annum to begin for cultivation of the land, and the establishment of my children No, no, we'll live together, thank you, where one joint of beef does for all' How easily you could answer that the first expense would more than repay itself even into the paternal coffers, let alone the future provision for the children! But you would be inclined to leave that corpus vile to its own old dotard to the ruin he deserved. The same

remonstrance demands—in the name and for the sake of England's greatness an answer from English statesmanship. On that answer depends Imperial ruin or Imperial glory.

I think the reader will have begun to see that the true architect is on the side of those who not only count heads, but count resources. Thus we urge in answer to a false premise and a wrong decision. It has now to be determined here and soon, whether our Ministers shall pursue the policy recommended by inhuman theorists or be controlled by simple and intimate self-interest. One or other of these two solutions must be accepted—a third and only other remedy is Revolution. The rulers here may be reduced by the sword, but that sword will be wielded, not by governors and philosophers, but by peers and parliament, but by infuriated and tortured masses of the people, waking up to dread blood-fear of any other remedy, and striking with their one potent arm, in a brief, relentless rage, once and for all, to the festering heart of the wrongs which the vengeance of burly Saxon wills whose arrows have been tyranny.

There is still, we are not yet too many. We have untold and untouched wealth stored for a limitless future. The true problem now is not to stop the increase of a redundant population, but how to distribute its surplus over our vast estate. Let England's governors throw their eyes into the invigorating air of the west and south. Stir up the wise energies that make its native sons pioneers upon new soil, and intersect that native and vital constitution, upon its borders, by railroads to the enterprising people, get the waste land back what it can of its birthright you have reclaimed, and are awaking to fertile away from it, and thus only, will all which tends to social health and individual well-being find a full scope for action.

The alternative I can only view with horror. To inoculate English society with French views, to destroy our unique home-life and homelessness, to betray the sentiments which have established the purities of our society and glorified us in the eyes of nations; nay, to depreciate at once our manners and our race, is the remedy. God help us! offered by the thinkers, followed by the strange women and chattering disciples of the social philosophy. The two systems may be seen and compared in America. Down East, women, by practices there notorious, thwart the natural effects of marriage; and you may ascertain for yourself, or read it admitted by medical observers among them, that they are degenerate and degenerating from the grand old stock. In the wide West or in Canada, 'where children are blessings,' and no foul principles or practices discourage the betrothed increase, you may see large joyous families and a sturdy generation to be the sons and daughters of Freedom.

To me it is an ever saddening experience to live at the heart of this unrivalled Empire and to watch it pulsating with teeming vitality and force, to see its life-stream turning inward on itself and tending to congestion, not circulating with healthy flow to and from the utmost extremities. I know not what to think of an age so degenerate as to have lost the instinct of growth—as to be unmoved by the spur of luxury—as to be rusted and the sworn of nature. Samson shorn of his locks in the lap of faithless luxury were no inapt figure of this majestic State when crippled of its colonial strength by the feminine fingers that might at least have warmed it. There is still hope—there is yet time. A hedging

Ministry, a selfish House, trembling peers, and mercenary tradesmen, may be willing to sell for present peace and comfort the future glory of a long-ennobled race; but there is some generous chivalry at the heart of the people, a healthy common-sense, an upspringing life and ambition, a dim but gradually clearing appreciation of good to be won, of rights to be maintained—a cleaving sympathy of English heart to English heart all the world over; that once directed into channels of public impulse will sweep away our droning obstructives into the depths of eternal obscurity.

I began at the pauper root of England's evil—I would end at the hopeful blossoming of England's good. Here is the question for us all: Shall that root grow up to bitterness, bearing its apples of Sodom, its wild grapes of vice and misery and death? Or shall it, tended by pious hands, flourish a comely tree, with branches great and stately far-spreading, and yielding perennial fruit?

MR. VOYSEY AND MR. PURCHAS

THE times of martyrdom are not quite past. A man may still be exposed to certain losses of money and position, though not to much personal inconvenience, for advocating heterodox opinions. Nor, when we look at the state of the world around us, can it be said that the fact is in any way surprising. If, on the one hand, we have grown milder in our manners, it is equally true on the other that at no previous period have questions of vital interest been more energetically discussed. Doctrines which lie at the very base of all existing creeds are rejected, not merely by violent demagogues, but by men who are admitted leaders of modern thought. The infidel can no longer be treated, after the fashion of the old controversialists, as at once contemptible and wicked, but must be met on equal terms and treated with respectful argument. Nothing, indeed, is a more marked sign of the times than the transparency of the old dogma which till quite lately was attached to the advocates of revolutionary opinions. No man is ashamed to avow himself a positivist, that is, to declare that he has invented a gigantic theology to be a rival to the vanishing delusion. The most ardent supporters of the old method of thought believe that the views of such gentlemen as Mr Mill, Professor Huxley, or Mr Herbert Spencer are real ones to our minds and to the highest interests of society; but of these gentlemen themselves they are content to speak with the respect due to thoroughly honest opponents. The fact proves that these heretical opinions, though not less obnoxious, are more deeply rooted than ever. They have a hold upon the mind of the country which enables them to claim respectful treatment. No man, whatever his views, can be blind to these notorious truths; and therefore it should be no matter of surprise to find that when such interests are avowedly at stake, the partisans of either side should be in danger of some kind of martyrdom. Decent as we have become in our modes of carrying on controversy, it is hardly to be expected that our deepest convictions should be assailed without some external manifestation of resentment.

If, therefore, we should be told that the clergy are in a state of violent excitement in consequence of a judicial decision in the Highest Court of Appeal, we should naturally suppose that some serious limitation has been placed upon the movement of thought within the Church that, in some way or other, it has become impossible for men to maintain doctrines of vital importance to Christianity. We receive a curious shock when we discover the nature of the points affected by the Purchas judgment, which has roused the organs of the various religious parties with masses of correspondence, and raised their leading articles into exulting paeans or shrieks of furious indignation. The questions — or so it seems at first sight about which the clergy are most desperately in earnest at the present day are such as these: whether they may mix water with the sacramental wine, whether during the consecration of the elements they may stand at the north end of the west side, or must stand at the proper north side of the altar, whether they may wear certain garments known as copes, albs, and tunicles, or must confine themselves to a white surplice, whether they may burn incense, or light tapers, or wear a cap called a

biretta; at what precise angle they may bend their knees without being convicted of kneeling, and how high they may raise the consecrated elements without being guilty of a technical elevation. When one has plodded through some fragment of the voluminous antiquarian information expended upon mere questions of millinery, one is apt to ask with some indignation whether the persons who carry on such disputes on either side are really grown-up and educated men. What does it matter one way or the other? If a man can't confute atheism, or confront the selfishness, luxury, and licentiousness of the world, in a white surplice, does he seriously think that he will meet such adversaries by all the pretty dresses and gorgeous ceremonies that ever were invented? When somebody was asked in what costume he would have liked to fight the battle of Waterloo, the answer was, 'In my shirt-sleeves.' These valiant champions of the Church Militant seem to think seriously that their warfare cannot be effectually carried on unless they are allowed to put on the most becoming fancy dresses that they can collect from old curiosity shops. Of course, the answer is that greater principles are at stake behind the immediate points at issue, and to that we will come directly. But meanwhile it is not the less a lamentable spectacle when the clergy presents itself in the attitude of an internecine struggle over details of tailoring. The world at large would appreciate their motives better if the conflict did not rage around so obscure and insignificant a point. A creed which is to stir mankind should be capable of expressing itself from one end of a table as well as from another, and should care supremely little for attacks directed against mere external appendages. Its martyrs should suffer in the name of some great principle. Strip a Ritualist of his ornaments and he cries out as loud as if you were flaying his natural skin. With the best will to do him justice, we cannot help fancying that it is because he is terribly confused as to the distinction between the substance and its outside trappings. And still more unworthy of men who, whatever their capacities, have at least the merit of sincerity, are the devices by which they struggle for their beloved costume. 'You forbid us,' they say, 'to mix water with wine in the church, we will mix it in the vestry. You won't let us carry our caps on our heads; we will keep them in our hands. We may not kneel, but we will give a decided bend to our knees without touching the ground. In short, we will try to evade you by every logical quibble that could be devised by a pettifogging ecclesiastical attorney.' To say, 'The Courts of Law have no right to meddle with me, and I will not give way to them one inch,' would be intelligible and honourable. To say, 'Though their right is doubtful, I will submit for the sake of peace on any non-essential matters,' would be equally intelligible. But to profess to submit, and then to try by every variety of strained interpretation to make the supposed submission nugatory, is a course to which no gentleman would resort in any other sphere of life. Somehow, in ecclesiastical questions all stratagems become sanctified; yet it is not pleasant to see this sort of sharp practice carried on upon such infinitesimal matters by our modern martyrs to the truth, and to remember that whilst these gentlemen are wrangling over chasubles, the outside world is seriously discussing whether Christianity has really anything to say for itself.

A shock in a measure similar is given to us by Mr Voysey's case.

Of Mr Voysey, indeed, himself, it is impossible to speak without sincere respect. He does not fall into the error of discussing matters of trivial importance. He has expressed himself in the most outspoken language against the unjust attitude into which, as he thinks, the leading ministers of Christianity have degenerated, and which are retarding the influence of pure religion throughout the world. No truly candid reader of the report which he has published of his speech before the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council will withhold recognising the substantial honesty of the man and his great appreciation of some of the greatest difficulties of our time. Mr Voysey says with extreme earnestness, that the ordinary view of Christianity appears to him to encourage most pernicious errors. He remonstrates with all his strength against the particular views of the Atonement, of Original Sin, of the Incarnation, and of the Inspiration of the Scriptures. On each of these important topics he speaks with an energy and a straightforwardness which deserves and repays respect.

But we turn over a page and are startled to find Mr Voysey in an entirely new character, he has ceased to be the outspoken opponent of a dogma generally received, and has suddenly become a stickler for the same written letter which we have noticed as being the Romanists' Bond. The words set apart as Articles seem to such a disputant as these Mr Voysey is charged with altering that they were put forward as Articles. He denies the justice of the charge, but says that even if it were well founded, it would be harmless. How can it be wrong, he says, to put forward in the Name and Articles as Creeds? The passage is worth quoting, both as showing the fatal effects to mental power of misrepresentation:

> In the Nicene Creed there is the expression speaking of the Holy Ghost 'who with the Father and the Son together is worshipped and glorified,' a statement which we make use of as a doctrine or as a matter of fact. If we make use of it as a doctrine, it means that with the Father and the Son [illegible] and glorified [illegible] Spirit. We are not required to [illegible] Nicene Creed as to the Holy Ghost. [illegible] Holy Ghost [illegible] Father and the Son, I am not disputing that statement.

We have reflected many times on this argument and have fairly given it up. How Mr Voysey makes out that the statement that the worship of Christ as Idolatrous is not irreconcileable with the statement that the Holy Ghost ought to be worshipped together with the Father and the Son, is really quite beyond us, unless, indeed, Mr Voysey means to say that the only means of contradicting the statement A is B, is to say A is not B.

One other observation will be enough. Mr Voysey is charged with saying that the very idea of the Incarnation of the Son of God takes its rise from mythical, and springs out of almost infidelity. To this he replies, first, that he spoke of Incarnation in general, not of any particular Incarnation, secondly, that if he had spoken of the Incarnation of the Son of God, none of the Articles deny that the idea of that Incarnation takes its rise out of myth, and springs out of [illegible]. He admits that he said 'the very idea of Incarnation itself [illegible] that God does not for ever dwell in the hearts of men.' 'These words,' he says, 'all I say is only that the idea of Incarnation [illegible] a certain [illegible] and the Articles do not declare that such a belief is [illegible]. We might almost [illegible] Mr Voysey were

a positivist, he would not be justified in saying that the very idea of God takes its rise out of superstition, and springs from a misapprehension of the order of nature. The Articles nowhere contradict that proposition in terms.

To spend arguments on such topics would be obviously waste of labour. It is really pitiable to see an honest man plunged, and plunged by his sense of duty, into a labyrinth of wire-drawing and special pleading which shocks all ordinary views of honourable conduct. And with what object? To establish the very right against which he should be most anxious to protest. Mr. Voysey contends, with great force, that the popular theology is a degrading superstition. The doctrines which, in one sense, are true and elevating, have come to be used in a sense which is false and demoralising; and he begins by proving that no set of phrases can possibly convey the distinction. He is labouring to clear away a whole mass of deeply-seated error, to clear up confusions which have become ingrained in men's minds, to enable his hearers to shake off associations of ideas which have acquired almost invincible coherency. His first duty, one would think, would be to draw the line as distinctly as possible; to label the poisonous and the medicinal elements of the fact by the most unmistakable marks; to encourage men to watch their language scrupulously, and to insist upon that veracity of mind which shrinks from any confusion as its most deadly enemy. To worship Christ in one sense is to perform the highest act of which the soul is capable, in another sense it is to indulge in a debasing superstition. Tell us, let us know as precisely as may be, which is which, or how shall we escape from sliding even more into those errors which Mr. Voysey has shown to be so prevalent and so difficult to avoid? Mr. Voysey fully sees the importance of using the clearest language so long as he is speaking as a man; but as soon as he descends to be a lawyer his whole tone is changed. Then he labours and strains to establish his right to language which in vulgar apprehension contradicts all that he has been saying. He invents an elaborate argumentative apparatus to prove that he is at liberty to apply to Christ—without meaning anything—all the language which is irrevocably associated with what he holds to be an idolatrous form of language. An unflinching love of truth, such as Mr. Voysey undoubtedly possesses, combines most awkwardly with a desire to prove that no human language can possibly be binding in religious matters. The way to touch the hearts of plain men is to be perfectly plain, and to avoid any possibility of equivocation. This desperate attempt to appropriate language which has been long the property of your antagonists, only disables simple minds from appreciating your argument. They cannot see the difference between using the old language and sticking to the old ideas—and it is small blame to them. It is only in theology that controversialists make it a principle to use the phraseology of their antagonists, and perhaps that is one of the reasons why such controversies lead to so little useful result.

Mr. Voysey endeavours to defend his method by an argument which is surely too singular to deserve a moment's notice. The Articles, he says, that which affirms the existence of God, contain propositions at once most solemn and perfectly intelligible. But they proceed to lay down certain differences about the Trinity which to human comprehensions are totally unintelligible, and, what is more, are "directly contradictory and mutually exclusive." They assert in a word, but Monotheism and Tritheism. It need

not be asked whether this be true or not in Mr. Voysey's sense. His syllogisms may be found word for word in theological writers, with what is held to be their solution! But, whether his argument be valid or not, his practical conclusions are rather strange. The Articles, he says, contain mutually contradictory propositions. We are bound to contradict neither of them in terms, but so long as we keep clear of that, we may make any statements, however apparently irreconcilable with them. 'It is absolutely impossible,' he says, 'to teach in harmony with one part without contradicting another part.' If we preach Monotheism, we contradict the Tritheistic formulas; and if we preach Tritheism, we contradict the Monotheistic formulas. 'I have never,' says Mr. Voysey, 'contradicted the Articles and Creeds to the extent part of the degree in which they contradict themselves.' In short, a clergyman may say whatever he pleases, and be quite sure that if he is questioned on it by his parishioners, he will be able to say, protected by its objectionableness, that it is nothing to the purpose to argue against him, because he has not asserted any positive doctrine of his own.

Now this ordinary interpretation of the Articles, supposing it to be true, that a large part of the Articles [illegible] Mr. Voysey's interpretation [illegible] Mr. Voysey's [illegible] It is a [illegible] they are [illegible] the highest objects of human thought. This view of the case may so far justify some of the arguments already noticed, as they go to prove that at any rate the apparent quibbling was done on principle. But they also suggest a further question to which it is not so easy to see an answer. Mr Voysey seems to say in substance, 'I don't, and indeed can't, contradict your Articles—they are such a mass of absurdity, confusion, and inconsistency; or rather, they are such a jumble of unmeaning words applied to the most sacred subjects. They and the Church services, so far as they touch upon the same topics, constantly assert the degrading superstition of Tritheism—it is true that they also assert the elevating doctrine of Monotheism; though they assert it less frequently, and religion has for the most part degenerated into an acceptance of the worst of the two alternatives.' Why, then, should Mr Voysey be so anxious to remain in a Church which at any rate can [illegible] the most dangerous errors, if it does sometimes teach, and the practical operation of which has been to discourage the error at the expense of the truth? No mathematician would consent to teach out of a book which asserted that the angles of a triangle were equal to four right angles because it also sometimes asserted that they were equal to two. He would say that it tended to confuse all perceptions of truth and error, and that it was really worse than useless to say that it sometimes asserted truth and error. And so, when Mr Voysey says or seems to say, 'The doctrine of the Trinity is all nonsense and therefore I do preach pure Unitarianism,' the question to be answered would seem to be, 'Will [illegible] a

Church which enforces nonsense as a sacred article of faith.'

This, however, brings us to the point which is of more real importance to the world at large than the orthodoxy of Mr. Voysey or of the Ritualists. We see at the two opposite extremes of the Church, men of equal sincerity driven by their desire to remain within its borders to equivocations of which they would be ashamed in any other relation of life. They even think that their equivocations illustrate a great moral principle, and that they are doing a virtuous action when they are straining language to mean anything or nothing. That the spectacle is an unpleasant one will hardly be denied by anybody. Those who sympathise least with the opinions advocated can respect the motives of the advocates and regret to see them reduced to such sorry shifts and subterfuges. What is the legitimate inference from such a state of things? The conclusion at which the ordinary English mind, as represented by the *Times* and *Telegraph*, appears to have arrived, has at least the merit of simplicity: it is that Mr. Voysey and Mr. Purchas are a couple of hot-headed, troublesome fellows, and that we are well rid of them. That there is a certain rough common sense in this view of the matter is undeniable. It must, however, be said, that the judgments in question affect more people than Mr. Purchas or Mr. Voysey. The whole High Church party is more or less affected by the Purchas case; whilst the Voysey decision lays down principles, especially as to the interpretation of the Bible, which it is very difficult to reconcile with the practice of the more liberal section of the Church. Without entering upon any proof of these statements, it is enough to say that they are so strongly felt, that a very different conclusion has been reached by some men who are entitled to the highest respect. Dean Stanley, for example, has urged—and his opinion seems to be very widely supported—that the judgments should not be enforced. The danger to the Established Church of carrying into execution the rules accepted by the Highest Court of Appeal is so great that it is hoped that by general consent they will be allowed to produce no effect whatever. The most obvious difficulty of this policy is that it cannot be carried out without a general consent even of hot-headed zealots. If extreme Evangelicals, for example, insist upon putting the law in force, nothing can be done beyond making remonstrances, which they may, if they please, treat with contempt. We have too little reason to suppose that they possess either the tolerant spirit or the practical judgment of the Dean of Westminster. Let us, however, suppose that it is tacitly agreed to treat the recent decisions as a dead letter. Suppose that the clergy are allowed to indulge in such forms of ceremony or of teaching as seem good to them within the widest limits hitherto established. What is the prospect revealed by recent proceedings?

It has hitherto been supposed that the existence of a State Church implied the maintenance of some uniform regulations. That they should be as wide as practicable has always been admitted by recent advocates of the system. Still, if the congregation is forbidden to exercise any direct influence upon the clergy, it is obvious that there must be some guarantee that the clergy will keep within certain bounds. A Bishop can dismiss his minister if his discourses are not sufficiently savoury, and the evil consequences generally supposed to result is, that the pastors are in his hands. If the State reserves this power to the congregation, with entire freedom as to any whatever of its own, the practical result will be that the Church

would be just what the clergy might please to make it. The existence of legal tribunals, enforcing a very liberal system of laws, has been supposed to secure all desirable freedom of action for the clergy whilst restraining their excesses within tolerable limits. The proposal now made would involve a very considerable alteration of this arrangement. For to what does it practically amount? The Courts have decided that the clergy are not to wear certain dresses. They could hardly interfere on a more trifling point, or make a smaller exertion of authority. Yet the whole High Church party is immediately up in arms against them. They assert that the judgment is in glaring contradiction to the law, they declare this contradiction to be so glaring that the judges must have acted from corrupt or at least from party motives, and they end by proclaiming their firm resolution not to submit. They adopt the attitude of Christian martyrs suffering under the persecution of a Roman Emperor. They say in so many words, as we have read in one of their extreme organs, 'To abandon the cloak-question, put out a surplice-taper, and we will rest upon the Creed of Christ.' That is to say, that if the highest legal authorities venture to insist upon the slightest alteration of an important ceremony, their decision is to be impugned, their motives assailed, and they are to be openly set at defiance. Are we, then, to reply, 'We will submit to the judges shall beg pardon,' and you shall be allowed to do precisely what you please'? If so, it can only be said that hereafter the Church of England is bound by no law whatever. A clergyman may pray as many tricks as he pleases, but congregations have no right to be consulted; and if they actually go to the law the law will not be enforced in consequence to the clergyman's wishes. For Mr Voysey has not so powerful a party at his back to give effect to his complaints, but he may really think it hard that a court which cannot even decide at what part of an altar a clergyman is to stand should pronounce on the orthodoxy of his views about the Trinity.

In a general case, where a law had been enforced to inflict hardship upon a numerous class, the mode of escape from the difficulty would be obvious. To refuse to enforce the law whilst it exists, would be to deprive law of any moral weight, but the law itself might be altered. If it should seem that the restrictions upon ritual are excessively harsh, why not introduce a more reasonable code? There seems, however, to be little disposition to insist upon this obvious mode of meeting the difficulty, and the reasons for the reluctance are only too plain. The Ritual Commissioners have made a report some time ago, proposing certain modifications in the Church services, though they shrank from dealing with the most really important questions. Yet there seems to be little chance that their proposals, except as regards the new Lectionary, will ever get beyond the stage of proposals. Parliament has plenty to do without bothering itself with Church matters. It would, indeed, be nearer the truth to say that its hands are so full that it is totally incapable of discharging its proper duties. A minister would be rash indeed who should encumber himself with a vast mass of new measures and questions in addition to those which are already too much for his energies. Mr Gladstone is hardly likely to present himself to the House of Commons with a new rubric which should make an equitable compromise between the various parties in the Church. If by some strange freak he should undertake that task, the speech of a Home in which many of the most

prominent members are Dissenters, and the majority in which is supported by the Dissenting vote, discussing questions of Church reform, would be amusing to a cynical observer, but it would scarcely tend to the increase of harmony. In short, Parliament alone can deal with such matters, and Parliament is just as likely to attempt it as to pass a measure for the suppression of heresy. It may be said without much hesitation that the only serious measure affecting the internal affairs of the Church of England which is in the least likely to occupy the attention of Parliament is a measure for disestablishment.

It seems, then, that the Church of England, if the proposal of allowing the legal decisions to remain without effect met with general consent, would be a body whose legislature was incapable of legislating, and whose Courts of Law were incapable of enforcing their decisions. It would still have the merit, which indeed would exist in a higher degree than ever, that its clergy would have the widest possible liberty. They might become indistinguishable from Roman Catholic priests on the one hand, or from Dissenting ministers or Deist orators on the other, and the congregations might look on in perfect indifference. The possibility of such a state of things being tolerable depends entirely upon the extent to which they might choose to exhibit themselves. The Broad Church school in general holds that our religious forms are gradually transforming themselves under the various intellectual and social changes of the day, and will ultimately, without any violent transition, become adapted to the needs of future generations. A sort of popular travesty of the same creed was constantly put forward during the discussion on the Educational question. It appears to be generally held that there is something which is known as unsectarian religion; that this pure essence is to be obtained by stripping off all the theological dogmas which have been added in the course of ages, but which are gradually dissolving under various influences. We are all to be very kind to each other; to have a great dislike to looking ugly truths in the face; and as for dogmas, we are to agree that one dogma is pretty much as good as another. No doubt this will be a comfortable state of things when we have got there; but it is rather difficult to reconcile this ideal millennium, the outskirts of which we are supposed to have entered, with the actual state of the world as derived from observation. That we are all getting very fond of each other is obvious; the Frenchman and the Prussian, the Saxon and the Irishman, the working man and the capitalist, will no doubt learn to lay aside the little animosities which they are still weak enough to retain; but it is not so clear by what mode we shall arrive at unity in speculative matters. As has been said, there never was a time at which divisions were so strongly marked, and diametrically opposite opinions so vigorously maintained. Man must satisfy his intellect as well as his fraternal emotions; and in some way or other we must make up our minds how to obey those dim yet profound aspirations which crowd themselves in the old theological teaching. We feel the need of a common worship, though we have not yet decided on what ideas it is to be based. But the unity can only be reached by first destroying some tremendously difficult problems. Mankind will not be content to love each other without asking questions; and whether we make a substitute for the Christian Deity out of Humanity, as M. Comte proposed, or fall back with Dr. Newman upon ancient models, or find a purer and nobler satisfac-

tion for our religious instincts in some hitherto indistinctly grasped theology of the future, the desire to attain some common mode of faith only intensifies the earnestness of existing controversies. Indeed it is perhaps the strongest intellectual instinct of the day, and gives such vitality as they possess to some creeds which differ as widely as possible in the means which they consider appropriate to the common end.

Now when we ask what is the bearing of Ritualism or of Voyseyism (if we may coin such a word) upon these difficulties, we may see what is the real value of the contest, which, as many excellent men hope, may be carried to a conclusion without causing a disruption in the Church of England. It is perhaps not very easy to define the central idea of Ritualism. The doctrine, however, without which their opponents would fall into a heap of incongruous fragments, is the mysterious power of the priesthood. According to their manifold explanations, but there is a sacred caste which inherits supernatural powers. A certain divine influence is conveyed from age to age by the imposition of hands, and priests of the Church of England are invested, although not in the same sense, to the Levitical priesthood, with supernatural powers of which no one pretends to understand the nature. By pronouncing certain words over the sacramental bread and wine, they have, in some mysterious way, the power of transubstantiation; they have the privilege of making the ordinary bread and wine which a man can eat into the real body and blood of the Maker. It is the priest who makes, or rather who professes to offer, that from which it is received. They do not venture to use frankly in the fearless old fashion, that everybody who is not in communion with them or their like will be damned everlastingly. They shrink from defining the precise change effected in the elements by their magical ceremony, and substitute for the dogma of transubstantiation a set of words to which it is totally impossible for ordinary Englishmen, or indeed for modern philosophers, to attach any meaning whatever. The Church on whose behalf they claim the submission of human reason is so vague a body that nobody can tell precisely what is meant by it. There is something intelligible, though in another sense utterly preposterous, about the true Romanist theory, that the hierarchy of the Roman Catholic Church can alone give the necessary passport to heaven; we can tell pretty clearly what is the pretension put forward with more or less certainty. The Ritualists are unable to tell us with any precision what is the nature of their claims, or on what grounds they are supported. Probably no man of average ability at the present day could be converted to what we call a theory. But in some sense or other, the sacred character of the priesthood and the powers or powers which it is entitled to exercise form the basis upon which their doctrine is raised. The superstructure is so feeble, and depends so much more upon taste than reason, that it seems almost absurd to bring it to the rude test of argument. It crumbles away in the hands of anybody who tries to grasp it. Such vague and unintelligible doctrine, that is what it is. We are invited to bow before something or other which is called the Church, and to receive our spiritual food according to the laws of its present head. The Church being unfortunately in a state of utter disorganization, and unable to exert any power as a corporate body, its privileges devolve upon the scattered clergymen who claim to interpret its

voice. The answer, therefore, which the Ritualist practically makes to men weary with the many corruptions and cruelties of existing society is simply, 'Bow reverently before Mr. Purchas and his like: believe that they have some kind of supernatural authority, and are the true channels through which Divine influence is conveyed to the world.'

It is unnecessary to insist upon the wisdom which puts forward such claims as these at the present day. It is, however, worth remarking that the morality preached is necessarily coloured by the ideas with which it is associated, and that both practice and theory differ diametrically from those of the opposite party. The ascetic virtues of humility and self-denial become prominent; the world is regarded as essentially corrupt; the religious life is exalted above the secular; poverty is not so much an evil to be extirpated as a permanent part of the providential order, destined to encourage the theological virtue of charity; happiness in this world is of utterly trifling importance as compared with happiness in the next; sin is a stain to be wiped out by a due reception of the sacraments rather than a disease to be suppressed as much as possible by altering the conditions of society. In deprecating the importance of dogmas, people do not generally reflect that dogmas which affect our whole conception of the world and of the purposes for which we were placed in it affect also the whole character and the moral rules which express our ideal of human education, using the word in its widest sense. Without attempting any closer indications of the Ritualist theory, it is enough to say that it rests essentially on the sanctity attributed to the sacerdotal character, and the necessity of providing spiritual guides, duly authorised and provided with supernatural powers to lead us in reverent submission through the labyrinths of life.

It need hardly be said that the school of which Mr. Voysey is an extreme representative contradicts all the Ritualist assumptions. Their subterfuges are excusable only on the theory that the clergyman is a sacred being, and that any interference of the State, even in the most trifling details, is in itself sacrilegious. His subterfuges are excusable only on the theory that the clergyman is a State official, whose position and responsibility must be defined by interpreting Acts of Parliament with legal strictness. In this position he is backed up by the whole Broad Church party, though in some cases (as for example, in the question about the Incarnation) they are often radically opposed to his conclusions. They agree with him in regarding the clergyman as endowed with no more special or inherent sanctity than a magistrate or a minister of State; they are averse to the whole sacramental doctrine, which plays so important a part in the teaching of their opponents. The Broad Church clergyman denies that he can work miracles or pronounce charms of mysterious efficacy; the Christianity which he preaches, though it is the highest expression of the truth at which mankind can arrive, differs only in purity and elevation, but not in kind, from the other religions of the world. They, too, are partial glimpses of the truth; and the minister of a church which has no exclusive monopoly of the truth can of course claim no supernatural prerogative to lift him above his fellows. The fact that a bishop has laid hands on his head and pronounced a certain formula does not endue him with powers differing essentially from those conferred upon Mr. Spurgeon or Mr. Newman Hall. Now the State Church theory is popular

amongst the main body of lay members of the Church because it is supposed to fall in with this view of things; it prevents matters, so we are constantly told, from getting into the hands of the clergy. Their freaks are kept within bounds; they are made to know their true position; their commission is derived from the Legislature, not from a more awful source of power; they are limited by Acts of Parliament, and judged by lay tribunals.

Whatever the merits of this doctrine, it is plain that the effect of the policy now advocated would be to neutralise them, so far as it is carried out. If the decision is not to be enforced, that means that the claim of the Ritualist clergy to be above the law is to be tacitly admitted. An English clergyman is to be able to say in practice that he is a priest, and to teach the dogmas and the system of morality associated with that doctrine. The highest merit of the Church in the eyes of the laity will be so far destroyed. A clergyman will use his position as a State official to preach the very doctrines against which the present constitution of the Church is a practical protest. Of course the claim now put forward was always, and most unfortunately, known latent in the Church, and has been put forward on former occasions with great emphasis, but never with such audacity as at the present moment. If, therefore, we are afraid in this, as in too many other instances, to put in force the existing laws, we are simply preparing a settlement with a protest from which to upset the foundation on which the Church is at present based. The view of a State Church is simply that the State for the general welfare and convenience grants privileges to a practical working authority from Heaven. The view by which a State Church is protected, to tolerate, is that the clergy are teachers employed by the State under certain appointed conditions. In other words, the supremacy of the State is precisely what Liberal Churchmen assert, and what Ritualists deny, and it is now proposed that in order to maintain it in theory, we are to allow it to remain absolutely dormant in practice. Policy of this kind bears its weakness on its face. We are asked to keep up an institution by sacrificing the one quality which makes it valuable. There never was a period at which claims of sacerdotal authority were more contemptible to the bulk of the English people. The various causes which have led to the efflorescence of the sacerdotal theory in recent times might deserve examination, though their general nature is obvious enough, but whatever the opinions of a certain number of sentimental ladies and weak-minded clergy, this is not a time at which an English clergyman can come forward and say, 'I am a supernaturally authorised ambassador from Heaven, and demand your humble submission,' with any chance of being respected beyond the limits of his own little clique.

It would appear, therefore, that the only safe policy is a bold one. Make the law as wise as is desirable, but resist its being resisted. If there are doubtful provisions, remove them as they may be; but do not be frightened by the clamour of a few men to abandon all claim to legislate effectively. If the Church of England can only thrive by being exempt from law, why struggle to prop up so feeble an institution a little longer? It can at best only survive till the High Church party have raised their terms a little farther, and left no better compatibility between their doctrines and that which alone justifies the existence of a State Clergy. And yet the very statement of such a principle reveals the weakness of

the position. Can the Church of England really bear the strain? Are its tribunals capable of making themselves respected? Is Parliament competent to remove the restrictions which appear to hamper unfairly certain parties in the Church? We cannot ask such questions without perceiving how much the institution has lost its vigour, and how far it has passed into that senile period when the forces of growth and recovery are no longer in equilibrium with the forces tending to generate decay. No organisation can be kept together by mere legislation which has not within itself some real vitality of strong convictions. When it is divided into various sections, of which the most feebleminded is also the noisiest and perhaps the most influential; when it comes to such a pitch of debility that its warmest supporters only propose to keep it together by begging it to inflict no penalties, and exclude no opinions, when the most growing party amongst its clergy are bound together by principles radically opposed to its theory of existence, it must be admitted that its prospects of longevity are not cheering.

It would be superfluous to insist upon the opposite source of weakness illustrated by Mr. Voysey's case. He has reached conclusions to which few of the most liberal party would follow him. It is true that we have a suspicion that they mean something not very different if they could think clearly and speak out honestly. In the last quality, indeed, they are not consciously wanting; yet we still cannot but wonder at the facility with which they press the old formulas into the service of their new opinions. The difference between them and Mr. Voysey seems to be mainly that he reasons without fear of reaching any conclusions, and then tries to reconcile his results with the Articles by proving the Articles to be nonsense. They reason with a tacit and unconscious bias to the old conclusions, and therefore have less trouble afterwards in bending the Articles to meet their views.

The position is attacked in front and in rear: the Ritualists assail the very fundamental principle of a State Church; and their natural antagonists are quietly deserting to other forms of faith. The only way found of meeting the difficulty is a passionate entreaty that nobody will do anything. If the prayer is heard, we may stagger on a little longer, but we may venture to express our belief that, if this is the only conclusion at which the most ardent supporters of the Church can arrive, it will not be very long before the word Disestablishment, which is already on the lips of so many people of various views, will be uttered very emphatically in the House of Commons.

THE GOVERNMENT SCHEME OF ARMY REFORM

'WAR tries the strength of the military framework, it is in peace that the framework itself must be formed, otherwise barbarians would be the leading soldiers of the world.

'The slightest movement in war requires a great effort, and is attended by many vexations which the general feels acutely and unceasingly, but the politician, believing in no difficulties because he feels none, neglects the supplies, charges disaster on the general, and covers his misdeeds with words.

'The want of transport had again obliged the allies to draw the stores from Elvas; and hence here (Badajoz), as at Ciudad Rodrigo, time was necessarily paid for by the loss of life, or, rather, the crimes of politicians were atoned for by the blood of the soldiers.

'Why were men thus sent to slaughter, when the application of a just science would have rendered the operation comparatively easy? Because the English Ministers, so ready to plunge into war, were quite ignorant of its exigencies, because the English people are war as without being military, and, under pretence of maintaining liberty, they do not possess one germ in peace of martial establishments.'

Many and many years have come and gone since these words were written, and it may well be questioned if the English people have ever been at war in the interval. Nevertheless, it is feared, Mr Childers and his colleagues in front bench responsibility will have all their engagements and promises to keep, and Mr Navarino Napier may have been attacked with the measure of liberty to which the English people have attained, but we fear that opposition to all martial establishments in peace which tend to increased estimates forms as just a matter of reproach now as when the historian wrote.

The newspapers, which before last July insisted on reduced military expenditure at any cost, and which, under the alarm occasioned by the late war, urged on the Government the most extreme measures to remedy the mischief they had so large a share in creating, are now oscillating back again to the false sense of security which recent events had disturbed.

While the war lasted, ballot for the militia was declared to be indispensable by the least impulsive of the English journals. Some of them even resented that measure as not going far enough. The *Spectator* declared 'No ballot will be permitted; the whole population, without exception, must be subjected to the same training.' And the *Times* enunciated the creed that 'no reason but those founded on false security, blindness to danger, and envy, or pure folly, can be given why every man should not have a certain amount of military training.'

Had the war been prolonged even a few months, there is little doubt that conscription would have been forced, by the apprehensions of the public, on an unwilling Ministry. But the cooling down process dating from the conclusion of the armistice, has been very rapid indeed. We are glad also that the opposition aroused by the *Times* army proposals are those which have been provided for the preceding day or two, the short service, and among the latter more especially, and as early as the 26th of January, just three days after the first hint of an armistice being pro-

[1] Napier

bable, that journal, sounding the inevitable note of reaction, painted a glowing picture of peaceful prospects both in Europe and America, declared that we have already sufficient soldiers for all our wants, and concluded with a rhapsody on the blessings of a general disarmament.

It would almost appear as if popular institutions and an efficient military system were incompatible. It is a simple matter that Parliament, while the impression of the last year's events has not quite passed away, should vote fifteen millions for military purposes; but it is more easy to vote this sum than to apply it profitably, or to induce the country to acquiesce in the continuance of such an expenditure when danger no longer appears to threaten. If England is ever to have an efficient army, [illegible] more, the science for ensuring a fixed standard of efficiency at a minimum of cost, must in future form a more earnest subject of study for her legislators and statesmen than it has hitherto done.

Whatever changes may be introduced in our military system, little advantage will be gained unless they bear such impress of intelligent design and permanency, that no temporary Government shall have the power to play such fantastic tricks with the armies of England when called to war as those signalized by Sir W. Napier in the opening paragraphs of this article. It is true, if a war break out, there is no danger that an English Ministry will starve it in the matter of money. Indeed, the money expenditure in all our wars has been as profligate as the expenditure of the blood of our soldiers. What we require to substitute is, in the language of Sir W. Napier, 'the application of a just system to our military expenditure both of life and treasure, which has always hitherto been out of all proportion to the result achieved, just because our 'military framework' has been always allowed, during peace, to fall into rottenness and decay.

But how, under a popular form of government, can English Ministers be restrained from playing fast and loose with the lives of English soldiers? The time it is to be feared is yet distant when statesmen of either party will prefer rather to sacrifice power than to imperil the honour and safety of the country, in obedience to the ignorant cry of a majority of electors. Mr. Mundella, as the representative of the working men, has already proclaimed the formula of their intelligent creed 'No increase to the military estimates;' and although doubtless the increase now proposed by the Government will be voted for the present year, what guarantee exists that in succeeding years the military charges will not become small by degrees and beautifully less, to suit the taste of the popular constituencies?

The only remedy against such a tendency of the public mind is to lay down over the whole surface of the country a strong, symmetrical, and economical peace framework, such that it may be filled in, at the outbreak of war, on a plan carefully matured and experimentally tested beforehand, without hurry and confusion.

The watchwords of the military reformer should be [illegible] and [illegible] —equal recruitment of part [illegible] and decentralization of management. At present the military forces of the country present the strange spectacle of three distinct services [illegible] Militia, Volunteers having [illegible]

[illegible]

with another, each service composed of a number of isolated units, entirely destitute of any machinery for combined action, a mere rabble of battalions and squadrons.

In introducing the Army Regulation Bill Mr Cardwell announced that the object of the Government was 'to unite all the military forces of the country into one defensive army.' For the attainment of the end he has in view, the War Minister appears to rely on two principal measures; viz the abolition of purchase, and the gradual yet gradual formation of an adequate reserve of trained soldiers. All the rest—such as the increase of field artillery, the increase of the Militia; the organisation of Volunteers; the withdrawal of military patronage from lord-lieutenants; the interchange of officers between the Militia and the Line, &c.—are matters of secondary detail, although some of them present problems of extreme difficulty.

The alluring proposal to abolish purchase was unquestionably the leather which floated the Ministerial scheme on the tide of public favour, and like the bladder when pricked, we are much mistaken if Mr Cardwell's plan for effecting that measure will not be found to collapse at the touch of accurate criticism.

Much of the feeling which has arisen in the country against the purchase system is due to a prevalent belief that commissions are put up at a kind of auction, and knocked down to the highest bidder, whereas in none of our best regiments promotion by purchase is practically practised by seniority, and in some of them can any officer be promoted until he shall have passed an examination increasing in severity with the grade of the office.

Sir Henry Storks informed the House of Commons that every plan for the reorganisation of the army which had been submitted to the consideration of the Government had been frustrated by the opposition of the vested interests created by the purchase system.

The implication was that many such plans had been submitted and rejected on that ground; but the only one he was able to adduce was that which was brought forward last year for doing away with the ranks of cornet and ensign, a shabby expedient for getting rid of one step of the purchase system, involving no principle, and the acceptance or rejection of which would have left the efficiency of the army just where it was before.

There seems to be, moreover, a prevailing impression that a sound professional instruction of our officers is incompatible with the existence of the purchase system; whereas that measure, like the general reorganisation of the army, is entirely independent of the question of 'purchase.' The qualities requisite to constitute a good officer are discipline, devotion, high and honourable bearing, and professional knowledge. It will hardly be pretended that English officers have hitherto been found wanting in the first three qualities. And to ensure the possession of professional knowledge, all that is necessary is to devise a well-considered system of instruction, and rigidly to enforce it. The failure of British officers in this respect is solely attributable to the absence of such a system. In Prussia all candidates for commissions are obliged to serve in the ranks during six months as cadets, before exercising the functions of an officer. For two-thirds of them this cadet service is a probation, at the end of which they have to satisfy a standing committee of the corps, not only as to their professional attainments, but also as to character and manner. The remaining third have received their appointments direct

from the different military schools to which they were nominated by the King. Practical instruction is, moreover, supplied to all ranks, in the only profitable manner in which it can be supplied, by the yearly formation of district camps of exercise, where the troops learn as much of the business of war as it is possible to learn in peace. Let us give to our officers the same advantages as the Prussians enjoy before we charge their want of professional knowledge on the system of purchase, or on any other system than our incapacity for military administration.

We are not here defending a practice which exposes a good officer to be passed over by men possessing advantages of fortune which are denied to himself. And in the number of this Magazine for November last we suggested what appeared to us an equitable plan for giving partial relief to the non-purchaser. But we do maintain strenuously that evils far greater, and more general in their application, would result from the substitution of selection for promotion by purchase. Indeed, taking into account the fallibility of human judgment, and the influences to which the selector, in England above all other countries, would be exposed, we hold that the chances of injustice would be infinitely less under a system of pure seniority, even under one of promotion by lot, than under the most honestly administered system of selection.

But Mr. Cardwell has informed us that if 'purchase' be abolished, the substitution of selection would be imperative in order to prevent a new and unrecognised system of purchase from taking the place of the first. Why so? We fail to perceive any immorality in the payment of money by an individual in order that he may succeed rather earlier to a situation to which at a later date he would succeed of right; and the practice of such payment would materially simplify the question of retirements. If we abolish 'purchase,' we abolish the only injustice that can be charged against it—that to which the non-purchasing officer is now exposed; and in that case promotion by seniority is the only practicable alternative, tempered and controlled by the rigid exercise of a veto against the promotion of men who are palpably unfit. Such is the ignorance of our legislators on military subjects, with which, however, they are prepared to deal with such amazing confidence, that nine out of ten are not aware that under the present system such a veto is vested in the Commander-in-Chief, and may be exercised to the fullest extent. Generals in command of districts, and officers commanding regiments, are bound to report specially such officers as are in their opinions unfit for promotion. Hitherto there has been a disinclination to make such reports, or if made to act upon them, on account of the vested money interest acquired by officers in the commissions they hold. But if seniority were substituted for purchase, this entirely mistaken reason for condoning inefficiency would cease to exist. The reflection here suggests itself that to give power to the Commander-in-Chief to forbid, on account of incompetence, the promotion of any officer who has passed the prescribed examination, is to admit the failure of such examination as a test of competence; and the natural inference will be—if the examination be not a sufficient test, make it so; if it be, why supplement it with an invidious censorship? The answer is, that no human institutions are perfect, and although the examination is decidedly beneficial, it is quite possible for an officer to pass who might be unfit for promotion to a higher grade.

To introduce selection in army promotions would be to impose on the Commander-in-Chief a burthen of responsibility which no man would be able to sustain, and would produce a fruitful crop of jealousies and remonstrances, to the serious prejudice of discipline and good feeling.

For the purpose of administering such selection, Mr Cardwell proposes—1 To make regimental promotion progressive up to the rank of captain. 2 To keep a general Army List of captains and majors, from which the most deserving shall be selected for promotion to the ranks of major and lieutenant-colonel. Let us see how this plan will work.

Of the three senior captains of a given regiment, we will suppose the first to be a fair officer, the second better, and the third best. If the selection is to be a reality, the third captain must be promoted to the first vacant majority, and the second captain to the second vacancy, the first captain, a zealous officer perhaps but not best part, having to be passed over. It will be answered that it is not the intention to discriminate between approximately equal degrees of merit, then we reply that Mr Cardwell's selection would be worthless into a system of seniority, modified only by the veto above referred to, under which no boy can devise the means of preventing the acceleration of promotion by money payments. Indeed, we think it would be unwise to attempt it by legislating against the practice, we shall only succeed in imparting immorality to acts intrinsically indifferent in themselves, without preventing them.

Under the present regulations a good officer regards his regiment as his home, loves it as progressive, and strengthens with every year of service, a jealous regard for its honour and renown becomes a part of his nature. This sentiment is known by the name of esprit de corps, and anyone who undervalues its power as a moral agent knows little of human nature and is utterly undeserving the name of a statesman. This is the sentiment which has, under the custom of purchase—we do not say in consequence of it—given to England a regimental system which is the pride and mainstay of the army and the admiration of all experienced foreign officers who are acquainted with it. And this is the sentiment which Mr. Cardwell now proposes to destroy by declaring that every captain in his turn shall be removed from the association of the comrades to whom he is attached, and from the command of the men whose characters he has studied, to fill the more important grade of major in another corps, in which he can feel no interest and where he can know nothing of the men he is called to command. And after having formed new ties during his four or five years' service as major, the same violent disruption is to be repeated by his transference to a third regiment as lieutenant-colonel.

Again, if selection is to be the rule, it must of course be applied to the Artillery, and it will be a pleasing reflection for the senior lieutenants of that arm, having fourteen years service, that the first effect of Army Reform may be to promote younger officers over their heads on the pretence of superior qualifications.

Once more, is our experience of the manner in which selection has been exercised in the limited field to which it has been hitherto applied so encouraging that we should desire to make it universal? Taking the Crimean War as an example, we need only refer to the selection of the commanders of the Cavalry Division and Light Cavalry Brigade, good as regimental officers,

perhaps, but as destitute of all experience of actual war as they were ignorant of its first theoretical principles; men, moreover, who on account of their notorious antagonism ought never to have been placed in the relative positions of commander and subordinate.

Again, how did 'selection' work when it became necessary to appoint a successor to Lord Raglan, or rather to Sir James Simpson?

Among the divisional generals was a vigorous and energetic veteran, who had served in the Peninsula, and who had acquired experience in the command of a regiment in all parts of the world. That veteran was Sir Colin Campbell, who afterwards quelled the Indian Mutiny. Did the English Ministers on that occasion take the man they found ready to their hand, *who was the senior officer present*, and beyond all compare the most worthy? No! they put upon him the indignity of placing over his head a young Guardsman, of distinguished merit indeed, but of whom it is no disparagement to say that he was not the equal of Campbell, and who was in the nursery when the latter was fighting his country's enemies in Spain!

But we are able to cite in support of our position the recent and striking experience of the Franco-German war.

The French army had for many years before the commencement of that struggle been officered largely from the ranks and [illegible], either nominally by merit; just the system Mr Cardwell desires to introduce among ourselves. Yet the annihilation of the whole of her regular army has been largely due to the incapacity of her officers, and to their powerlessness to command the respect of their inferiors. General Trochu, writing in 1867, complained that whereas English soldiers, when allied with the French, were scrupulous in paying all the military marks of respect to French officers, the latter could not obtain any such marks from their own soldiers. And we know as a fact that, throughout the war just ended, French officers had no command over their men, and the soldiers under reverses became as dangerous to their superiors as wild beasts.

On the other hand, we find that the Prussian army, where the soldier submits to the restraints of an iron discipline, is officered by nobles personally devoted to the sovereign; and that the *system of promotion is practically one of pure seniority*, the prerogative which the King possesses, to the same extent as but no farther than the English Sovereign, of promoting officers at pleasure being rarely exercised!

We have no wish to push the above argument beyond its fair value; but when we find on the one hand a system of promotion by selection co-existing with universal disaster, and on the other a system of promotion by seniority co-existing with unbroken success, we do say that a prudent legislator should have taken these facts into account before submitting to the people of England a plan involving radical changes in their army.

Whatever may be the final decision of Parliament, any alteration in the present system tending materially to change the class of the community from which our officers are drawn would be an evil not to be balanced by any apparent advantage - would indeed be fatal to the

[illegible]

efficiency of an army raised, as the English army is raised by voluntary enlistment, that is to say, contrary to aristocratic principle. For some years past the Conservatives have been thrown upon the defensive with regard to the sale of commissions in the army. The purchase system has been practically limited in the first case by the cost of education necessary to success, in the second case by the money payment of itself. It is said that these points, in the event of first commissions being declared free and open to public competition, that the cost of the necessary education might preserve unaltered the class of our military officers. But it may be worth consideration if it would not be prudent, supposing purchase abolished, to retain unchanged the existing system of first appointments by competition to exact the sale money payment now. There might be some chance of thus preventing a large part of the aristocratic element of promotion, through the investment of the returning fund with a view to pensions, which might create.

But if the legislature finally decide necessary for the abolition of purchase to leave a vast and costly figure representing the existing necessary to be preserved in connection with the established interest of civil officers, or even the ranks of the army are to be filled up by gay haired imbeciles and effeminate cockneys, a mere military spectacle, without real beauty or strength, will be of small benefit to the country. The remainder of the argument, of which Mr Cardwell confessed himself unable to foresee any early termination, has been practically presented to the country in the statement of Mr Disraeli in the House of Commons that we must maintain the sea-power of England.

On the whole Mr Cardwell's recommendation to the English people to abolish purchase, without having first sat down in a prudent and businesslike manner to count its cost and ultimate consequences, is very like a recommendation to throw a good many millions of money over a precipice and to take a blindfold leap after them, and but for considering to take that leap we trust such a practical and mercantile people will make sure of the sort of ground they are likely to fall upon.

The *Times* considers that the most cogent argument against the purchase system is to be found in the fact that *it is not likely to be maintained in the event of the aristocratic influence ceasing to predominate in the country*. 'Sooner or later therefore,' says that journal, 'the system will be abolished.' This may be a sufficient argument for the *Times*, though not, we submit, for a statesman. For ourselves, we have never anticipated evil results from the abolition of purchase, provided promotion by seniority be the substitute, and vested interests be protected. As for selection, we can only trust there is still sufficient practical good sense left among English legislators to secure the rejection of a measure so thoroughly visionary, and so destructive of the well-being of the army if it were possible to enforce it.

In order to form a just judgment as to the merits of Mr Cardwell's general scheme, it will be convenient to state first the military requirements of the country, and then to enquire if they are likely to be satisfied by the details of that scheme.

In Prussia every military district contains within itself the peace framework of a certain military unit, to which the Line and the Landwehr have each their permanently detailed places, and which on the outbreak of war can be mobilised, that is, can be sent out of its own district, with all its parts filled

in, perfectly organised and equipped, and can enter on a campaign within ten days after the receipt of orders from head-quarters.

It is exactly this organisation in principle that we want in England, and unless Mr. Cardwell's scheme supplies it, it must be pronounced a failure. Although we have no need to imitate Prussia by converting our whole nation into an army, and our soil into a vast military camp; there is no reason whatever why we should not institute in England that territorial military organisation on which the preparedness for war of the Prussian army mainly depends. The details, which are perfectly simple, and whose cost ought assuredly to be within easy reach of the sum which will be voted this year for military purposes, are as follows:

1. To provide an adequate reserve of trained soldiers, so that battalions, maintained in peace for the sake of economy at half their required war strength, may be placed on their war footing in a day.

2. To provide some certain machinery for supplying the casualties created by war in the ranks of the field army.

3. To divide the country into military districts having as nearly as possible equal populations, and to place the military forces of every description in each district under the command of a general.

4. To maintain in each district the peace framework of its proper military unit, with all arms of the service in due proportion, and with all the machinery of staff and departments necessary to its immediate mobilisation.

5. Each military unit to consist of three depôts of Line, Militia, and Volunteers, established in permanent brigades with staff detailed.

6. To provide for annual instruction for all ranks by the formation of yearly camps of exercise in the different districts.

7. To provide that Militia battalions shall invariably perform their yearly training in their respective brigades with the Line as previously arranged on paper.

8. To provide a sufficient number of competent officers for the Militia.

9. To improve the organisation of the Volunteer force.

We propose to take the above details seriatim:

1. The immediate formation of an adequate reserve of trained soldiers lies at the root of our military efficiency, it may be said indeed at the root of our national greatness, since the last must always depend not only on the power to defend ourselves if attacked, but on the power to fulfil without doubt or hesitation our obligations to our colonies and to other countries. And the only possible means by which an efficient army can be forthcoming in England, either for the emergency of home defence or of foreign warfare, is to maintain that army during peace on a system which will admit of its large and immediate expansion for war. Now what does the Government measure propose to do for us in this matter? Mr. Cardwell informed the House that he hoped during the present year to raise the first Army Reserve, the only force which could be available for the object now under consideration - to quote him, a provision ludicrously inadequate to our requirements. It is true that he hoped then he estimates a second Army Reserve, which includes what is called the Militia Reserve and pensioners, at 30,000; but this force is a mere home guard, not liable for service abroad, and could not therefore be available for completing the peace establishment of battalions to their proper war strength. The restoration of our army to its proper peace establishment can only be gradually effected by years with, but no faster than the formation of the required reserve of trained

soldiers, and if Mr Cardwell's limited aspirations are fulfilled, we shall yearly discharge at the end of the year about 6000 of the men now serving, certainly only with the view into the ranks of the reserve some that have already numbers about 30000. At this rate many years would be required to perfect our expensive system and it is hardly probable that the complexion of matters with which the Government of Europe is now charged would be such as to delay the completion of our defensive system so long. During the present year there will be about 30000 military officers serving in the British Isles, and it should be our endeavour to induce all such as have completed six years' service to accept discharge under the obligation of completing their unexpired terms of enlistment in the ranks of the reserve. If this measure should be found to prove a failure, the immediate formation of a militia reserve is at the command of the Government to greatly augment our defensive power even for years to come with the view as a supplement to the reserve service of the regular army.

It is not to be supposed that such a measure is to apply a matter of course to the whole of the soldiers who have completed their six years' service with the colours. The Government will be entitled to select such men as they may require to complete the reserve, and it is to be presumed that they will select the best men. The force should be raised with as little restriction as possible. Even at the cost of eight pounds a-day a reserve soldier would be of equal value to the country with one serving in the ranks, and it is not to be supposed that the Government will hesitate to adopt the latter.

We repeat that our voluntary system will never be established on a sound and durable basis until the great object of the reserve shall cease to be to keep our battalions serving at home to their contemplated peace establishment.

2. The Government measure makes no provision, so far as we can see, for filling up war casualties in the field army during the progress of a campaign, unless it be intended that the Militia reserve should be utilized for that purpose. But the men of that reserve are not at present held to service beyond the limits of the British Isles, and they must volunteer a second time for foreign service before they could be sent to reinforce battalions before an enemy abroad. The whole of the Militia force under proper regulations and management, should constitute a general reserve for the line; and we agree with the writer of a late article in the *Edinburgh Review*, supposed to embody the opinions of Sir W. Mansfield, in the view that what is now called the Militia Reserve is practically useless, and should be abolished.

We are of the number who deplore the conclusion of the Government that the Militia must be raised as heretofore by voluntary enlistment, a method which will doubtless succeed in filling the ranks, but one which involves solicitation and the offering of inducements to the recruit which must vary with the urgency of the occasion, while conscription, on the other hand, is a self-acting machine, giving exact results. The operation of voluntary enlistment cannot be depended on to ensure the annual supply of recruits exactly when and where they may be wanted, but by means of an occasional conscription the Militia could be kept constantly full, and would constitute the *reserve* from which the supplies of men required to be drawn off from time to time to fill the *cadres* of the regular army, whether in peace or war, could be obtained with certainty by volunteering. In times of war it has never been found difficult to obtain volunteers from the Militia for service in the army; it has only been necessary to offer effectual inducements, and this must always

be necessary under any system of voluntary enlistment. The only condition required towards a sufficient supply of recruits to the regular army in time of war is that the Militia shall be maintained at its due proportionate strength during peace; to this end it should number, at least, as many men as the regular army, whose vacancies it is intended to supply.

The easiest and most natural method of establishing a sound Militia system would be to place it on a localised or territorial basis, by partitioning the whole country in certain territorial divisions, furnishing each its quota of Militia men in proportion to population. Although it might be possible to carry out this plan by the means of voluntary enlistment, it would be extremely difficult as well as expensive to do so on any large scale; but the application of conscription would render it easy.

Much of the aversion felt by the public to the idea of a conscription without substitution is due to the belief that merchants, lawyers, and other professional men would be liable under its operation to be torn from their families and their business, and compelled to shoulder a musket, to their great individual detriment, in many cases even to their ruin. But the advocates of the measure never contemplated imposing the obligation of Militia service in time of peace, except on young men between the ages of 18 and 21. In addition to the advantages above claimed for conscription, it would have a very important bearing on the two questions of officering the Militia and giving a proper organisation to the Volunteer force, as we shall endeavour to show when we come to consider them. The power taken by the Government Bill to enforce the ballot 'in cases of great emergency,' and the elaborate provisions regulating its application, can only be regarded as dust thrown into the eyes of the public; for most assuredly it will be too late to resort to that measure after the great emergency has shown itself.

3, 4, 5, 6, and 7. The country is already portioned out in military districts, but of greatly varying magnitudes, whereas an effective territorial organisation depends on uniformity of districts as well as uniformity of their contained military units. We hope Mr. Cardwell's announcement, that in every sub-district a colonel on the staff is to be appointed to command between fifteen and twenty thousand of the auxiliary forces, is an indication of the design to establish the uniformity above insisted on more especially as the *[illegible]* was declared to be the primary object sought to be attained by his Bill; and the measure of brigading those services together was announced as one of the details by which he hoped to accomplish it. One word of suggestion we would address to Mr Cardwell, with respect to these colonels on the staff. If they are simply to exercise the functions of the old Inspectors of Reserve Forces, with somewhat enlarged duties, little good will result. The colonel on the staff should command a certain sub-division, say a brigade, of the military unit of the district, in which sub-division all the services and all the arms should be represented. The mere fact of giving him command of a certain number of auxiliary forces will have no tendency to effect that [illegible] which Mr Cardwell desires to accomplish. We are glad to observe that it is intended to constitute the General of each district the real commander in place of, as heretofore, the mere nominal commander, of the military forces of all descriptions existing within its limits; but it would be a great mistake to suppose that this measure alone would go far towards effecting the desired

tuation; for the accomplishment of which the following arrangements are here suggested.

To fix permanently the regular force to be stationed in each district with a view to its forming the nucleus round which the auxiliary forces would be gathered.

Supposing the infantry garrison of each district to consist of three regular battalions, they might supply the nucleus of three brigades, each brigade being composed of one line battalion, of one third of the Militia force, and of one third of the Volunteer force of the district; the different brigades with staff being completed in all respects on paper. The exigencies of Indian relief would prevent the same regular regiments being permanently stationed in any particular district, as I have as a consequence would render impossible the territorial distribution of the army, so often advocated, in first, second, and third battalions, but the arrangement here proposed would be the same in principle.

A convenient camping ground being provided in each district, the Militia regiments should perform their yearly training under canvas in their respective brigades with the regular troops, as previously arranged on paper, and the Volunteer corps should be encouraged by liberal allowance to join their respective brigades during the continuance of the yearly camp of exercise.

The respective staff of each brigade should be supplied by officers of the regular army, but assistant brigade majors should be attached to the Militia and Volunteers, to act as channels of communication with their respective services, as well as for the purposes of instruction in staff duties.

These last should receive a small yearly retaining fee, and full staff pay only when on continuous duty at the yearly camp.

Each district should be completed with the necessary field equipment for its division of all arms under the charge of a district quartermaster, and every officer in command of a corps should be provided with a list of articles forming the field equipment of his corps, and with forms of requisition for the same, with which, on the formation of the yearly camp, the district quartermaster would comply.

Each district should be complete in all the departments so far at least as their cadres are concerned—necessary to enable its mobilised division to take the field fully equipped and ready for the march.

Every year two or more divisions occupying adjacent camps might strike their tents and march to concentrate in a central locality for a week's manœuvres on a large scale.

A plan similar to that above sketched was adopted in Canada to provide against the Fenian raids, which were always threatening. The Volunteer force of that country was distributed in brigades, the nucleus of each brigade being supplied by one regular battalion, or, in some cases, the wing of a battalion, the necessary stores and equipment were collected at the different brigade alarm posts, which were established at convenient distances along the frontier line, and all that was required to place them in the field was the order to district commanders to 'form field brigades.' In addition to this measure, camps of exercise were formed every year, where the Volunteers were brigaded with the regular troops, precisely after the plan above indicated, and it is speaking quite within bounds to say that the Volunteers learned more in a week than they could have done in a month if drilled separately.

Since Mr Cardwell does not propose to give to the Militia any longer period of training than that which is now the rule, we should endeavour to get the greatest pos-

sible value out of the training actually performed; and we can conceive no arrangement equally effective for that purpose with that which is above suggested.

8. The question of providing the requisite number of instructed officers for the Militia presents a problem of extreme difficulty. Mr. Cardwell hopes to solve it by providing that henceforward Line and Militia officers shall be interchangeable, and his proposal for the immediate abolition of 'purchase' was based on the ground that all such interchange would be impossible so long as the system continues in force. But just as, in the matters of promotion by selection and of retirements, Mr Cardwell was unable to predicate the ultimate consequences of their adoption, or to state the mode of carrying them into execution, so he is entirely unprepared with any machinery for effecting an interchange of officers between the two services. His one contribution towards the solution of the problem is that Militia lieutenants after two years' meritorious service shall receive commissions in the Line All the rest is vague and indeterminate. So far as it goes, this one measure would be useful in supplying an incentive to young Militia officers. But how are Line officers to be transferred to the Militia? Line rank and Militia rank may be declared of equal value; but will the country be content to pay to a Militia officer for one month's service the same sum as to a Line officer for twelve months'? If not, a lieutenant of the Line promoted to be captain of Militia will hardly feel compensated by the honour and glory for receiving only one month's pay as captain in exchange for twelve months' pay as lieutenant But it may be argued, with our attenuated peace battalions there will be a surplus of officers, a certain proportion of whom may be transferred, or rather lent, to the Militia, still retaining their full pay. Doubtless they may; but they might equally be so transferred under the purchase system; and, besides, how long will it be, under Mr. Cardwell's very deliberate measures for the formation of a reserve, before attenuated peace battalions will be possible?

We are convinced that the proposed interchangeableness of Line and Militia officers with any useful result is utterly impracticable, and that the most effective method of providing competent officers for the Militia would be through the agency of a conscription, and in imitation of the wise measures adopted in Prussia for officering the Landwehr In Prussia all young men of fair education who are able to provide the means of their own equipment and maintenance, and to produce certificates of attainments and honourable conduct from school or college, are allowed to enrol themselves for one year in regiments of cavalry or infantry at their choice; and it has long been regarded as part of the education of the son of every proprietor, professional man, manufacturer, even of every prosperous shopkeeper, to spend one of the years between his seventeenth and twentieth birthdays in this voluntary service, at the end of which any cadet desiring it may by special attainments obtain a certificate entitling him to the first vacancy as sergeant, and afterwards to a commission, in the Landwehr regiment of his particular district and in this manner a body of instructed officers is provided for the reserve forces of Prussia. Of late years it is to a great extent *ambition* which has operated to induce the youth of that country to join the ranks in the manner above specified, but at first the motive which impelled them was to avoid serving as privates in the conscription

In England, under our present military and social constitution,

there is no inducement to young men of the better classes to qualify as Militia officers. The fact is, and it is useless to ignore it, the principal difficulty of providing capable officers for the Militia consists in this, that the service does not offer a profession to which young men devoid of means can afford to devote themselves, at the same time that it fails to supply any attractions for young men of means and leisure

These are the points to which, in the absence of the leverage of a conscription, we should devote our attention, and we here submit the following suggestions to Mr. Cardwell's consideration

Doubtless something will be gained by substituting the patronage of the Queen for that of the lord-lieutenant; but in addition to this measure, for which the Government must receive credit, every possible attempt should be made to create and foster a sentiment of connection between the Line and the Militia In this view, which we think would be materially promoted by the formation of the mixed brigades above recommended, and since there is a great deal in a name, we would propose—

1st That in future the regular service should have the designation of the Line of Battle, the Militia that of the Home Battle, and that all documents of the Army should be so altered accordingly as would be sanctioned by a reference to Britain, Albion, Britannia, and Ocean

2nd That all Militiamen who must have previously served in the Line should be required to join in the very district centres of exercise, there to be attached to the Line regiments of their respective brigades during two months in each year succeeding the first period of their respective ranks These two months to be in addition to and immediately succeeding the month prescribed for the yearly training of their respective battalions.

3rd To appoint Line officers from the half-pay list to a certain number of vacancies in the higher ranks; and to increase their yearly half-pay to full pay while thus serving; care being taken to select such only as are active, vigorous, and thoroughly competent

9. The next division of our subject which we have to consider is the Volunteer organisation, the weak point of which is the difficulty of enforcing anything approaching to military discipline Any code of punishments must be inoperative in a force whose members if punished to-day for a breach of discipline may resign in resentment to-morrow, and Mr Cardwell has sought to remedy this evil by two clauses of his Bill

Clause 14 provides that a Volunteer may obtain [illegible] by engaging with his commanding officer not to quit the corps without giving one year's notice, but as every Volunteer will know as well as Mr Cardwell, that the liability from which he is promised exemption is practically nil, he will deem it quite unnecessary to barter a year's liberty of action in its purchase

Clause 15 provides that [illegible] by the Mutiny Act [illegible] Not, as Lord Bury has pointed out, is it primarily the power to oblige the men to come out for such training that is wanted The power given to punish breaches of discipline when being exercised with other troops, with or without the power to [illegible] to come out for such exercise, which is operative to prevent the men from leaving their corps when mustered for that purpose, and thereby exposing themselves to punishment

It is useless to [illegible] ourselves to

the fact that without the leverage of a conscription it is impossible to impart discipline or efficiency to the Volunteer force; unless the men can be induced to engage for three years' service, just as our soldiers enlist for twelve years, an arrangement which would convert the force into a Volunteer Militia as in Canada, and would involve the payment of the men.

In the absence of conscription, it is in every way more convenient, as we already possess a distinct Militia, that the Volunteers should continue a purely voluntary auxiliary force, practically independent of any other control than the will of its members during peace; but capable in war, if wisely encouraged, which hitherto it has not been, of rendering valuable service; and we must just be content to accept the defects of the system for the sake of its positive advantages.

The measure above advocated of attaching Volunteer battalions permanently to brigades with Line and Militia, so that they might feel they possessed a recognised place in the grand army of England, would have a powerful effect in encouraging the force. It is true they could not be ordered, but they might be invited, and by liberal field allowances encouraged, to attend with their respective brigades in the yearly camps of exercise. Many battalions do now voluntarily assemble for a week's training under canvas, and it is certain they would be more generally anxious to do so under the above proposed arrangement. The regulations published during the preceding year with reference to schools of instruction, almost a transcript of those which have been long in force in Canada, are excellent in principle, and are daily producing good results.

The manner in which conscription, if adopted, would operate on the efficiency of the Volunteer force is as follows:

1st. It is obvious that in each military district the number of Volunteers must be limited to a maximum, to prevent crowds of men from enrolling themselves for the purpose of avoiding the conscription.

2nd. Supposing the Volunteer quota of any district to be complete, it should be ordained that every Volunteer failing to obtain a certificate of efficiency at the end of the first year should be discharged and should become liable to conscription.

3rd. Every man having served five years continuously as an efficient Volunteer should be declared exempt from conscription for life.

Mr Cardwell's present measure proposes to alter slightly the Army Enlistment Bill of last session by providing -

That every recruit shall in future be enlisted for a service of twelve years; such period to be passed, either altogether with the colours, or partly with the colours, partly in the first reserve; but the conditions and term of service of every recruit, whatever they may be, to be stated on his attestation paper, and to be incapable of alteration except by authority of the recruit and the Minister of War.

Now we fear that the object of creating rapidly an Army Reserve will act as a temptation to enlist as many men as possible for the short period of three years' service with the colours, leaving the unprofitably long period of nine years for reserve service. To do so would be a serious error. The men now serving are those to whom we should principally look for filling the reserve ranks.

It is simply a question of money, and if offered a retaining fee of sixpence a day numbers of men who have completed four years' service and upwards would accept discharge under the obligations of reserve service during the unex-

pired periods for which they severally enlisted. Six years is the shortest period for which recruits should in future be enlisted for continuous service. The cry has been raised for soldiers of three years, because the Prussian soldier is enlisted for that term, and the Prussian system has been successful. But there is no analogy between the two cases. Since the father of Frederick the Great, the perfecting of their military system has been the paramount object of solicitude for each Prussian monarch in his turn. The rulers have, for this purpose, practically wielded despotic authority; the army is officered by nobles personally dependent on and devoted to the sovereign, and men of all conditions below the noble class serve in the ranks of the army in their turn. The whole nation, in fact, constitutes a vast military hierarchy. Thus, Prussian soldiers are unquestionably possessed of higher intelligence and education than those of any other country, and consequently, both in the matter of drill which is easy, and of discipline which is more difficult to acquire, the recruit under such an organization can in three years be converted into a comparative veteran.

But voluntary enlistment implies that the State shall go into the open market for recruits, and take such as, being personally eligible, offer themselves. We have not yet arrived, as I presume never will arrive, at an educational test of fitness for the men who are to fight our battles. Youth and passion, not armed with thews and sinews, are the only preliminary requisites.

It is therefore only by making re-enlistment attractive that we can hope to elevate the intellectual and moral status of the soldier. Much has been already, and the increased consideration we have of late years shown for our soldiers has produced its natural consequence in the increased self-respect and good behaviour of the soldiers themselves.

To suppose that the abolition of purchase, or any means that can be devised by human wisdom, could, under the system of voluntary enlistment, induce young men of the better classes to enter the army as privates, unless promotion from the ranks be declared the rule, is one of those amazingly visionary ideas in which amateur military reformers abound. And no stronger argument could be advanced in favour of maintaining the purchase system, than that one of the probable results of its abolition would be to officer our army largely from the ranks. We trust that the experience derived from the late misfortunes of the French army have laid that question at rest in England for ever.

Before we can prudently fix three years as the period of continuous service for the soldier, we must clearly establish that an English soldier of three years would be of equal value on the supreme moment of trial with the same English soldier supposing him to have served six years. It will hardly be contended that the Prussian system has been successful in forming soldiers more to be depended on in battle than the time-honoured redcoats who held "the fatal hill" at Albuera, who broke the power of Napoleon at Waterloo, who scaled the heights of Alma, who withstood the Russian hosts at Inkerman, and who, a mere handful, saved the Indian Empire to England by their invincible fortitude and bravery. These were all men of long service enlistment, the most of whom Marshal Bugeaud said that they were the most formidable infantry in the world, especially for mountain warfare. Our

position is that although English soldiers of three years might be good, those of six years would be better, and the fact that there are so few of them supplies the strongest argument for requiring that those we have shall be of the best. There is an additional argument in favour of the six years' term in the consideration that it would be easily reconcilable with the exigencies of Indian reliefs.

We should have been glad if Mr. Cardwell had seen fit to divide the total period of enlistment into three portions—the first to be passed with the colours; the second in the Reserve, with a retaining fee of sixpence a day; the third in the Militia, with a fee of fourpence. The passing of the soldier through the army into the Militia would give a leaven to the latter force the value of which can hardly be exaggerated, and would impart to it by degrees very much the character of the Prussian Landwehr.

Having now examined Mr Cardwell's proposals seriatim, we must call attention to the absence from his Bill of any provision for military instruction in schools. Such instruction could hardly commence at too early an age, and it would probably be as efficacious as any other measure that can be devised in making us a military people.

To sum up: we find that of the thirty-six clauses of the Army Regulation Bill, *eight* are devoted to the extinction of purchase—a measure which has been put forward with an astonishing absence of statesmanlike consideration and forethought, in deference to the prejudices of [illegible] according to the *Times* newspaper, "[illegible] a measure of which the only certain result will be to saddle the country with an enormous expenditure, and of which its framer is utterly unable to predict the further consequences.

a measure which, even if it fail to realise all the evil effects prophesied by its opponents, will probably exercise no beneficial influence on our military organisation, but result, on the contrary, in disappointment to its promoters, and perhaps serious injury to the army. We have shown that anything like a general interchange between Line and Militia officers, which was professedly the principal object of the proposal to abolish 'purchase,' is utterly impracticable; and that Line officers could be transferred or lent to the Militia whether purchase be abolished or not. We fear, moreover, that in the sequel the unexpectedly large charges that measure will entail will be very impatiently borne by the [illegible] above referred to. The *Times* has already darkly hinted that officers of the army may imperil their vested interests by prolonged opposition, and it seems by no means impossible that these officers may ultimately be called upon to bear a very disproportionate share of the cost.

Of the remaining clauses of the Bill—

Eight are devoted to the local, respecting which it needs here only to say that they can exercise no present influence on our military system; and it is present, not prospective, reforms which the nation requires.

Two clauses relate to the Volunteers, and will be wholly inoperative, as any Volunteer officer can inform Mr Cardwell.

One clause slightly alters for the better the terms of attestation of recruits, as fixed by the Recruitment Bill of last session.

Four clauses relate to the Militia, of which three deal with matters of detail, while the fourth effects a real reform in transferring the patronage from lord-lieutenants to the Crown.

One clause gives power to the

Government to take possession of railroads on an emergency

[illegible] clauses are devoted to Militia barracks, and the acquisition of land by Militia and Volunteer corps

[illegible] clauses remain, dealing with legal technicalities

Now we would ask, is there anything in the above provisions which is to fulfil the expectations held out in the speech of the Minister of War? Setting apart the disputed question of 'purchase,' there is one clause and one only, of Mr Cardwell's Bill which can exercise any influence on our military organization, except in a very remote and contingent future—viz. that which vests Militia patronage in the Crown

We were in vain to look in the two remaining measures or in the explanations by which it was accompanied for any sign of a comprehensive purpose, and as little does Mr Cardwell seem to appreciate below [illegible] explanations that he has to tell the [illegible] the first session that [illegible] the [illegible] with the [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

perpetually recurring apprehension of danger.'

Those words when collated with his proposed measures would excite a smile if the matter were not too serious. We confess we have no hope that the present Minister of War will ever fulfil the expectations held out in the above quotation. He is called to deal with a subject which is foreign to his habits of thought and to his experience.

We will go further, and say we despair of ever seeing the establishment of a thoroughly sound and permanent military system under our *purchasity* system of government.

However that may be, if the present opportunity for amendment is allowed to slip, it will never return until another tremendous European convulsion shall once more startle the nation from its apathetic security.

Since the foregoing pages went to press we have read Mr. Cardwell's speech, on the second reading of his Bill, wherein he employed the following arguments in support of his proposed system of selection in army promotions.

1. He stated that 'selection' exists in the army of Prussia, thereby designating to convey the impression that selection is the rule in that army; whereas either he knew, or it was discreditable to him not to have known, that promotion in the Prussian army, as we have already shown, is practically on a system of pure seniority.

2. He cited the evidence of Lord Clyde given before the 'Purchase Commission,' to the effect that in his opinion the feelings of an officer would be less wounded by the selection of another to supersede him on the score of superior merit than if that other had passed over his head through the agency of 'purchase;' but the [illegible] stated [illegible] by Lord Clyde when superseded by a younger officer in the Crimea is hardly consistent with the above opinion. We can only say for ourselves that neither the authority of Lord Clyde, nor of all the generals who have ever lived taken together, would be of any weight to establish a proposition against which the reason revolts; and that so long as human nature remains unchanged, and self-esteem constitutes one of its most powerful sentiments, it would be beyond comparison more galling to an officer to see another placed over him by selection — that is, for a reason which implies his personal inferiority — than through the operation either of 'purchase' or pure chance, which would leave his self-esteem untouched.

3. Referring to the argument that 'selection,' as he proposes to exercise it, would destroy *esprit de corps*, Mr. Cardwell asks, 'Is there no *esprit de corps*, no life-blood, in the regiments of Prussia?' There are many non-purchase regiments in our army: is there no regimental system among *them*? Is there no *esprit de corps* among the marines?' &c. &c.; the whole of which argument only goes to show that Mr Cardwell did not understand the subject on which he was speaking. No one contends that *esprit de corps* is a special result of the system of purchase, or that the extinction of the purchase system would affect that sentiment, provided seniority were made the rule of promotion, as it is in the Prussian army, and in our [illegible]. The [illegible] which Mr Cardwell has failed to meet is — [illegible]

ARABIANA.

The Port Omar

THE princes of Beneo-Omeyyah, who during ninety-four years (A.D. 661–755) ruled from their throne at Damascus over the already immense extent of the Mohammedan world, enjoyed a title to sovereignty peculiarly their own, one denied to all Caliphs and Sultans of later date, whether the orthodox monarchs of Bagdad and Constantinople, or the schismatical Imams of Cairo or Teheran; that, namely, of being governors genuinely and unreservedly connatural with the main body of those they governed, not in descent only but also in character, manners, and system.

Even the four elective Caliphs, Mohammed's immediate successors, though themselves essentially Arab, were yet too much cramped, 'Alee in particular, by excessive zeal and righteousness overmuch, to be a faithful expression of the real national type. Deeply imbued though Arabs are, more even than the generality of men, with reverence for the eternal law that, as one of our own poets has well-nigh solely revealed to every day Arab pleasure, 'On every side lies large range,' few people are less inclined than they to make it by over-much observance, and to make of religion and life commonplace the stage of penitential life. Hence it came that Abou-Bekr, Omar, Otsman, and 'Alee, however exceptional the first three at any rate, to the several phase of Arab thought which their contemporaneous were then passing, which was in fact the inflammatory or fermentative stage of Islam's incubation, were yet even then, in every case almost too much for them. 'Alee was on the brink. Indeed before the second half-century was over, the Khalifate or free-thinking practice of ancient infidelity and license had already set in, and the dagger of Ebn-Muljem did but give effect to the general desire of freedom from a yoke which for some years past the Arabs had felt and declared that neither they nor their children were able to bear.

But in the splendid, jovial, adventure-loving, devil-may-care sons of Omeyyah, 'very heathens in the carnal part,' however sad good Mohammedans at heart they may have been, and indeed unquestionably were, the Arabs had not merely their own flesh and blood, but, what was much more, their own heart and soul, to reign over them, as it was accordingly during the period of their supremacy that the Arab 'geist,' to plagiarise the convenient German word, breathed freest and obtained its fullest expansion. Hence we may not inaptly, before approaching the Damascene Court itself, and the principal figure that gave it splendour and importance, take a general survey of the social conditions around in town or country, as illustrated by those individual sketches of which the records of the age furnish us with abundance.

The almost pre-historic winter, the early and the mid-spring of Arab civilisation had already passed away: it was now summer, the time of brightest bloom and of most abundant vigour. Simple in their innate restlessness, and restless in their innate simplicity, as Arabs still were, the young manhood of the nation imparted itself to every individual, and heightened the game of life, while giving them at the same time a depth and a breadth unknown before. War, general eloquence, these had always formed the triple excellence

that Arabia claimed for her sons as their noblest praise; and it was now, under the star of Benoo-Omeyyah, that she fully realised her own ideal, and gave simultaneous birth to her greatest warriors, her most skilful statesmen, and her choicest poets. The change which had come over the spirit of these last is in itself a remarkable illustration of profoundly modified social conditions throughout the entire peninsula.

Poverty of means, isolation of circumstance, and insecurity of life, had, during the long ante-Islamitic period, cramped the energy, narrowed the ideas, and marred the taste of almost all, indeed in some degree of all Arab poets. The circle they moved in was rough, barren, and contracted; their genius dwarfed itself into proportion with the limits which it could not overpass. The high rank and noble birth of the pre-Islamitic 'Amrou-ben-Kolthoom and 'Amrou-l-Keys had not exempted them from ever-recurring personal dangers and privations on the road and in the field: while the vigorous spirit of Shanfara', Ta'abbat-Sharran, and their like, was distorted by the physical misery and the savage loneliness to which their writings bear such frequent witness. All this had now passed away. Union had given security, conquest riches; while intercourse and Islam had developed the intellect of the race. Two entirely new classes of society had thereby come into existence—the class of pleasure, and the class of literature. The first—born of a wealth they cannot realise by [illegible] after wealth, [illegible] by [illegible] the latter—and among these the career of their poetry and eloquence, both equally poetry, were in the possession of Mohammed's earliest followers—the spirit of the age, destiny the Mohammedan princes of their land and day, combined the advantages of birth and fortune with those of genius. Foremost among these stands the nobleman, the warrior, the libertine, but above all the poet—the Don Juan of Mecca, the Ovid of Arabia and the East—'Omar the Mogheeree, the grandson of Aboo-Rabee'ah.

He, by universal award, placed on the head of his kinship, the great Koreysh clan, the only garland that had heretofore been wanting there. In every respect but one, Koreysh had long occupied the first place, not in the Hejaz only, but throughout the whole extent of the Arabian Empire. The elevation of their tribesmen, the sons of Omeyyah, to the Caliphate, had added the temporal supremacy to the spiritual leadership already bequeathed to them in another branch of their family by the great Prophet: Khalid, the sword of Islam, 'Amrou, the conqueror and legislator of Egypt, and Moosa, the terror of Spain, had each in his turn contributed to the common heirloom of glory; and from the frontiers of India to the sea of Cadiz their will was obeyed by subject nations to whose fathers the very names of Hejaz and Koreysh had been unknown. But in literature, and especially in the choicest form of literature, poetry, the first rank was still disputed by names of other lineage, by the children of Nizar and Yemen. The Koran, indeed, written as it was by a Koreyshee of the Koreyshees, was truly theirs, but its supernatural perfection existed [illegible] of the kind, from literary [illegible] Besides, the [illegible] of the contrary opinion of the world, the Koran, [illegible] was not [illegible] and also [illegible] than rhyme, could pass rather as poetry. It was reserved for the grandson of Aboo-Rabee'ah to achieve by his

undoubted pre-eminence in that art the last crowning triumph for the hereditary princes of Mecca.

Five generations reckoned backwards united the brave chief of Koreish to which Omar belonged with that which had given origin to Mohammed himself, to Hashem, the ancestor of the Abbaside Caliphs, and to Abd-es-Shems, from whom descended Moawiah and the royal line of Omar's own great great grandfather, Mogheerah, had by his marriage with the noble and wealthy Reytah contracted two powerful subdivisions of Koreish descent, and had thereby become the founder of a clan which under the title of the Children of Mogheerah rapidly rose to a leading position both in peace and war. All were men of renown, but distinguished among them was Hadeykah Abou-Rabeeah, the grandfather of Omar. His gigantic stature had earned him the surname of 'Two-cubits,' equivalent in meaning to our own historical 'Blue-beard.' And in the decisive battle of Ohad, which, shortly before the birth of the Prophet, secured to Koreish the supreme grandeur of the Kaabah and the lasting ascendency over their Northern rivals, Hadeykah was by valiant deed to have won the first honors of the day.

But however great the renown of Hadeykah, it was to be surpassed by that of Ibn Reyr, the contemporary of Mohammed by whom prophecy was announced to be, and from whom he received not a few of the rules of Abd-Allah, the Servant of God. It was an ancient custom of the Koreishite Meccans, that the superintendence of the sacrificial rites connected with the Kaabah, or central shrine of the yearly assembly, should be conducted by the great men, or chiefs of the tribe of Koreish, two of Koreish who shared among themselves alike the cost and the honor. But the grandson of Mogheerah took on himself alone the entire responsibility of each alternate year, thus earning the title of 'El-Feyd,' or 'the Exclusive,' as having shown himself equally to the other clans in the discharge of religious hospitality. His wealth was proverbial for its riches; its sources were partly hereditary, through his grandmother Reytah (for the fatal law of testamentary succession, reversed obligatory by Mohammed, had not yet come into force), and were partly derived from the trade in metals, cloth, and spices to Syria was still unknown with Abyssinia and Yemen, which he had in a manner monopolized, not by official privilege, but by superior skill and enterprise. With a party of attendants, Abyssinians and Negros, followed in his train, and the greatest part of the province of Tehamah, as the outermost north of Mecca to the neighborhood of Mekka was then and is particularly so called, obeyed his sway.

The offered sacrifice of Abd-Allah's son was to be performed by Mogheerah, who may have prudently abstained the more readily from the use of his own knife, since by the help of a dusky adversary. But the generation at least absolutely to which belonged the Prophet's father was to decide, as it even where possible to decide, the existing supremacy of the rival houses. It was a greater glory than that of Ibn Reyr, to Abd-Allah the Mogheerite, we see the type of a class then recently originated, yet already powerful in Arabia, and which was to have been become supreme, but for the military despotism, based on popular loyalty, introduced by Mohammed, a system often tried, with slight and superficial modifications, from the days of Alexander and of the Cæsars down to those of Napoleon III., and invariably resulting in a brief and

delusive splendour, followed by rapid and irretrievable decay. Had the aristocratic element survived, Arabia would probably have boasted less extensive conquests, but she would have made far greater and more durable acquisitions in progressive civilisation and real prosperity. But the Koranic equipartition of land and property, and the absorption of all effective and hereditary dignity in one only family, soon effaced the aristocracy, and with it, by a necessary consequence, the future of the nation. In the merchant-noble, 'Abd-Allah the Mogheerye, we see the fulness of a type that might have ensured alike advance and permanence; with its disappearance scarce a century later begin rapid decadence and anarchical dissolution.

Two wives, one an Arab woman of Hadramout, a province famed in all times for female beauty, the other a Christian and native of Abyssinia, gave to 'Abd-Allah two children, widely differing in character and in pursuits both from himself and from each other: the dusky half-blood Hirth, an austere Muslim, whose life passed in the discharge of Government employments, some of the highest trust; and the gay, idle, talented poet 'Omar.

This latter was born, as it chanced, on the very same day that the great Caliph, his namesake, was assassinated by the Persian slave Firuz. 'What Verity then set, and what Vanity rose!' said 'Omar's sarcastic half-censure, half-admirer, Ibn-'Abbas; who, like many others of the poet's contemporaries, manifested more annoyance at the scandals of his personal than admiration for the brilliancy of his literary career. 'Beware of permitting your children to read the compositions of 'Omar-bin-Abee-Rabee'ah,' said the austere Ibn-'Orwah, a great authority on such matters in his time, 'unless you wish to see them plunge headlong into vice.' And 'Abd-Allah Ibn-Musa'b, the high-born rival of the reigning Caliphs, having once on a time, while seated in his porch, noticed a maidservant of his about to enter the house with a book in her hand, called her to him to look at it; and on finding that the book in question was no other than a collection of 'Omar's poems, ordered her to return it unread without a moment's delay to those from whom she had borrowed it; adding, 'Are you mad, to bring a book like that into a house for girls to read? Do you not know that 'Omar's verses steal away the heart, and insinuate themselves into the very soul? Off with it!' Had the poet himself been by, he might not improbably have pardoned the censure for the compliment it implied.

His half-brother Hirth, the respectable, incorruptible, unimpeachable Governor of Basrah, had plenty of trouble on his brother's account, and many, though ineffectual, were the efforts he made to recall 'Omar from the evil of his ways. An instance recorded by the poet's best biographer, Abu-l-Faraj, is too characteristic of the man and the times to be omitted.

One year, on the very last day of the great annual festival, when the pilgrims, assembled from all quarters of the Mohammedan world at Mecca, were engaged in the evening performance of their solemn traditionary rite, passing seven times in prayer round the sacred Ka'abah, Zaynab, a young girl of noble birth, happened to be present among the crowd of worshippers, from which, however, she was easy to be distinguished by her surpassing beauty and the gay dresses of her numerous attendants. What next followed 'Omar may best recite after his own fashion, and in his own metre, which we have as far as possible preserved in the translation, though the rhyme, which if rendered would have necessitated

too frequent divergence from the original style and imagery, has been omitted

All to the dawn of a heart easily warmed
As for the rose's light fate and me with
[illegible]
Most like the gentle glimmer of
evening
Dazzled my eyes as they gazed, too before
me
All was a mist and confusion of fervor
Nor shall I ought her and more I sought me
For I the love, and the hour and the
moment.
Then I to [illegible] or known
Land that the temple and the
Dimness the fame the [illegible] the
great
Passing the [illegible] before
Ever sunward [illegible]
Her with [illegible] the presence of
woman
Fear to a heart-mad, the [illegible]
we opened,
[illegible]
Crimson the [illegible]
[illegible]
Ever [illegible] my other [illegible]
Spoke I [illegible] the married and
heart
Answered [illegible] and hasted to meet
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
He who [illegible] was aware of her house
[illegible] from [illegible] the [illegible]
[illegible]

The last four lines of this lyric seem however, to have been written under the influence of personal antipathies, for many weeks and even months passed without any other intercourse than that of brief messages, and glances at a distance. Zaynab with her father Musa, and her two other sisters, pursued their quiet at Mecca. Omar was now in the prime of youth and personal beauty, advantageously set off by rank, wealth, and alertness. No wonder that his repeated [illegible] was already pretty well established; and that Zaynab, young herself, and only too susceptible of attentions like 'Omar's, should have received from her alarmed relatives much prudent cautioning, with what result her lover thus gives us to judge:

[illegible] they at length
[illegible]
[illegible] on the white-
[illegible]
[illegible] I [illegible], with the [illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible] [illegible], to
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
He [illegible]
[illegible]

Diffidence of his own merits was certainly not among the poet's defects; and we can scarcely, in a character like his, wonder even at the impudence which dictated the following verses:

[illegible]
Say, [illegible]
[illegible]
Why [illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
Zayn [illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]

Spring and summer passed thus, but 'Omar's suit advanced little; thanks to the cautions of the lady, and at [illegible], it may be well believed, the vigilance of her guardians. The lover's passion had meanwhile risen to white heat, but fear of offence precluded even his customary [illegible] of verses, except under the disguise of an assumed object. 'Hind' was a name of historical reputation for beauty among Arabs, [illegible] than 'Helen' among Greeks; and to 'Hind' accordingly several pieces of poetry, inspired by no other than Zaynab the daughter of Musa, were now dedicated by the young Meghrebee: they rank among the freshest and sprightliest of his whole collection. One in particular, a popular

favourite, and often selected for song by Arab musicians even at the present day, must not be here omitted.

Ah that Hind would keep the word of love she promised,
Keep the word, and heal the heart her love has wounded!
And I prove at last not fairly self-dependent!
Weak I feel when never drew I breath self-dependent
Once afar from all that I love from the tent covers,
Hateful [illegible] waters
'Am I,' said she, 'fair as that Omar sings me?
'Tell me, tell me truly, or does he but flatter?'
To which I [illegible] 'Love's eye was ever the truest mirror!'
Not from truth they answered to, 'twas [illegible]
When [illegible]

Love, however, at last prevailed; and a rendezvous was given at some distance from the town, in one of the valleys that lie south-east of Mecca, bordered by high abrupt rocks, and green in its winding course below with thick gardens and palm groves; the very place for a stolen interview. Whether Zeynab was to [illegible] herself for an afternoon stroll with a few chosen attendants; while 'Omar was to meet her 'quite promiscuous,' as if returning from a journey. The plan succeeded; its opening scene is thus described by Omar in verses which long remained the envy and despair of rival poets:

Late at early Love between us [illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[

perhaps have continued so but for the vanity of 'Omar himself, who a few days afterwards published the whole adventure, not forgetting the circumstance of the shower and the cloak, in verses that expressed much and suggested more. In spite of the thin disguise of fictitious personages, Zeynab's name, joined with that of 'Omar, was soon in every mouth; and Mousa, the father of the young lady, began to have serious fears as to the consequences of so compromising a courtship. Young 'Omar, wealthy and powerful, not only in the popularity of his genius, but in the near relationship of princes and caliphs, was beyond the reach of his anger; and Mousa determined accordingly to seek for his daughter in flight the security which he could not hope from open contest. Secretly and secretly he prepared his departure from the House, but 'Omar had notice of it in time to obtain yet once more an interview with the young lady. Zeynab, however, took her precautions, and brought with her this time, not her own attendants only, but a band of others of her Meccan female friends, ready to be used to accompany her by their cries to make a tolerable resistance with the last part of the day. The rendezvous was in a valley at some distance out of town, and there the whole party remained for some hours to prevent the result was a serious proposal of marriage on 'Omar's part, accepted by Zeynab, but on condition that, after her own and her father's removal to their paternal estates in the neighbourhood of the Persian Gulf, 'Omar should follow them there, and there make his offer in due form. In the mean time he was not to see her nor speak with her, either in public or in private.

'Omar accepted the conditions, intending to stay a year as a trial of his constancy, and, with characteristic levity, had hardly accepted than he broke them. Only a few days later he learnt that Zeynab, before quitting Mecca, designed a visit to some one of the numerous watering-places in its vicinity; and, therefore, mounted his celebrated 'white-starred charger' Kemeit, and alone, but armed, set out on a solitary ride in hopes of a meeting with the daughter of Mousa. On his way he fell in with another horseman, also armed and alone, travelling in the same direction. Conversation followed, and 'Omar, finding his new acquaintance sprightly and accomplished, was led on to treat him with a recital of his latest poem, commemorative of the very rendezvous just described. 'It would seem you do not know that the lady is my cousin,' said the other, with a dark look. 'Omar, disconcerted, did not even venture explanation or excuse, but turned his horse's head, and looked back full speed for Mecca.

Further conversation was impossible, and the worst of consequences might be reasonably expected. Zeynab, in great distress at the loss of her young lover, called him up, and, giving him a large supply of money for the road, sent him off to look after some family estates in the extreme south of Yemen, after a serious warning and a solemn promise exacted that he would never think of her in future. 'Omar obeyed, but on arrival, a male Mecca in the south, separation and solitude proved too much for him; and before many weeks of his banishment were over, he had begun to enliven his leisure with several patriotic effusions, to all of which Zeynab was the keynote, the following may serve as a specimen:

A [illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]

Nought is left but sad remembrance, and a share of aching sorrow.
Hadst thou seen thy lover weeping by the sandhills of the ocean,
Thou hadst deemed him struck by madness: was it madness? was it love?
I may forget all else, but never shall forget her as she stood,
As I stood, that hour of parting, heart to heart in speechless anguish;
Then she turned her to Thoweyra, to her sister, sadly weeping,
Coursed the tears down cheek and bosom, till her passion found an utterance.
'Tell him, sister, tell him, yet he not as one that chides or murmurs,
Why so long thy distant tarrying on the unlovely shores of Yemen?
Is it sated ease detains thee, or the quest of wealth that lures thee?
Tell me what the price they paid thee that from Mecca to gilt thy absence?'

These verses, repeated, though without the name of the composer, and taken up from mouth to mouth, ended by reaching Hirth, who on hearing them exclaimed, 'Omar, by Allah! he has broken his word already;' and for a time he seems to have given up the hope of reclaiming the irreclaimable.

'Omar returned to Mecca; and in exquisite poetry continued, now to lament the absent Zeynab, now to make love to other girls and women for five or six years. Meanwhile Zeynab's father, Moosa the Jomahee, with the sale-money of his Hejaz property had purchased house and lands between Basrah and Koweyt, and lived there awhile in comfort, though in exile. His two elder daughters married; but Zeynab, whether faithful to 'Omar's memory or from some other motive, remained single. At the end of this time her father died; and Zeynab, while attending his funeral, noticed with alarm that among the crowd gathered on the occasion not a single kinsman or relative appeared; all were strangers. Returning home she summoned an old negress, once her nurse, and said, 'My father is now dead, and there is no one to protect or care for us here; why should I remain any longer in a strange country? Let us return to Mecca.' The old nurse made no opposition; so Zeynab sold her share in her father's newly acquired estates, and having made a good bargain (for Basrah was then a rising town), took advantage of the yearly pilgrim caravan and returned with it Hejaz-wards. 'Omar happened to be at Mecca that year; and, as was his wont on these occasions, had mounted his best horse, and gone out, splendidly dressed and attended, to divert himself by the sight of the new arrivals, and to coquet, wherever possible, with any pretty faces that might happen to be among them. While thus employed he saw approaching in an open litter, amid a respectable retinue, two persons: one a woman, evidently beautiful, though veiled; the other an aged negress. The contrast piqued his curiosity. 'Who are you, and whence do you come?' said he, addressing the black. The answer was a Scotch one in substance, if not in form: 'God has set you a weary task if you have to enquire of every one in this crowd who they are, and whence they come.' 'I beg your pardon, aunt,' replied the polite 'Omar, 'but pray do me the kindness of telling me, perhaps I may have a good reason for making the question.' 'Well,' said the negress, 'if you will have it, we are just now come from Basrah, but by our origin and birthplace we are of Mecca; so now we are returning to our birthplace and origin.' 'Omar smiled. The negress looked at him, and noticed that two of his front teeth were discoloured (this had been done by a blow received during boyhood, some said in a battle, some in a love adventure), and rejoined, 'We know you at any rate.' 'And who may I be?' 'Omar,' she answered, 'the grandson of Abou-Rabee'ah.' 'How do you come to know me?' asked he. 'By those discoloured teeth of yours, and by

your whole appearance and manner.' 'Omar burst into poetry

Captive my heart had been, a slave to sorrow,
Since first she left me, bound on distant journey.
Years have marred the past with change and lowering malice,
But nothing I have more to fear for ever
Shall blow the wind, the garden rose and jasmine
Reminds me of her who is not far: they whisper
'Who may you be?' I said: she frowned and answered,
'What wouldst thou have of strangers thus enquiring?'
'This maid we came from Birah's [illegible] dwelling
[illegible] Meccan
Least have we lost our way: what are travellers who are these?'
Answer the question as a maid of gentle
[illegible] aperture
Is more at least and veritable may [illegible]
[illegible] the teeth [illegible] appear as
[illegible] and I how could I [illegible]
[illegible] Meccan
[illegible]

The interlude, it is to be regretted, was not carried on in good earnest. 'Omar married Zaynab, who bore him two children, a son, the stately and austere Jusan, and a daughter, Amat-el-Wahid, of whom 'Omar seems to have been very fond: she has an affectionate mention in some of his poems.

Whatever the beginning and progress of this intrigue may have been, its end at least was honourable enough: but the 'universal lover' met sometimes with the rebuff which his conduct more frequently deserved. Thus, we learn that a young and lately married woman of the noble Ikrymian happening to be present on a pilgrimage visit to Mecca, 'Omar saw her during prayers within the 'Haram,' or inclosure of the Ka'abeh, and was struck by her beauty: he approached and spoke to her, but received no answer. On a second evening he dogged her steps till he found an opportunity for again addressing her; when she turned sharp on him with 'Away, fellow! Are you not on sacred ground? and is not this the time of prayer and worship?' Undismayed, 'Omar continued to pursue her with his attentions; till she had reason to fear some open scandal. Soon the third evening she said to her brother (one version gives it her husband, Abou-l-Aswad), 'I cannot easily find my way in these streets: would you come with me?' They set out together. 'Omar, who had perceived the lady at a distance, was already approaching, when the sight of the brother and his sword warned him off, just in time to hear repeated behind him a well-known couplet of the poet Jerveer:

When [illegible] marked [illegible] of
[illegible] have matter,
[illegible] if a watch-dog growls near.

The seventy or eighty years—for his biographers with true Eastern contempt of accuracy vary as to the number of decades they assign him—of 'Omar's life offer few of what are called leading events. Our hero was a gentleman, or rather a nobleman, at large, with a good income, the result of his father's mercantile energy, and the produce of his own estates. His customary residence was on the coast in the province of Tehamah, south of Mecca, to which latter place he punctually made his yearly pilgrimage, with what devotional zeal may be sufficiently inferred from the adventures already related. Nor did he make any secret of the matter:

When [illegible] chestnut we were on pilgrimage journey,
Heaven best knows the pilgrims and their object.'

are the lines with which he concludes a lyric of intrigue and dissipation. Not unnaturally did his friend Ebn-'Akeek subjoin, 'The facts of your pilgrimage are a sufficient indication of its object, and no need to look farther.'

'Omar is twice mentioned as taking part in the numerous military expeditions of the time: one, against the restless inhabitants of Hasa, then fermenting into the rebellion which ultimately separated them from the body of the Empire; the other, when he was already over seventy, if dates be exact, against the Byzantine capital itself during the reign of Suleyman, the seventh Caliph of the Omeyyah family. In this latter expedition the poet, according to Ebn-Khallikan, found a soldier's, and, in Mohammedan estimation, a martyr's death; perishing with countless others by the Greek fire that consumed the beleaguering Arab fleet. On the other hand the Ispahanee chronicler Abou-l-Faraj brings him back to die some years later in his bed, at the advanced age of eighty. The former account is probably the more correct one; but in no case has the charge of military incapacity been laid against 'Omar; and personal cowardice, a fault rare among Arabs, whatever their tribe or clan, would have been indeed a prodigy in one descended from Koreyah.

Active, however, and energetic as he was in the pursuit of pleasure, 'Omar was incapable of the serious attention and steady work required for public and political duty. Leaving these cares to others of his kindred, his own most serious business in life seems to have been the administration of his large estates, some of which lay many hundred miles away from Mecca; and an occasional visit of courtesy to his kinsman, the ruling prince of the time being at Damascus. But he never took serious part with any of the countless factions that eddied over the seething surface of the Mohammedan torrent, and already presaged its ultimate and irreparable divergence into the two great streams, Sonnee and Shee'ah. Love and verse were all in all to him: and, like the founder of 'Strawberry Hill,' he made pleasure the constant business, business the occasional diversion, of his life.

At a later period of history Mohammedanism becomes almost synonymous with despotism in public life, and dulness in private. Rulers separated from their people by the multiple fences of a slavish court, and a wearisome, semi-idolatrous ceremonial; peoples stagnating in stupid ignorance and unmeaning fanaticism, woman sundered from men by eternal veils, lattices, and eunuchs; apathy, monotony, varied only by frantic sensuality and joyless debauch—such is the picture that Western imagination is apt to form of the Islamitic East; and though undoubtedly overcharged, it is a picture not, alas! wholly unfaithful to truth and to fact. But they are the facts of another age, and of other lands than those of 'Omar the Meccan. Persian satrapism and Turkish bureaucracy had not yet overshadowed and crushed Arab nationality and manners, and the private relations of society, almost equally of intercourse between races and of mixed between men and women, with the accompanying encouragement of commerce and literary gaiety, and the consequently social spirit that has made the generic name of 'Arab' identical in Arabic with 'companionship,' had yet their way, and held their own against the mystic and unamiable fanaticism breathed from Persia and Turkestan and the despotic austerity of the family of 'Alee, that evil genius of the Mohammedan world.

In fact the anecdotes that are selected from or in connexion with

Omar's biography shows us the Arab life of the day in its true form, and hurt, not obscurely, what it might unfortunately have become had Damascus remained its capital, and the children of Ommyah its leaders. Two more adventures, taken almost at random from the mass of narrative that the poet's best chronicler, Abou-l-Faraj has left us, may serve further to illustrate and explain the picture.

It was a fine autumn afternoon, the third day after the yearly commencement of the pilgrimage to Mecca, north, south, and east the dusty roads and red sandy plains leading to the town were thickly studded with bands of pilgrims, from Damascus, from Nejd, from Yemen, from the banks of the Euphrates, riders on horses, on asses, on mules, on camels, on dromedaries; all travel-stained and sun-burnt, some weary and silent, others, the greater number, singing, laughing, and beguiling the way to the Holy City with all manner of merry jests. Many of the women, in litters and howdahs, were partly screened from the public gaze by curtains of coloured stuffs, but others, more adventurous, rode openly on their camels, with their faces unveiled, and their dresses fastened up to the knee, in order to show the native grace of their figures and the beauty of their ankles. Many of the pilgrims, as they approached the sacred territory, halted by the wayside, and, having performed the prescribed ablutions, assumed the pilgrim garb, which consisted of two seamless cloths, the one wrapped round the loins, the other flung over the left shoulder, leaving the right arm free. Many, too, on entering the Holy City, left their camels and asses behind them, and continued their journey on foot, in token of humility and reverence. Others, again, as they passed the outskirts of the city, dismounted from their beasts, and, prostrating themselves on the ground, touched the earth with their foreheads, as a mark of adoration for the Holy Land. Meanwhile a number of the more wealthy and distinguished pilgrims, who had arrived in the city before the general influx, had pitched their tents in the valley of Mina, which lies about three miles to the east of Mecca, and there awaited the arrival of their friends and relations. Among the latter was Omar, who, on reaching the valley, at once proceeded to the tent of his cousin Abou-Ahmed, and, after the usual salutations, inquired for the ladies of the family. He was told that they were in the tent of Nawar, the wife of Abou-Sofian, who had arrived from Mecca that morning, and was now entertaining a party of friends. Omar immediately proceeded to the tent, and, finding the curtain of the entrance drawn aside, looked in, and saw Nawar sitting on a carpet, surrounded by a number of ladies, among whom was Fatimah, the daughter of Mohammed, who had arrived from Medina with her husband Ali, and her two children Hasan and Hosain. Omar, who had not seen Fatimah since her childhood, was struck with admiration at her beauty, and, after saluting the ladies, sat down at the entrance of the tent, and entered into conversation with Nawar. He was soon joined by Abou-Ahmed, who had gone to the tent of Ali, and, finding him absent, had followed him to the tent of Abou-Sofian. Omar and Abou-Ahmed had not met for some years, and they had much to say to each other. Omar, however, could not help frequently turning his head towards the tent, and casting a glance at Fatimah, who sat veiled among the ladies. Abou-Ahmed, who was a shrewd observer of character, soon perceived the state of his friend's heart, and, with a smile, asked him if he had seen any one in the tent worthy of his notice. Omar replied that he had seen a young lady, whose beauty had struck him with admiration, but that he was ignorant of her name and family. Abou-Ahmed replied that she was the daughter of Mohammed, and the wife of Ali, and that her name was Fatimah. Omar then inquired if she was married, and, on being informed that she was, he said that he would not for the world do anything to disturb the happiness of a family connected with the Prophet, but that he would like to see her husband, as he had heard much in his favour. Abou-Ahmed replied that Ali was then in the tent, and, calling him out, introduced Omar to him. Ali received Omar with the greatest courtesy, and, after the usual salutations, asked him to dinner. Omar accepted the invitation, and, after dinner, Ali asked him to stay with him for the rest of the day. Omar consented, and, after the evening prayer, Ali took him to the tent of Fatimah, and introduced him to her. Fatimah received Omar with the greatest courtesy, and, after the usual salutations, asked him to sit down. Omar sat down, and, after a few minutes, Fatimah asked him if he had any news from Medina. Omar replied that he had not, but that he had heard that the Prophet was in good health, and that he was expected to return to Medina in a few days. Fatimah then asked him if he had any message for her husband. Omar replied that he had not, but that he would like to see her husband's horse, as he had heard much in its favour. Fatimah then called her husband, and, after the usual salutations, Ali asked Omar if he would like to see his horse. Omar replied that he would, and, after the evening prayer, Ali took him to the stable, and showed him his horse. Omar was much pleased with the horse, and, after a few minutes, Ali asked him if he would like to ride it. Omar replied that he would, and, after the evening prayer, Ali mounted his horse, and rode it round the stable

up; her attendants exclaimed, 'That is 'Omar the grandson of Aboo-Rabee'ah;' her eyes met his; but at the same instant the servants, prudent a moment too late, hurried her back into the tent and closed the hangings. 'Omar remained staring like one mazed; then, after a short silence, broke out into the following verses:

In the valley of Mohasnib I beheld her where she stood
Caution bade me turn aside, but love forbade and fixed me there.
Was it sunlight? or the windows of a gleaming mosque at eve
Lighted up for festal worship? or was all my fancy's dream?
Ah those earrings! ah that necklace! Nowfel's daughter were the maid,
Or of Hashim's princely lineage, and the servant of the Sun!
But a moment flashed the splendour as the overbusty hair made drew
Back with a jealous hand the jealous curtains of the tent.
Speech nor greeting passed between us, but she saw me as I saw
Her: oh! vision of all faces, lamp to the fairest of all hands.
Daughter of a better earth, and nurtured by a brighter sky,
Would I never had seen thy beauty! Hope is fled! but love remains.

However, the favourable occasion had gone by, and even 'Omar's tried ingenuity could not forecast a second meeting. Desirous to distract his thoughts, he addressed himself to Ebn-Soreyj, and said, 'I have been thinking how disagreeable it would be for us to return this evening to Mecca through such a crowd and dust. What do you say to our going on a little farther till we find some quiet spot where we can be all alone, and overlook at a distance the comers and goers, the pilgrims and the townspeople? We could stop there and pass the night undisturbed, and get back into town at our leisure in the morning.' 'Nothing better,' answered Ebn-Soreyj, 'but do you know of any such convenient place in particular?' 'Yes,' said 'Omar, 'the hill called Aal-Shajrah, which is just above the road that joins Mina and Senef: we can sit up at the top, while the pilgrims pass on their way below; and thence we shall see them all distinctly, without their being able to see us.' Ebn-Soreyj joyfully agreed to the plan; and 'Omar, calling some of his attendants, ordered them, 'Go back to my house in town, and get ready a good supper, and bring it with plenty of wine to the hill 'Aal-Shajrah; we mean to ride round a little way, and shall find you arrived there before us.'

The hill in question is about six miles out of Mecca on the north-east; it stands between the branch road to Medinah and the direct road to Damascus; the summit is pointed, and overlooks the whole country to some distance. So thither 'Omar and Ebn-Soreyj went, and clambered up to the top, where they sat, eating and drinking, till the wine got somewhat the better of them. Then Ebn-Soreyj took up a cymbal, sounded it, and began to sing one tune after another, unremarked by the pilgrims who passed on their way below, till the evening darkened in. Then he raised his voice to its utmost pitch, and sang the very verses that 'Omar had composed a few hours before, till all who were going by, horse or foot, in the deep shadow of the road stopped to listen, and more one called out through the darkness, 'O, you who are singing up there, have you no fear of God, that you thus hinder the pilgrims from the accomplishment of their duty?' Then he stopped singing, and the crowd beneath moved on, till after a little while he forgot, and raised his voice higher than ever, for he was now fairly drunk, and so he continued, sometimes interrupting the pilgrims in their halt, at others suffering them to let them go on townwards, while 'Omar sat by enjoying the sport till it was now

midnight. Then there came by along the road from Damascus one mounted on a blood horse of the highest breed, he too stopped to listen like one under a spell: then suddenly he turned out of the path, and rode right up the hill till he came close under the crest, when, folding one leg over the saddle, he called out, 'O singer, whoever you are, can you, as Allah bless you, do me the favour to go over that last tune of yours again?' Ebn-Sorey answered 'Yes, and twenty others, may Allah bless you into the bargain: which tune is it you wish for?' The horseman named it, and when Ebn-Sorey had sung it, called for a second, and a third: but on his asking for a fourth, 'With all my heart,' answered Ebn-Sorey, 'but on condition that you alight from your horse, and come up hither and sit and drink with us.' 'That I cannot do,' answered the other from the darkness; 'but I beseech you to excuse me, and to sing the last tune more time, and regard it as my being on horseback.' He was complied with: he did so, and the rider called out, 'In Allah's name are you not Ebn-Sorey?' 'Yes, I am he.' 'Life and glory come to you, Ebn-Sorey!' And then the rider, who was sitting with his face towards the great basin of the fountain, said, 'Yes, I have found favour with Omar, and Abundance.' 'Do you also,' cried out Omar, 'but now that we have told you our names, pray tell us yours, and who you are.' 'It is a question which I may not answer: but this much I may tell you, that I am one who owes you gratitude and esteem.' 'If you will not tell us who you are, you will at least tell us what you want.' 'I am Yezid, the son of Abd-el-Melik, wanting a sweetheart.' On this they parted, and rode off in different directions. Ebn-Sorey [illegible] 'I would [illegible] ingly have stayed the night with you here,' said the heir-apparent of the Mohammedan throne, 'but it is festival-time, as you know; and my attendants have all gone on before me to the town, so that my absence the whole night alone would certainly be remarked; and scandalous conjectures might be made; but here,' turning to Ebn-Sorey, 'take this cloak and ring—they will do for a remembrance,' and with this, throwing the cloak from his shoulders, and drawing the ring from his finger, he set off at full gallop. Ebn-Sorey, the singer, left in the dark with the presents, turned round without a moment's delay and made them over to 'Omar, saying, 'They will become you better than me.' 'Omar, not to be outdone, put a purse of three hundred gold pieces into the hands of the musician; and next day, when the mosque was at its fullest with townsmen and strangers from all quarters of the empire, appeared at public prayers wearing the imperial cloak and ring, at once recognised by all present, nor was 'Omar behindhand in taking to himself the full honour imparted by such decorations.

It was a merry life, and Caliph, poet, and musician, seem one and all to have been bent on enjoying it to the utmost. In this story art and talent level the barriers of rank, in the next they go farther, and almost do away with those which in the East have been of all times yet more insuperable, the barriers of sex.

One evening young 'Omar, lately arrived from his estates in the south, had pitched his travelling gear in the valley of Mina, near Mecca, and had seated himself to enjoy the fresh air at the tent door, while his attendants stood around. A fine-looking middle-aged woman, handsomely dressed, approached the group, and saluted them; and young 'Omar returned the salute. 'Are not you 'Omar grandson of

Abou-Rabu'ah?'
He answered, 'T
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behind the tent,
bite to you,' said
you any wish fo
the loveliest face,
disposition, and
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swered, 'What
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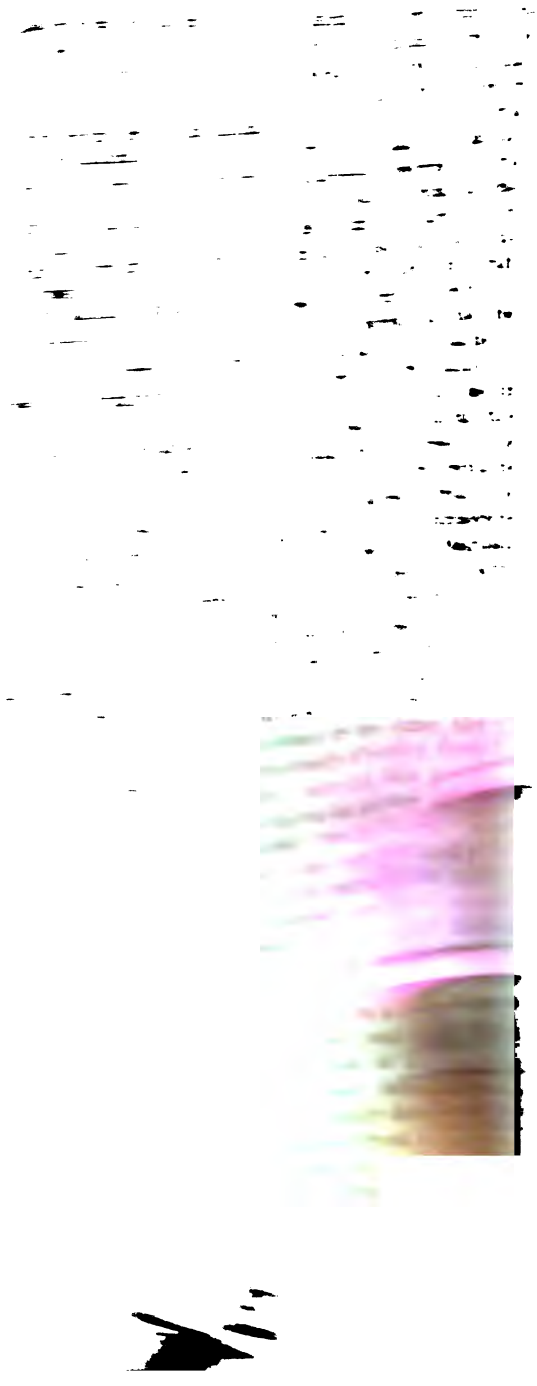

apartment. Meanwhile the middle-aged woman, her attendant, delayed a minute or two, so that I found myself all alone. On this I began looking about me, and saw close by an open vase, containing some kind of sweet-smelling ointment, into this vase I dipped my fingers, and then laid my hand under my cloak. Immediately afterwards the other woman came in, bound up my eyes, and led me out of the room. But when I felt the fresh air, and knew that I was just at the entrance of the tent, I quietly stripped the hand, which I had smeared with the ointment, out from under my cloak, and laid it on the outside canvas, then drew it in again. Once back at my own place, I called some of my slaves, and said, "Whoever of you will find out for me a tent, on the canvas of which near its entrance is a grease-stain, scented, and looking like the mark of a palm and fingers, I will give him his liberty and five hundred gold pieces into the bargain." I had not long to wait when one of them ran in with, "Sir, come this way." I went with him to the tent he brought me to, here in fact the mark of five fingers was impressed. It was the tent of Fatimah, the daughter of the Khalif Abdel-Melek, son of Meruan, and close by were the attendants and slaves, already busy in getting all things ready for their departure. 'Omar returned home, but hardly had Fatimah set out than he started too, keeping the same road, though at a little distance. Arrived at a halting place [illegible] looked out, and seeing not far off an litter with travelling tents round it, and a guard of slaves, he enquired to whom they belonged. The answer was, "To Omar, the son of Abdallah Abdel-Rahmân." She now became extremely alarmed on her account, and calling the woman who had before employed as a go-between, said to her, "Tell him that I beseech him, in the name of God and of our common relationship, not to disgrace himself and me. What has he got in mind? and what can he want? Let him take himself away before I be shamed, and his own blood be shed." The woman conveyed him the message in Fatimah's very words. But 'Omar answered, "Come what may, I will not turn back unless she send me for a keepsake and token her under garment, the very one she has on her at the moment, next her person." Fatimah consented, and the gossamer shirt was sent, but on receiving it 'Omar's indiscreet passion only increased, and he continued following in her track till she was within a few miles of Damascus, when, after a last interview, he gave up the hopeless pursuit, and returned unmolested to his own land, where he dedicated several poems to the adventure and to the praises of Fatimah.

The opening scene of that in which he describes his daring nocturnal visit is among the most quoted as the most graphic in his collection:

"Whose fresh encampment's this enchants me,
[illegible]
This fair and slender beauty and crowds departing
My heart her [illegible] and in with cruel
[illegible]
[illegible] and sun, from [illegible] eyes concealed
By [illegible] and hills they passed, the North star [illegible]
Next after last [illegible]
Night fell [illegible] and their rest [illegible]
[illegible]
With [illegible] [illegible] be [illegible] of my
[illegible]
[illegible] the [illegible] with the waist-cloth
[illegible]
[illegible] and [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] the guards [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible] of [illegible] and [illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] and drank
[illegible]

Roused at my step, she started, while the damsel
While to her call a ser[illegible]
'To her,' she cried, 'to [illegible] 'Omar!'
What brought him here, through midnight foes and darkness?'
Ah me! for sake the love that rules the lover!'
How escape the [illegible] with life the spy, the danger?'
'Fear not, my fame, my life for thine,' I answered,
'From th[illegible] foes secure the spy to shield thee.'

And so on, through sixty more couplets, containing much of love, and not a little of vanity.

Under the later Abbaside Caliphs, the fate of a poet, whatever his rank or talent, who should have dared to make free with the name of the reigning sovereign's daughter in amatory verse, would have been doubtful at best, and under Persian or Turkish rulers it would not have been doubtful at all. But the Beneo-Omeyyah, though often despotic and even sanguinary at the bidding of ambition or policy, were yet genuine Arabs; and among Arabs, not the Beneo-'Adra only, Heine's favourites, 'who when they love they die,' but throughout the tribes of Nejd and the northern peninsula, adventures like those of 'Omar the Meglıeree and Fatimah the Caliph's daughter were neither uncommon nor even disreputable. True, when pushed too far, or when the principal parties concerned happened to belong to hostile tribes, or when some particularly hot-tempered cousin or jealous rival came on the stage, the issue might be serious, and, in rare instances, fatal; but under no circumstances did disgrace attach itself to the loved or the lover so long as their affection was proof against inconstancy and unstained by vice. The so-called chivalrous feeling, that lays the laurels won by sword or pen at the feet, not of a chief or a party, but of female beauty and excellence—that consecrates its efforts to the honour of woman, and ennobles daring and danger by her name and behoof, had always existed in germ among the Arab tribes, even during the epoch of their first barbarism, and may be yet found among the inhabitants of Nejd, where the first ranks of battle are even in our day, as in old time, headed by a maiden, the standard-bearer and arbitress of the fight. But it was in the genuine days of Arab leadership, from the establishment of the Damascene throne till its removal to Bagdad, that this form of Arab life-poetry spread widest and produced its most brilliant examples.

To return, however, to 'Omar. Though untainted by any direct chastisement for his rashness he underwent for some time the indirect penalty of exclusion from the Court, where indeed his presence, so long as the daughter of 'Abd-el-Melik remained there, could hardly have been permitted, but at last her marriage with one of her numerous cousins, and shortly afterwards the death of her father, did away with this exclusion, and he won and answered El-Caleh Walid I.'s invitation to Mecca during the first year of his reign, restored the poet to all his former favour and easy intimacy. The prudence of family devotion seems to have abstained from any mention of Fatimah's share in the adventure.

W. Gifford Palgrave.

CHINESE STATESMEN AND STATE PAPERS

II

In a previous Number we gave [illegible] that [illegible] great statesman, [illegible] great placed [illegible] palace as the powerful [illegible] Emperor. What his opinions and feelings were in regard to the foreign relations of China, was made abundantly clear. That he was personally devoted to the pursuit of learning and hostile to all innovation as well to everything foreign, was very plain. As we read these memorials of a high-spirited sage at the proposition of the Yamen to institute a foreign college at Peking, and to send [illegible] missions to Europe, it is impossible not to be struck with the [illegible] contrast of an honest transcript of the state of [illegible] with the [illegible] —when that period is to be [illegible] Revolution.

It has sometimes been assumed that [illegible] Western progress to the [illegible] and [illegible] the [illegible] of [illegible] Hence the [illegible] of the [illegible] may be greater and the [illegible] of the many may be more [illegible] —we [illegible] the power [illegible] Western [illegible] estate [illegible] the [illegible] of the Sovereign [illegible] it [illegible] that [illegible] character has ceased to exert [illegible] influence [illegible] in the affairs of life and the history of nations. Over the two continents where the Aryan race rules with all the leveling agencies of modern civilization and democratic institutions combined, [illegible] in many constitutional governments have our own by a majority.—How often we see the [illegible] of a single man [illegible] We look back to the effect [illegible] and [illegible] one man [illegible] twenty years. If in 1848 there had been [illegible] Napoleon to prevent the [illegible] and with it the [illegible], the prestige and [illegible] of the Empire, how different might have been the destiny of France in 1852—and in all the succeeding years, up to the declaration of the last most disastrous war! And in the first conduct of that war, how much of the unparalleled reverses which immediately followed, was due to the Emperor's character and tendencies as an individual? May not the same be said with even greater truth of the host of his name, and the influence he exercised over Europe and the destinies not of one but of many nations, for nearly as long a period? So of Nicholas of Russia, and certain leading men of the peace-party in England. Did they not believe them being also at a Crimean war? In the United States of America, under the largest and freest play of democracy and universal [illegible] that the secession would lead to one of the most sanguinary and protracted wars of modern times, and to the emancipation of the slaves for its immediate end, was mainly due to a few individual men who took the lead. We [illegible] going back to more remote periods when the nations of Europe were avowedly shaped to their different ends by single men—not always kings or statesmen either—witness Luther and the Reformation—we are led rather to the conclusion that the power of single minds over the many was never more certain, under whatever form of government, whether republican or monarchical. In modern times we repeat it is not always those nominally at the head

of affairs who exercise the largest influence in determining the course of events or the progress of nations. They who counsel or oppose, are not seldom the more direct instruments by which a nation's destinies are shaped. Thiers, in France, by fostering a spirit of Chauvinism and a cynical and unprincipled disregard of the rights of other nations, prepared the way for Bismarck and Moltke in Prussia. If these three had not lived at this time, would the history of modern Europe still have been the same?

And if this be true of the West, how much more certainly may it be anticipated in the East, where, theoretically at least, the Sultan or Shah, the Khan or the Emperor, governs absolutely and uncontrolled by any rival authority! What a change the advent of a single Sovereign in China might make within the next twenty years, if he were a man endowed with such strength of character and will as the founders of dynasties in that country have more than once manifested! Rulers of men, who rose to power and empire mainly by courage and superior intellect. What might not be in reserve for this boy Emperor to achieve, if he had only been in good hands in his early youth instead of in those of such counsellors as Wo, who, with his prejudices and ignorance, can only instil into his pupil's mind a blind hatred of the "barbarian"! With ignorant women only around him Empresses and concubines—with eunuchs and slaves for his attendants, from whom is he to draw the inspiration necessary to make him a good and enlightened ruler of a vast Empire in the crisis of its fate the struggle between Eastern and Western civilisation? From the works of Confucius and Mencius the Chinese classics, he may doubtless imbibe much that is good, and learn some wise rules of conduct and polity. He will certainly find there in all its purity the pregnant principle of modern democratic government—that sovereigns and rulers of every denomination govern only for the people, and not for themselves for the good of the many, and not for the benefit of the few, or of any privileged class. He will enter into his kingdom unbiassed and uncontrolled by any class with hereditary rank or privileges. His counsellors and ministers in the great offices of state are all self-made men—passed originally into the ranks of the official hierarchy by competitive examination, wholly irrespective of personal or family influence. Such at least is the theory, and to a very great degree the practice. Abuses creep into all institutions, whether in Eastern or Western countries. Bribery and favour find a way, like water, through many strata, and by a thousand devious channels. So also the poverty and degeneracy of the Court have led to the sale of official rank and places, to an extent which seriously impairs the efficiency of administration. With all this, the vast majority of the holders of office throughout the Empire still enter the ranks only through the legitimate portals of a literary examination as certainly as the graduates of our own Universities. It is their subsequent advancement, and the rate of progress upwards, which too often depend upon purchase money, much as our officers buy their commissions in the army with over-regulation prices, and have them taxed by a tolerably well recognised tariff in a graduated scale or else on presents and bribes, some of which go to high places within and without the palace itself. These side-to-protection, it is to be feared, are freely resorted to by the aspirants, and legal enactments and Confucian principles to the contrary notwithstanding.

Despite these corrupting practices, however, there are some men in

office, who do their best to stem the tide of imbecility and corruption which undermine the foundations of the Empire, by destroying all good government. There are Censors, as we shall proceed to show, who very fearlessly denounce the abuses which are everywhere rampant, and do not spare the Emperor himself. It is to the credit of both that these bold remonstrances, if founded in justice, but seldom bring their authors into trouble, though their influence, however, it must be confessed, is not very great. The memorials are sometimes printed in the *Peking Gazette*, in which case the Emperor admits his shortcomings, laments his inefficiency, and vows amendment—and things continue in their accustomed course.

When we think how much an Emperor of China might do for his people if he were himself both honest and enlightened, we cannot but wonder what might have been the result to place some high-minded and liberal European—one or more—in charge of the young Emperor, while his mind was yet fresh, and the power of acquiring new ideas and impressions both of men and things in its greatest vigour. It is hard to think how different might have been the result from anything that can now be hoped for. But all these and numerous other schemes or visions for the advancement of China are in the path of circumstances. The mutual rivalries and jealousies of European Powers would have created almost insuperable obstacles to the introduction by any one of them, with its aggressive alien power and influence, into the East, would never have consented to see an Englishman placed at the head of the Emperor's Government, or a French subject in the same position. Russia would scarcely have allowed its two great Western antagonists in Europe to gain possession of the mind of the future ruler of four hundred millions of Chinese. Even if France were not the protector of all Roman Catholic missions, and the active abettor of an Ultramontanism which, in China as elsewhere, is constantly threatening encroachments on the power of the State, this difficulty would be insurmountable. Russia has not only a large commerce and material interests in China, which France is wholly without, but would be little likely, with a vast conterminous border and possible territorial views of aggrandisement, to see Frenchmen monopolising influence in the mind of the future Sovereign. The Russian Government have not yet brought to bear any proselytising influences in working out their policy. But the Imperial head of the Greek Church in Russia could scarcely be expected to see with indifference the rival Church of Rome acquire any vantage ground for future influence. The difficulty of imparting a good secular education to the young scion of the Manchu dynasty would in any case have been extremely great. Race and sectarian differences, mingling with political ambitions, make the difficulty an impossibility. An Englishman, as representing a Protestant Church as well as a Protestant Power, would be held equally obnoxious alike by the Latin and the Greek Communion. Under these conditions of national susceptibility and rivalries, secular and religious, the helplessness of any scheme for giving instruction of European character to the young Prince is self-evident.

It may be some consolation to know that if all the European Powers by any miracle could have agreed among themselves on so grave a matter, and one involving so many conflicting and contingent interests, the state of feeling amongst the Chinese themselves, and more especially among the educated classes and the whole official hierarchy, must

almost certainly have rendered any effort in this direction chimerical.

If the outspoken opinions of Wo, the grand secretary and actual preceptor of the Emperor, given in the last Number, could leave room for any doubt, the State Papers we will now give must suffice to remove it. A Censor, Haieh-Tseng by name, appears to have memorialised the Emperor respecting the Protestant missionary troubles which occurred in 1868 at Yangchow, a town situated on the Grand Canal,- praying that 'the Imperial commands might be issued to the high officials of the capital and provinces, requiring them stringently to prohibit missionary preaching, so as to put a stop to false doctrines, and cause the minds of the people to return to the true way.'

Having alluded to the monopoly of executive power and knowledge of foreign relations enjoyed by the recently created Foreign Board, or *Tsung-li Yamén*, as it is styled, and professing his own ignorance of such matters,—the Censor proceeds, in more decisive terms, to the immediate object of his memorial. Whatever his ignorance in other matters may be, he says,

[illegible]

great nations. Subsequently they arrived in China, and established several open ports for the conveyance and sale of merchandise, thus absorbing the wealth and prosperity of the Chinese people to the last atom.

It is the same with the missionaries, although their converts always affirm that these are not animated with a desire for gain. If this be the case, what do they depend upon for the support of so many persons, and in fact what other object can they have? As an instance take the affair of Yangchow: certain missionaries all at once arrive at the place and find the natives faithful and disposed to follow their doctrines, whereupon, in their overbearing way and trusting to their strength, they proceed to act the tyrant and oppress the unbelieving people. The Prefect and Magistrate of the district, being unable to repress them, [illegible] Governor-General of the Kiang[illegible], but the missionaries, without any signs of alarm or apprehension, on the contrary, make the unwarrantable assertion that [illegible] put them [illegible] down their chapel and they [illegible] charge to support an extortionate demand for damages. It is [illegible] affair [illegible] missionaries [illegible] matters in the hope of making [illegible] and they create a difficulty where none exists, and make a trifling matter appear of importance. [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] Missionaries [illegible] foreign trade, requiring them [illegible] greatly to prevent missionary preaching so as to prevent [illegible] to cause [illegible] the people [illegible] the many [illegible]

[illegible]

The necessity of discriminating [illegible] when [illegible] are [illegible] mismanaged and [illegible] the ordinary [illegible]

tility to the missionaries have them open no doubt to a suspicion of seeking to make money, by first provoking attack and then exaggerating their losses, and many among the lower classes, both among the ignorant and the educated, believe this of them. As to disturbing and subverting the Empire, that accusation is met as well as without foundation. No doubt all teaching in a heathen land of the Christian religion, whatever form it may take, must be, more or less, revolutionary and subversive. The missionaries themselves, in a letter of remonstrance to the British Minister at Peking in 1869, for some opinions embodied in despatches to Lord Clarendon, fully admit the fact, although they began by denying it.

The Censor's strongly worded memorial elicited an Imperial rescript, addressed to the Tsung-li-Yamen, calling upon them for a report on the Yangchow riots and their causes. Upon which they presented the following Chinese [illegible] Imperial decree thereon—such being the usual form. The Memorial begins by recapitulating the terms of the Imperial decree, as follows:

[illegible]

and they immediately proceeded thither. Their arrival at Yangchow created some little excitement among the literati and common people of the town. With strange tongue and strange garb they were not of the same race. The missionaries however presented their papers and despatches to the authorities, and, having asked to see the [illegible] Hien Tsai Tsuen of Kiangsu, at once to arrest and punish them. The gentlemen in great numbers assembled, the district is governed by the Taou of Yangchow, and is not to be interfered with by the Taou of Chinkiang, the latter has therefore, therefore, have To the missionaries had no reply to offer. In the course of [illegible] disagreements took place, and it is [illegible] the people are of a proud [illegible] and a fierce [illegible] [illegible] and [illegible] people will not quietly endure [illegible] [illegible] in which their temper was partially demonstrated [illegible] [illegible] made [illegible] [illegible] Yangchow [illegible] literati and Yamen [illegible] had [illegible] a mob of armed men to carry off their property and burn and demolish their chapel and that [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

personal acquaintance with the subject. Any attempt at prohibition would be the merest waste of words and ink.

This latter part of the report at least is satisfactory, and may afford some compensation for the injurious terms applied to the missionaries in the preceding paragraphs and throughout the Censor's memorial. In effect, no one knew better than the Prince of Kung the impossibility of obtaining the consent of Foreign Powers to any restriction of missionary labours. As president of the Board he had, with his colleagues the other Ministers, been actively engaged, as we see in the Parliamentary papers and correspondence, in urging this upon the British Minister. During the conferences respecting the revision of our treaty, the adoption of some stipulations restricting the British missionaries from domiciling themselves or establishing missions far from the Treaty Ports and away in the interior, was frequently insisted upon by the Chinese. As the Convention subsequently signed contained no clause of any kind about missionaries, it is to be assumed that the British negotiator convinced the Tsungli Yamên that all efforts to prohibit missionary labours wherever foreigners had access by treaty must be vain, and could have no sanction from his Government while the French continued to insist on the right of domiciliation all over the Empire.

The State Papers above given may suffice to show with what animus all missionary labours in China are regarded by the officials. The more recent and murderous outbreak at Tientsin only tended to prove by an outward manifestation of violence what was sufficiently well known before,—as to the latter feeling of hostility generally prevalent against all missionaries, both Roman Catholic and Protestant.

The missionaries at Peking, in the correspondence laid before Parliament, dispute this, and insist that the animosity shown is not directed against missionaries as such, but merely as foreigners. They say:[1]

It is well known and understood in China that the hostility entertained by the Chinese to Protestant missionaries is not directed against them as a class, but as foreigners; and the causes of that hostility are the hatred of other races which the Chinese have always had, the repeated defeats inflicted on the Chinese Government by England, and the evils connected with the opium trade.

The Chinese look on missionaries as representatives of all foreigners, and all foreigners they believe to be encroachers on the rights of others seeking after money and territory, or opium sellers. Almost every absurd placard that has been issued against Protestant missionaries has charged them either with secret designs for getting, or with being engaged in the opium trade, and many have had a ring of virtue about them for these accusations. A missionary was not long ago driven out of a large city in the Province of Honan by a mob, led on by the native gentry, the cause of whose hatred was, in these words, shouted after him as he left the city: "You learned our pale-face religion, and now you come to preach its virtues. You charge us with being immoral, and deeper and blacker crimes are more generally associated with the name of Protestantism than with the profession of any other religion. [illegible] Roman Catholic [illegible] Protestant [illegible] charge of [illegible] Protestant [illegible] many, but as a [illegible] suffers from a hostility which has had no parallel [illegible] Mr Jay, [illegible] Yangtsze [illegible] the attack was made [illegible] before he had had [illegible] many [illegible] against the [illegible] Protestant [illegible] found [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[1] [illegible] British Protestant Missionaries to Rev. J. Lobscheid and [illegible] Rev. [illegible] Notes on Chinese Missionary Enterprise [illegible]

You have directed Lord Clarendon's special attention to a placard that was posted towards the end of last year on the gates of Shanghae, which you think showed unmistakably what are the prevailing opinions of the educated and official classes respecting foreigners, as it has presented itself to their minds, and through them become revealed to the common people whom they lead. It is very important, as you further say, by the light of such knowledge that we can see how it may be true as has been said that the minds of the Chinese are not at the bottom of any ages of the temper of missionaries. The contents of the placard which you think hardly bear out such a statement as this. It was directed principally against the Roman Catholics, and accused them of eating human flesh and practising against the eyes of the dying. The mode of attacking the Romish religion has become common on the part of the heathen Chinese for many years, and was by no means a new charge when the placard in question was issued. The same thing might never in any city at any time. The ignorance of the native people as to the use of foreign medicines may have arisen from a misunderstanding of the rite of baptism, the sacrament of the Holy Eucharist, and such like. The Protestant missionaries are [illegible] these foolish charges as much as the Romish priests. They are sure that these charges are false; that they were invented for the purpose of exciting the minds of people, and stirring up their malignant passions. They are of opinion that [illegible] by means of [illegible] people and put from some years ago [illegible] placard posted on the walls of Ningpo and Hangchow, that [illegible] made by foreigners [illegible] from [illegible] are [illegible] of grave importance.

The British Minister remarks in reply, that

> [illegible] the murderous [illegible] to regard them as missionaries [illegible] of a good man, and [illegible] of the [illegible] and [illegible] are in a minority and [illegible] at I am more and more [illegible] that [illegible] that [illegible] as far as [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

the consul there in the following unequivocal terms:

In the conclusion at which you arrive, viz that the cause of the outbreak was hatred of the foreigner in general, rather than the belief that children were being stolen for unholy purposes, and that the cry was raised against the Sisters of Mercy for want of some other or better cry, I do not concur. I feel it my duty on the contrary, to express my conviction that, had there been nothing to suggest a suspicion that children were being kidnapped, there would have been no popular excitement, and that the excitement caused by such a suspicion would not have taken the direction it did had not the practice of receiving large numbers of children into the Sisters' Hospital supported the Chinese, in their ignorance, with a prima facie case against those unfortunate women. The anger of the people would not have been against them, their countrymen and converts would naturally be included in their sentence. Even native Romanists I understand, were arrested and maltreated, while Protestant Chinese were not molested.

I deem it right to make this suggestion, because I cannot attribute misapprehension of the real cause of such a movement as that of the 21st of June will be unproductive of much [illegible] your view [illegible] that the rising was against all foreigners as [illegible] by the anti-foreign feeling of the [illegible] classes, who have no reason to love us, such an interference but [illegible] the lesson which, with [illegible] I am sure you will take [illegible] at Tientsin, namely that we cannot be [illegible] however admirable from [illegible] point of view the object we [illegible] and to press it without a [illegible] regard for the prejudices [illegible] people, the [illegible] all that we [illegible] like poison [illegible] and [illegible] as we were [illegible] more than a century ago.

Writing on the same subject to Earl Granville, Mr Wade says to the same effect:

[illegible] strophe in which, with their co-nationals, they were involved. If my view is the wrong one if the popular foreign view is correct - then not France alone, but other Powers, must make them ready for battle.

Commenting on a despatch from Mr. Mayers, in which that gentleman remarked on 'the matter-of-fact way in which the letters he sent refer to the virtual encouragement given by the local authorities to the delusion and fury of the people,' Mr. Wade wrote:

I deprecate this language. The magistrates could scarcely have done less than they are here represented to have done, if they believed what the people believed and, their education was [illegible] the [illegible] reason why they should not believe it. In his conversation with the Tsungli Yamen a man apparently of more than ordinary [illegible] about foreign countries, Mr Mayers was astonished to find that he [illegible] belief in the [illegible] imputed to Romanists. It [illegible] the [illegible] of all [illegible] Roman Catholic [illegible] Roman Catholics are [illegible] popular with the educated [illegible] their [illegible] according to the [illegible] of laws which [illegible] hate [illegible] evil [illegible] Public [illegible] offend [illegible] the high [illegible] I am [illegible] two sentences [illegible] Matthew Hale [illegible] foreign [illegible] and if at all [illegible] Romanists [illegible] agents, and of them [illegible] people [illegible] [illegible] the human body [illegible]

And on a subsequent occasion Mr Wade again writes to the same officer:

[illegible] the [illegible] Tsungli Yamen [illegible] the practices attributed by the people of Tientsin to the Sisters of Mercy. You must remember that the [illegible] law, as they understand it, [illegible] for [illegible] and that after we [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] and [illegible] of [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

Apropos to which may be cited [illegible] writing [illegible] which appeared in the *Daily News* of March 8th.

A [illegible] no former has been [illegible] : [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

teachers see it, or hear of its existence. With this parentage, and such sponsors, it disposes of several hitherto much-debated questions among foreigners interested in Chinese affairs. It proves, for instance, beyond all shadow of doubt, that, as we have said, there is no practical distinction made by the enemies of Christianity between the different churches or denominations of missionaries. They are all comprised under the same anathema, and all involved in a common danger. This is the conclusion the translators have come to, who are Protestant missionaries in China. In a note to some quotations from former Chinese authors 'the Man of Jâo-chow' remarks, 'that in the treaties which have recently been made, the *Tien-chu* sect and the Jesus sect (the term by which Protestantism is known in China) are spoken of as distinct, from which we see more clearly than ever the intensely villainous character of these barbarians;' and much more to the same effect follows. We are told that the phrase *Tien-chu Kiao* (sect of the Lord of Heaven), which occurs so frequently, is the name by which Roman Catholicism has long been known in China; and we can readily understand that the Romish faith, having been first introduced and longest known in the Empire, has up to this time practically given its name to the whole Christianity of the West. Accordingly the author clearly uses the term as the designation most generally known for the religion of the West, and he has given us a representation of Christianity in general 'as viewed from a Chinese stand-point.'

It is from this point of view we would have this book regarded, and it is well worthy the attention of all the Foreign Powers who attach any importance to the maintenance of friendly relations with the Chinese people and Empire. Neither commerce nor peace can be permanently maintained with a nation numbering its hundreds of millions, as the translators very truly observe, 'if such statements as this work puts forth can be widely circulated and fully believed. The Chinese Government is responsible for this.'

True enough in one sense, certainly; but when we are advised to hold the Chinese Government responsible for such publications as these—bound to suppress and liable for the consequences of their circulation—a difficulty presents itself. If, as we are persuaded, much of what is here charged against the missionaries is fully believed by the bulk of the nation—literate and illiterate—it is not a light task that would be imposed upon the Chinese Government. It may safely be asserted that it is one far beyond the power of the existing Rulers of China pending the minority of the Emperor.

When we reflect therefore that this book, and it is a voluminous work, was published in the original Chinese at *Jâo-chow*, in Kwang-si, the province in which, within the last few months, two Roman Catholic chapels have been destroyed, that it is the carefully prepared compilation of a learned man, and one of first-class literary abilities, as we are assured by those best competent, from their knowledge of Chinese composition, to speak with authority—that the writer gives a list of one hundred native works that he has consulted—and that it is professedly published by the 'gentry and people,' as the title-page ostentatiously sets forth, and is mainly distributed by officials—it is impossible to misunderstand either the gravity or the significance of such a combination. If such works can be widely circulated and fully believed, we entirely concur with those who think that the maintenance of friendly relations

with the Chinese people, and the continued prosecution of missionary labours, are two things which can never be combined by any diplomatic efforts.

The translators observe, 'It may seem to some that in a book so full of exaggerations, misrepresentations, and wholesale falsehoods, its excesses are its own refutation. But the author doubtless understood his readers better than we do. He knew their extreme ignorance of everything relating to foreigners, and with what ready credulity they drink in such stories as those here presented.' Ignorance and credulity habitually go together, and Chinese, who, according to Abbé Huc, can sincerely believe that the British are an amphibious race, living chiefly in the water and unable to remain long on shore, and have been through their bodies into which the disciples of their officers are passed when these have to be carried, as Chinese mandarins are, in chairs — must well believe anything of Christians and foreigners who run counter to many of their prejudices and passions, and are otherwise objects of fear and hatred combined.

But a few months before the Tientsin affair the whole of Shanghai was in commotion and no small stir in the state of popular excitement created by a report that the foreign community, which had just completed the building of a cathedral, buried Chinese alive under the foundations to appease an evil spirit, a species of vampyre. Here is the account given by a newspaper of the express, in these things, on the spot, with a full knowledge of the Chinese character and of the truth:

[illegible]

heating apparatus, and a third party say that the spirits are the ghosts of two Parsees who have murdered an old woman at the North Gate. In truth, however, though we may be disposed to smile at these fantastic stories, they are illustrations of a fact we are too apt to lose sight of, viz. that with all the boasted organization of the educational system, with all the apparatus of public examinations, literary degrees, &c., the mass of the Chinese people are still slaves to superstition. Every accident and circumstance of daily life is made the means of a religious observance of some kind or other. When a man is sick, he has a Buddhist worship an arrow, commit a book of charms, pay a priest to unravel a ladder of knives, and burn a representative paper image of the invalid. When epidemic diseases afflict a town, they invoke the five rulers, carry paper boats in procession, and burn them at the water's edge and dress up men to personate the chief Buddhist and the tall white one. Connected with childhood and infancy, their beliefs and the practices that spring from them are as absurd as it is possible to conceive. They bind the wrists of newly-born children in order to secure their docility in after life. They tie red papers in a bag and hang them outside the door of the room where the newly-made mother is lying in. They fasten other red papers to the trousers of the boys, to secure them long life, great and many honours, and a numerous family. These are a few of a large number of examples that might easily be cited, but we may trust they show that, from the cradle to the grave, when the infant is brought before the throne of Heaven, to the time when the revered father is carried to the gate in the last sad procession, the whole system of Confucianism is the most extreme, the most strange and intricate [illegible]

How are Christians to deal with such a state of the national mind? 'Teach them better,' we are told. 'Educate the Chinese, and let us carry labour more and more persistently in the interior to disabuse them of their errors.'

Certainly let steps be taken to disabuse them of error but what steps? There lies the difficulty, and the real question of the hour. The Chinese must be educated, and as they gain knowledge

—secular knowledge of men and things—they will either cease to be superstitious, or become less liable to be deceived by its grosser forms. Whether they will be proof against table-rapping, or deaf to the voice of spiritual mediums, the experience of Europe and America in this much-lauded and enlightened nineteenth century is not altogether conclusive, or as satisfactory as might be desired. But the advantages a Western education can bestow, with all its immunities from ignorance and error or superstition, cannot be very easily imparted, even to a willing people, if they understand no European language. That must be a work of time and patience, and in the meanwhile it may well be that the progress of Christianity in any of the forms it has yet taken — Roman Catholic, Greek, or Protestant — will be extremely slow. If anything short of education on a national scale in the languages, the arts, sciences, and lore of Europe would facilitate it, it would be the withdrawal of any pressure or protectorate on the part of a Foreign Power. If religion in the hands of foreigners could ever cease to be regarded as a political instrument for political ends, one element of jealousy and distrust in the minds of the governing classes could be eliminated,—Christianity as a religion, apart from all political interference, might then by degrees obtain free play and a fair field, with little of official hostility or popular hatred to contend against, beyond such as all innovation on established creeds and customs must be naturally expected to excite, even under the most discreet and judicious management on the part of the innovators.

'The man above all others distressed in heart' has obtained many odd notions about our social state among other things. He very gravely informs his countrymen that when a father dies his son may marry his mother, or a father his own daughter; and, anticipating the future legislation of a reformed Parliament on the rights of women, he declares that 'women are regarded as superior, men as inferior, and from the King down to the people, all are subject to the authority of their wives.' In such a state of things we need not be surprised that 'it is a common thing for a wife to drive away her husband and seek another. They say that "men are born of women," therefore many of their homes are governed by Queens.' This part of his book is harmless enough.

WHAT, THEN, *IS* THE CORONA?

By Rev. A. Pr[illegible], B.A. (Cam[illegible])

Assistant Master, [illegible] Worcester Grammar School

It is not easy for a theorist to avoid to study the evidence bearing on any scientific subject without being led to theorise. Even though the evidence be imperfect, even though however carefully sifted and analysed it still leave the problem indeterminate, the mind will yet weigh fact against fact and probability against probability, adopting then, though but provisionally, the theory which seems best to accord with such facts as have been revealed. As fresh facts are ascertained, the theory may have to be modified or even abandoned, and theory after another may thus be adopted for a while and presently rejected; yet it is only by this thoroughly lawful way of dealing with doubtful questions as to facts that the truth can finally be established.

There is a recorded instance of as far as I know—of any discovery having been made which has been suggested beforehand by theorising, and that is the discovery of the planet Neptune. Before astronomers had observed the existence of the planet, Adams and Leverrier assigned to the planet the laws according to which they must, as Newton was able to demonstrate, move. Neptune, however, did not discover how to measure the velocity of light, or Bradley find an explanation of the aberrant motions traced out by all the stars upon the heavens. These men, and a hundred others whose names stand highest in the records of science, were theorists, some of them even theorists, and Newton, the greatest of them all, was (so far as astronomy is concerned) as completely the theorist that not a single astronomical observation of his was worth the paper on which it was recorded!

Therefore I do not think that the fear of being called theorisers by the unthinking should deter us from an attempt to found upon the evidence already obtained respecting the corona such conclusions as that evidence may seem fairly to support. So far as I am myself concerned I am the readier to do this because I think I shall have to modify very importantly conclusions to which I had but lately arrived. I do not indeed find that any theories I had urged are otherwise than strengthened by the evidence here considered; but some points which had appeared probable to me while others seem open now to grave objection.

Much of the evidence on the corona is presented in the paper on that subject in *Nature* for March last, but some facts which have only revealed themselves since that

[illegible] of the [illegible] progress of the [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

paper was written require to be briefly noticed. For a full account of the scientific details, together with illustrations of much interest, I would refer the reader to the current Number of the *Quarterly Journal of Science*.

The reader of my paper on the Corona, in these pages, will gather that I look on the evidence recently obtained which proves the coronal radiations to belong to a real solar appendage, as in effect but a demonstration of the demonstrated. No one who had studied the immense mass of evidence acquired during the last two centuries on this point could feel any doubt as to the real existence of these radiations in some amazing solar appendage.

I was prepared therefore to learn that the corona as seen and photographed in Sicily corresponded in all essential respects with the corona as seen and photographed in Spain. This correspondence exists beyond all possibility of question; but when the best records are studied, and when the photographs are carefully examined, something more is revealed which, whatever its interpretation, is undoubtedly full of meaning. *Where any great gap or rift appears in the outer or radiated part of the corona, there a depression is seen in the inner and much brighter portion; and yet again where this inner portion is thus depressed, there the coloured prominences are wanting and the spectrum is continuous.* As to the former point I shall merely remark that the peculiarity is very markedly shown in Lieut Brown's drawing of the corona as seen in Spain; that he referred to it as a fact he had specially noticed, and that both in the Spanish and Sicilian photographs it is most strikingly manifested. As to the latter I shall quote Professor Respighi's words respecting Mr. Seabroke's maps of the prominences and Professor Watson's drawing of the corona: 'On comparing the two drawings thus independently made, a most interesting series of coincidences presented themselves. Wherever on the solar disc a large group of prominences was seen in Mr. Seabroke's map, there a corresponding bulging out of the corona was chronicled on Professor Watson's drawing; and at the positions where no prominences presented themselves, there the bright portions of the corona extended to the smallest distances from the sun's limb.'[1] But I must add one piece of evidence directly associating the most distant portion of the corona with the region richest in solar prominences. Mr. Brothers's photographs *all* show the corona extending much farther towards the west than towards the east. 'There can be no question,' he writes, 'that there was more coronal light on the west side of the moon than at the other points,' and then he calls attention to the fact 'that the prominences are more numerous on the side where the corona is brightest.'

Now here is a fact of the utmost significance—so significant, indeed, that it will be well to enquire whether it is in any way supported by the evidence obtained during former total eclipses of the sun.

Fortunately, it is not difficult to find corroborative evidence of the most satisfactory kind. We have only to turn to the account of the corona as seen during the American eclipse of 1869, and to compare the drawings with the photographs, to see that then also this feature was presented. The peculiar trapezoidal figure of the corona as seen on that occasion is most clearly indicated in the much smaller corona

[1] In a previous communication he had stated that Mr. Seabroke's drawings were not made at the hurry moment, but by Dr. Huggins's method, before the eclipse began.

shown in the best photographs then taken. And, indeed, one piece of evidence then obtained goes somewhat beyond any that can be deduced from the observations made last December. For at a station where the observers were raised more than 5,500 feet above the sea-level, the quadrangular figure of the corona was seen to be extended into four radial streamers, reaching to a distance equal to three times the moon's apparent diameter.[1] It may be added that this four-streamered aspect of the corona has been very commonly noticed in former eclipses, and the greatest extensions have always been opposite the points midway between the solar poles and equator, in other words opposite the solar spot-zones, where also Professor Respighi has demonstrated that the prominences are largest and most numerous.

Now let us carefully study the observed facts and see in what direction they seem to point. I premise that in this place I pay no attention to the atmospheric glare theory. It was premature in my former paper to discuss all the theories, profound or shallow, which had been urged in explanation of the corona, for in fact unless that had been done, a popular essay on the subject would have been incomplete. But we are now engaged on a more arduous task, we are proposing to analyse evidence of interest and importance, and therefore we must no longer afford room for the consideration of ideas which in the presence of all the evidence now available can be regarded only as puerilities.

The associations we have to explain are somewhat numerous, and at a first view most perplexing. First, there is the demonstrated association between the solar spot-zone and the larger prominences, secondly, that between the larger prominences and the bright inner portion of the corona, thirdly, that between the inner corona and the outer fainter and more strikingly radiated portion of the corona, while lastly those long streamers or projections into which the radiations are seen under favourable circumstances to extend themselves will require to be examined. We must also endeavour not to lose sight of a single recorded fact respecting either the corona, or the prominences, or the solar spot-zone.

The difficulty in explaining the connection between the spot-zone and the prominences consists in this, that prominences are seen outside the spot-zone and even at the solar poles and equator, though prominences so situated are smaller, less numerous, and last for a shorter time, than the majority of those which appear over the spot-zone. In one sense, indeed, it may be said that the whole circumference of the sun's disc at all times shows prominences, for the edge of the sun is always marked by serrations which may be taken to be small prominences or the remains of larger ones.[2] We are, then, that notwithstanding the association be-

[1] I am unable to say [illegible] evidence of the kind. He saw many streamers not agreeing [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] gave such an [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

tween the prominences and the spot-zone, the prominences have a greater range than the spots. Furthermore Respighi has noted—and Secchi is of the same opinion—that it is rather over the *faculæ* or bright streaks which surround the spots than over the spots themselves that the prominences are most strikingly developed. We find ourselves thus brought into the presence of all those most perplexing problems which are suggested by the behaviour of sun-spots and faculæ; by the curdled or mottled aspect which the sun's whole surface presents, but which is most marked in the zone of spots; by those much finer granulations which have been compared to willow-leaves, rice-grains, straw-thatching, and the rest: in fine, we have to deal with problems which have been attacked over and over again, without as yet any seeming approach to a solution. Assuredly there is little promise of our obtaining an answer to the questions suggested by the corona if we associate them just at present with other problems of such exceeding difficulty.

Let us then pass on to the next point, viz. the observed association between the coloured prominences and the inner and brighter part of the corona.

In order to see the real importance of this association it is well to remember what has been learned about the prominences. The researches of Zöllner and Respighi leave no room to question the fact that the prominences are phenomena of eruption. We seem clearly to have to do with masses of glowing vapour flung violently forth from some comparatively deep level beneath the visible surface of the sun. And quite apart from any theories as to the cause of these eruptions, we can make little question that before each eruption the gas eventually erupted had been prevented from escaping by some temporary barrier of considerable resisting power. No otherwise can we explain the violence of the eruption or the signs of an energy acquired and concentrated by compression. In fact, even though an explosion of some previously quiescent substances—such an explosion, I mean, as takes place when gunpowder is ignited—were here in question, yet unless there were some restraining or imprisoning matter, the explosion could never have that definite propulsive character which we see in Zöllner's and Respighi's eruption-prominences. The [illegible] of Zöllner seems, in any case, a necessary part of any theory by which these prominences are to be adequately explained.

Now, this assumed, can we see any reason why the bright parts of the corona should seem to extend farther from the sun over the large prominences, or rather over the regions of great prominences, than elsewhere? If there is an atmosphere extending far above the prominences, and quite distinct both from the prominences and the corona as seems at least certain,—yet why should the projection of prominence-matter into that atmosphere cause any perceptible expansion? Rather much more matter than is contained within the prominences is flung into the place of the atmosphere, or some effect is produced by the erupted prominence-matter in expanding, illuminating, or heating the surrounding portions of the solar atmosphere. Yet beyond question neither of these inter-

[illegible] observers of 1842 1851 1860 Are we to suppose

protuberance is acceptable as it stands; nor does spectroscopic analysis of the inner part of the corona during total eclipse afford a particle of evidence that these exhalations are in any different condition from the shallower portions of the inner corona, whereas, on either of the above suppositions—whether a quantity of fresh atmospheric matter had been added where the corona is deeper, or whether there had been a great and striking extension of a certain condition of the circumsolar matter—it would seem inevitable that the spectroscope would show some signs of the change.

Yet we seem no nearer a solution if we suppose the inner corona to indicate the presence of non-atmospheric matter in the sun's neighbourhood, that is, of matter not constituting a veritable solar envelope. Supposing for example that a theory to which I had been for many months inclining were the true one—that meteoric and cometic systems circling around the sun, many of them passing very close to him, and those much more numerous which are situated at the more distant, were the real source of the coronal light, yet what explanation can we find of the observed extension of the inner part of the corona over the regions of great prominences? How can the circumference of great solar eruptions affect matters of cometic matter travelling myriads of miles above those regions? We cannot at any rate suppose that a sufficient superiority exists in the light-giving or heat-giving powers of the prominence-regions to explain so marked a difference, for we can test the spectrum in both respects, and we find in each nothing that no such superiority exists. Nor again is it easy to suppose that some special form of electrical or magnetical action exerted above the spot-zones and prominence-regions is the true explanation of the peculiarity. That in some way or other electricity is at work in the production of the coronal light, may well be believed, and further, that electrical action is at work in some special manner above the prominence-regions is far from improbable; yet to explain a coronal extension by the assumed existence of this electrical action is to explain one problem by another of far greater difficulty.

But if we find a source of perplexity in the extension of the bright inner portion of the corona where the prominences are most markedly developed, our perplexity is greatly increased when we see that the outer radiations reach their greatest extension over the extensions of the inner corona. Remembering that the radiations seem even under relatively unfavourable circumstances often extend to a distance from the sun nearly equal to his own apparent diameter (that is at the very least (assigning no effect to foreshortening for example), to almost three-quarters of a million of miles, or three times the moon's distance from the earth), it is difficult indeed to understand how matter so distant from the sun as would seem to be associated with the inner corona (seemingly forming an irregular envelope so much nearer to him), and finally with the prominence-regions so far again below the limits even of the inner corona. Yet more difficult is the problem become when we recall the fact that the corona is not a grey of light painted, so to speak, upon the surface of the vault of heaven, but brought to what may roughly be regarded as a globe of matter, a globe extending at least twenty times in diameter the volume of the solar globe which it encloses. What is that mysterious connexion existing between the sun's surface-regions and the matter included

within these gigantic outer regions which causes disturbances taking place in the former to be reflected, as it were, to the outermost limits of the latter?

But, finally, when we consider the long radial streamers which have been observed during total eclipses as prolongations of the inner radiations, how shall we face the yet more serious difficulties which suggest themselves? If these outer streamers had belonged, as I was once inclined to suppose, to meteoric systems circling around the sun, there would be no reason whatever why they should be directed as if towards his centre. A streamer might, by a coincidence, be so seen, but the coincidence would be uncommon. And even were it common, there would still be no reason why these meteoric streamers should be directed always along those radial lines which the corona affects. We have something here to explain which the meteoric theory is insufficient to deal with. Let me be clearly understood. The meteoric theory *per se* is demonstrably correct. No one who is acquainted with the evidence bearing on the subject can for a moment doubt that the sun's neighbourhood is traversed by countless millions of meteoric families; nor again can anyone acquainted with the evidence feel any doubt that a large quantity of light must needs be reflected during total eclipse from those meteoric bodies which lie towards the sun's place; but the meteoric theory *per se* cannot account for *all* the phenomena presented by the corona, nor (especially) for the particular series of phenomena dealt with above.

And before proceeding farther, I would note that the difficulty now considered had not escaped my notice at an earlier stage of the enquiry. I have considered it—as a difficulty (that is, without endeavouring to explain it)—in the chapter on the Corona in my book on the Sun, and it caused me to write thus hesitatingly respecting the constitution of the corona: 'As to details we may be doubtful; other matter than meteoric or cometic matter may well be in question; other modes of producing light, save heat, electricity, or direct illumination, may well be in operation; and lastly, there may be other forces at work than the attractive influence of solar gravity, or the form of repulsive force evidenced by the phenomena of comets.' I was able at that time to express confidence only in one general fact, viz., 'that the corona and zodiacal light form a solar appendage of amazing extent and importance, not being mere terrestrial phenomena, but worthy of all the attention astronomers and physicists can direct to them.'

But somewhat later, while preparing a paper on the Eclipse Expeditions for the January number of the *Popular Science Review*, a renewed examination of the same difficulty led me to approach somewhat closely to that theory which I shall presently advocate, not indeed as certainly established or even nearly so, but as the one which seems to accord best with the evidence thus far adduced. As often happens, the explanation of one great difficulty was suggested by associating with it another scarcely less important. I quote the passage as *extenso*, as conveniently leading up to the theory to be enunciated farther on. 'If I were willing to hazard a speculation as to the structure and physical cause of the coronal beams,' I then wrote, 'I should associate them, I think, with the tails of comets and regard them as phenomena indicating the action of some repulsive force exerted by the sun. Sir John Herschel has pointed out that we have demonstrative evidence of the real existence of repulsive forces exerted by

the sun with great energy under certain conditions and upon certain forms of matter. A source of perplexity exists, however, in the relative narrowness of these beams, whose apparent cross-section, as delineated by most observers, is far less than the apparent diameter of the sun. One would thus be led to infer that the real seat of these repulsive energies lies far beneath the solar photosphere. It is worthy of notice, too, that the beams usually appear to extend from the zone of spots, and one might almost infer that the repulsive action is exerted with peculiar energy in lines extending from the sun's centre towards the so-called spot-zones.'

The relatively narrow beams here spoken of are those which make up the great radiations. Under favourable circumstances the structure of the corona is found to be by no means so simple as it is commonly supposed to be, and it seems established by evidence too striking to be overlooked that close by the sun this structure assumes the form of radial jets issuing nearly at right angles to the sun's edge. This is a peculiarity which seems likely if carefully studied to throw some noteworthy light on the problems we are dealing with. Let us first examine the evidence on which it rests.

The corona has seldom been examined under favourable atmospheric conditions with a telescope of considerable power. Nearly always, when such telescopes have been employed during eclipses, the observer's attention has been specially directed to the coloured prominences. It happened, however, that during the important American eclipse of 1869 a party of observers headed by Mr W. S. Gilman, jun. of New York (a well-known telescopist) very carefully studied the intimate constitution of the corona. Mr Gilman himself employed an excellent telescope four inches in aperture, and others of the observing party were armed with good though smaller telescopes. The weather also was all that could be desired. So that perhaps there is no other instance in the history of eclipse-observations where the study of the corona's structure was prosecuted under more favourable conditions.

Here then is Mr Gilman's report of the aspect of that part of the corona which lay close by the moon: 'The corona was composed of an infinitude of fine violet, mauve-coloured, white, and yellowish white rays, issuing from behind the moon.' Mr Farrell, who observed in company with Mr. Gilman, spoke thus on the subject of the corona: 'It was a silvery gray crown of light, and looked as if it was the product of countless fine jets of steam issuing from behind a dark globe.' In the *Quarterly Journal of Science* for October 1870 Mr Gilman gives a more detailed account of the fine radial lines. He says, 'the absorption-bands of the solar spectrum occurred to me at the time as an illustration of the delicate striations in these portions of the corona. In the case of one gap a multitude of fine violet lines were compressed into a space about ten degrees [of arc] round the sun's disc in width, forming to my mind one of the most beautiful features of the eclipse. The same striated appearance was noted in other regions of the corona, though in a less striking degree.'

The solution first *suggested* is that these seeming jets were real jets: that they indicate the existence of an eruptive action exerted beneath certain portions of the solar surface. But though this is the obvious answer to the questions suggested by observed appearances, it is one which seems at a first view altogether too startling to be accepted. I think, for instance, that those astronomers who first

saw this idea enunciated in Mattieu Williams's *Fuel of the Sun* were scarcely more ready to accept it than to admit those other associated ideas which, while not a whit more startling, were opposed to known dynamical laws. There is indeed nothing absolutely incredible in the conception that masses of gaseous, liquid, or solid matter should be flung to a height exceeding manifold that of the loftiest of the coloured prominences; whereas it is not only incredible but impossible that such matter should in any case come to circle on a closed orbit around the sun. Yet probably the latter idea scarcely seemed to the majority of readers to be more definitely opposed to accepted astronomical views than the former.

But before dismissing the suppositions as altogether incredible, it will be well to remember that although it appears in Mr Williams's book in company with ideas and conclusions which *must* be rejected, it is not on the one hand opposed to any known laws, physical or dynamical, while on the other it is supported by much evidence of a kind that it would be unsafe to overlook. Combining these considerations with the circumstance that the supposition seems to promise a solution of some of the difficulties which have been considered above, while, even since Mr Williams wrote, evidence of the most striking character has been obtained respecting the sun's eruptive energies, it seems desirable that we should examine it very carefully.

It will [illegible] first view [illegible] power to [illegible] liquid, or [illegible] correspondi[illegible] tension of t[illegible] all those di[illegible]

on the association of the radiations with the bulging portions of the inner corona, and the regions of most active prominence-formation, vanish at once. The observed relations are in fact what the theory would require: if others were noticed, the theory would have to be rejected!

But is it conceivable that the required velocity of projection or eruption can be given to such streams or masses? Or rather have we any evidence which could render the conception credible? For I take it that as regards the sun's potential energies in respect of eruptive action, it would be very difficult to fix any definite limit. The forces at work within the sun are so enormous that there would be nothing absolutely incredible in the idea of a globe as vast as our earth, or even as one of the giant planets, travelling into the zone of asteroids, might be projected from him with a velocity sufficing to carry it within the sphere of attraction ruled over by some other sun.

We have in the eruptive prominences the means of gauging in some sort the sun's propulsive energies. It seems to have been proved beyond possibility of question that some of these prominences have been projected from the sun with a velocity of about one hundred and twenty miles per second. Zöllner gave this as the result of direct observation, and the result has been confirmed by observations made with the spectroscope. Motions within the sierra at such a rate as well as up-and-down motions in the hydrogen around the photosphere [illegible] that glowing hy[illegible] urged with this [illegible] city through the [illegible] envelope.[1]

[1] The two white [illegible] at least, ten miles per [illegible] rate [illegible]

But now, assuming with Zöllner that the phenomena of eruption are due to a force of compression having its centre far below the photosphere, and in no case anywhere near the surface, we can see that the velocity must exceed the resistance of gravity at the photosphere, we may conclude that in projecting the velocity is far greater than that of which we can assign the origin. The great eruptions would, if of terrestrial dimensions, be quite sufficient to carry the matter to a height of two or three thousand miles. This at once accounts for the absence of the former, but on the contrary highly probable. As long as the larger portions of the erupted matter may be gaseous hydrogen, yet we have far from an unlikely that other and denser matter, even perhaps metallic matter, may be projected with the hydrogen—nay, as water, and indeed every gaseous element, is projected with greater velocity than the hydrogen, as we see by the spectroscope, we may conclude that the greatest part of the matter projected during a solar eruption would reach to a far greater height than the erupted hydrogen, or, what is to the present purpose, would rush from the sun's surface with a far greater proportion of the velocity originally imparted. When we remember that observations made during the recent eclipse serve to show that immediately above the solar photosphere there exists an atmosphere (which, to be seen at all, can scarcely be less than two hundred miles deep) composed of the vapours of many of the elements known to exist on the sun, and therefore necessarily (under the circumstances of the attractive energy) exceedingly dense, it will not, I think, be unreasonable to assign as the initial velocity imparted far below the photospheric level, a rate exceeding twice or thrice that observed within the corona. This would give us for the velocity of such denser or even liquid matter as we have supposed to be erupted along with the hydrogen, a rate of between two hundred and forty and three hundred and sixty miles per second. The least of these velocities would suffice to carry a projection as far from the sun as the outermost limit observed in total eclipses, under exceedingly favourable circumstances. A velocity of three hundred and sixty miles per second would suffice to send a projection as far from the sun as our earth is distant. It would need but a velocity of twenty miles per second to take matter away from the sun, were it not for any further increase, the erupted matter would

[illegible] Mr Proctor [illegible] Yours truly, Mr Proctor

not only be propelled with force enough to carry it beyond the domain of the sun, but when it eventually entered the domain of another sun, then, over and above the velocity imparted to it by the attractive energies of that sun, it would possess a proportion of the velocity imparted to it by its parent sun.[1]

It would almost seem, then, that we are proving too much; that velocities not so much greater than those necessary to explain the coronal radiations as phenomena of eruption would cause our earth to be saluted with solar missiles; and also—for we must push this argument to its limit—that, our sun sending within the domains of other stars masses still possessing a portion of their initial velocity, we should be led to expect that from out *those* domains masses would reach our solar system with extra-solar velocities. In the former case it is clear that the fall of large meteoritic masses (assuming solar and stellar eruptions to vomit *such* bodies) should be a phenomenon occurring oftener in the day-time than at night—that is, over the hemisphere turned towards the sun. Strangely enough, this preponderance of day-falls actually exists in a very marked degree, and has never, so far as I know, received any adequate explanation. Yet again if meteoritic masses reached us with extra-solar velocities—that is, with velocities greater than the sun could impart to matter drawn by him from an indefinitely great distance up to our earth's place—then the observations which have been made upon the motions of meteors and falling stars ought to have revealed this excessive velocity. Here again it happens that velocities far greater than could be explained by the sun's attractive energies[2] had been assigned by most careful observers to certain meteoric bodies; and it had been pointed out (I think first by Mayer) that these velocities presented a difficulty very hard to interpret, nor, so far as I am aware, had any satisfactory explanation been afforded. Quite apart too from the perhaps questionable observations of meteoric velocities, many comets had been proved beyond all cavil to travel on hyperbolic orbits, the velocity in such orbits being (in part) necessarily extra-solar. The observed association between meteor systems and certain comets renders this evidence as satisfactory as the direct measurement of meteoric velocities.

Have meteors, then, been expelled from the stars? Surely it might be supposed that such an idea is too wild to be entertained for an instant. Let us pause, however, to learn what the meteors themselves may have to tell us on this point. We are travelling

[1] It would in fact possess just so much of the original velocity as was in excess of the velocity of 38 miles per second, and it seems quite unnecessary to [illegible] sun's distance. If the sun flung a body [illegible] 378 miles per second, the body would pass away with a velocity of 378 − 38 = 340 miles per second; if the body was flung [illegible] 38 miles per second greater, it would pass away with a velocity [illegible] the limit [illegible] 38 miles per second as the case [illegible]

[2] The greatest possible velocity with which a meteor could enter the earth's atmosphere under solar influence alone is one which is equal to 44·4 miles per second (found by adding the earth's orbital velocity of 18·5 miles per second to the maximum velocity of 25·9 miles per second with which the sun could fling a body at the earth's distance). But the observed velocities of meteors range from 10 to 80 miles per second. In the case of a meteor rushing at the rate of 80 miles per second through our atmosphere we know certainly that 36 miles per second of that velocity is extra-solar, or has been imparted to the meteor by other causes than sun. Neither the earth's rotation nor her power of attraction need be considered in this enquiry, since neither cause can give meteors any velocity comparable with that due to their own and the earth's motion.

rather far, it may seem, from the solar corona; but we shall return to it presently; and in the mean time these are questions which *must* be answered before we can safely adopt such a theory as the one we are dealing with.

Now there is one fact respecting meteors which has long been a source of great perplexity to me. Soon after I had published my treatise on *Saturn and its System*, Mr Sorby, F.R.S., sent me notes of his researches into the structure of meteoric bodies, as bearing on the questions which I had discussed in Chapter V. (on the nature of the Saturnian Rings). He found evidence that the substance composing meteors had been vaporised while existing under enormous pressure—'in mountain masses' as he expressed it. Whence and how had come the enormous temperature and the enormous pressure thus required? On any of the ordinary theories respecting meteors I can see my way to no explanation. Gravitation, friction in passing through resisting media, and other like processes, are altogether inadequate to account for the observed facts. But if meteors had their birth in far-off suns, in the very midst of that intense heat and light which causes those suns to shine clearly in our skies from beyond depths which are immeasurable by us, then the explanation of what Sorby's researches has revealed is found at once. We should expect to find the substance of meteors in precisely that condition which he describes.

But then if meteors were thus projected from beneath the surface of a sun or star, one might expect that external as well as microscopic traces of their origin might be recognised. Suppose, for instance, that the hydrogen of an eruption-prominence is to be compared with the smoke which rushes from the mouth of a cannon, volleys of meteors being the missiles, is it not likely that these meteors would show some signs of having been originally surrounded by intensely hot hydrogen existing at an inconceivably enormous pressure? It has been established by the researches of chemists, and specially by those of the late Professor Graham, that iron solidified under such conditions would condense within its substance a considerable proportion of hydrogen. Since then meteorites contain always a large quantity of iron, the question suggests itself whether that iron shows any signs of having been surrounded by hydrogen when as yet the metal had not solidified. The answer comes in no doubtful terms. To Professor Graham himself we owe the examination of meteoric iron and the definite enunciation of the conclusions warranted by his prior researches. He examined a piece of the meteoric iron of Lenarto, which, says Mr Mattieu Williams, has been shown by the analysis of Wöhler to consist of 90·881 parts of iron, to 8·450 parts of nickel, 0·665 of cobalt, and 0·202 of copper. When a volume of 5·78 cubic centimetres of this iron was heated to redness, 'gas came off rather freely, namely, in thirty-five minutes 5·18 cubic centimetres, in the next one hundred minutes 9·52, and in the next twenty minutes 1·63 cubic centimetres'—in all, in rather more than two hours and a half, no less than 16·31 cubic centimetres, or about three times the volume of the iron itself. 'The first portion of the gas evolved,' says Professor Graham, 'had a strong odour, but

[illegible] from Mr W[illegible] in *The Fo[illegible]* of the [illegible] original [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

much less than the natural gases occluded by ordinary hydrogen. It did not contain a trace of carbonic acid.' The second portion of gas collected (consisting of 9·52 cubic centimètres) gave of hydrogen 85·68 parts per cent., the rest consisting of nitrogen and carbonic oxide. 'The Lenarto iron appears, therefore, to yield 2·85 times its volume of gas,' says Graham, 'of which 86 per cent. nearly is hydrogen, the proportion of carbonic oxide being so low as 4½ per cent.' But 'the gas occluded by iron from a carbonaceous fire is very different, the prevailing gas then being carbonic oxide. For comparison a quantity of clean horse-shoe nails was submitted to a similar distillation.' 'This metal gave 2·66 times its volume of gas; the first portion collected contained only 35 per cent. of hydrogen, 50·3 per cent. being carbonic oxide, 7·7 per cent. carbonic acid, and 7 per cent. nitrogen; the second portion gave no carbonic acid, but 58 per cent. of carbonic oxide, and only 21 per cent. of hydrogen. The contrast between these results and the former is very marked. But let us hear Professor Graham's own reasoning on the subject.

'It has been found difficult,' he says, 'to impregnate malleable iron with more than an equal volume of hydrogen under the pressure of our atmosphere. Now the meteoric iron (this Lenarto iron is remarkably pure and malleable) gave up about three times that amount without being fully exhausted. The inference is that *the meteorite has been extricated from a dense atmosphere of hydrogen gas*, for which we must look beyond the light cometary matter floating about within the limits of our solar system.' . . .

'Hydrogen has been recognised in the spectrum analysis of the light of the fixed stars by Messrs. Huggins and Miller. The same gas constitutes, according to the wide researches of Father Secchi, the principal elements of a numerous class of stars, of which *a* Lyræ is the type. *The iron of Lenarto has no doubt come from such an atmosphere, in which hydrogen greatly prevailed. This meteorite may be looked upon as holding in occlusion within it, and bearing to us, the hydrogen of the stars.*'

So far, then, is the theory we are dealing with from being negatived by the startling conclusions to which it seems to point, that on the contrary it seems to afford an account of startling facts which appear in no other way explicable. But let us consider whether the corona itself supplies any further evidence on the subject.

The coronal spectrum is compound, consisting of certain bright lines superposed on a continuous spectrum. Now the bright lines correspond to those seen in the auroral spectrum, and had been held to indicate that the corona is a perpetual aurora. But a great difficulty was suggested by the question how the electrical action thus indicated could be excited. If the theory we are now upon be correct, the rush of the erupted matter through even the exceedingly tenuous medium at great distances from the sun should produce precisely such an effect. The fact that one of the lines of the coronal spectrum belongs to the spectrum of iron may be regarded as supplying subsidiary evidence of some weight. As regards the continuous spectrum, indicative of liquid or solid matter in a state of incan-

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[illegible] respecting [illegible]. Mr Williams has a [illegible] from extreme [illegible] the other hand he has made—very wisely [illegible] theory has [illegible] times enter[illegible]

deserves, the theory obviously requires that such a spectrum should be discernible.

It will be seen that according to the theory we are dealing with, the prominences, large and small, come to be regarded as the signs of the shooting forth of liquid or solid masses or streams of matter; and it might be asked whether any direct evidence has ever been obtained of the outcoming of such substances. It might well be that no such evidence was available; for it must be remembered that the actual volume of such masses of matter must needs be very far less than the prominences, that owing to their rapid motion their detection would be very difficult; and that as their light would give a continuous spectrum their detection by means of the spectroscope would be almost out of the question. Still, swiftly as they are supposed to move, a velocity even of three hundred miles per second would not cause them at the vast distance of the sun to pass very quickly across the field of view of a telescope, on the contrary, if viewed during total eclipses (the only occasions on which they could be expected to become telescopically visible), they could be watched quite readily, their motion even during an eclipse as the Indian one, sufficing only to carry them over about such a distance as would correspond to the height of one of the tall prominences. It would be their momentariness rather than their swift motion which might be expected to defeat observation. Single masses could hardly be seen, only streams or clusters formed of many masses. I think the exceedingly brief flashes seen by Mr. Lockyer in the largest prominence visible during the eclipse of 1869 may be regarded as presenting the appearance to be expected. 'They stood out,' he says, 'as if totally disconnected from the rest of the prominence.' Again there is an observation of Zöllner's which seems to bear on this matter. I have said that only with the telescope could the liquid or solid matter be actually seen. In the spectroscope they would give a continuous streak; and unless the light of the matter were very much brighter than that of the prominences, such a spectrum could not be recognised. For it is the concentration of the prominence-light into a few definite parts of the spectrum's length which enables us to see the prominences when the sun is not eclipsed. The light from the liquid matter being spread out into a continuous streak would be matched on equal terms with the light from our own illuminated atmosphere, which we know blots out the prominence-light altogether. Yet Zöllner, on June 27, 1869, made the following remarkable observation. 'As soon,' he writes, 'as I approached the slit of the spectroscope to a certain position in the sun's limb, *where the protuberance line appeared perfectly long and sharp*, brilliant linear flashes passed through the whole length of the dull spectrum over the limb of the sun, about three or four minutes distant from the latter. These flashes passed over the whole of the spectrum in the field of view, and became so intense at a certain point of the sun's limb as to produce the impression of a series of electrical discharges rapidly succeeding one another and passing through the whole of the spectrum in straight lines.' Mr. Vogel, who afterwards for a short time took part in these observations, found

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the same phenomenon at a different portion of the sun's limb, *where protuberances also appeared.*' Zöllner proceeds to remark that 'the phenomenon can be explained by the hypothesis that small intensely incandescent bodies moving near the surface of the sun emit rays of all degrees of refrangibility, and produce flashes of a thread-like spectrum as their image passes before the slit of the spectroscope.'

It may be added that the researches of De la Rue, Stewart, and Loewy seem to prove that 'the faculæ of a spot have been uplifted from the very area occupied by the spot, and have fallen behind from being thrown up into a region where the velocity of rotation is greater.' This, of course, would correspond with the results which the theory we are dealing with would suggest. And it may be noticed that regarding spots as phenomena of eruption—that is, *beginning* with eruption—we can find a reason for their occurrence being associated, as De La Rue and his colleagues believe, with the relative proximity of the planets. For eruptions and earthquakes on our own earth, stable as its substance undoubtedly is by comparison with the sun's, have been observed to occur more frequently when the moon is in perigee; and again Herschel has explained the predominance of active volcanoes and earthquake regions along shore lines, as depending on the seemingly insignificant changes of controlling pressure due to tidal action. How much more, therefore, might we expect that the solar equilibrium would be disturbed by planetary action, when all that has been revealed respecting him tends to show that the mightiest conceivable forces are always contending beneath his photosphere, one or other needing only (it may well be) the minutest assistance from without to gain a temporary mastery over its rivals! And if, as recent observations tend to show, the mightiest of the planets sympathises with solar action—if, when the sun is most disturbed, the belts of Jupiter are also subject (as of late and in 1860) to strange phenomena of change, how readily do we find an explanation of what otherwise would seem so mysterious, when we remember that as Jupiter disturbs the mighty mass of the sun, so the sun would reciprocally disturb the mass of the largest of his attendant orbs.

In conclusion let me remark that I by no means urge the somewhat startling theory here put forward as definitely to be adopted. It does seem, however, to afford an explanation, or at least some account, of many striking facts which at first sight seem in no way associated, and therefore it is not to be safely dismissed without further and very careful examination. I have made no reference hitherto to the circumstance which first directed my attention in a special manner to this particular theory; the fact, namely, that with the photographs of the late eclipse before me, the conception of *eruptive action* seemed forced upon me as the true explanation of the corona's peculiarities. But the direct evidence thus afforded by the aspect of the corona is not to be neglected, simple though it is in character. It is in this respect that the photographs of the late eclipse are, as I think, calculated to be most useful. We can study at our leisure appearances which during an eclipse must be hastily examined, under circumstances not favourable to the calm exercise of the reasoning faculties. As time progresses, and other photographic records of the corona are placed at our disposal, I believe the definite solution of the problems it presents may be confidently anticipated.

THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT OF NATIONAL DEFENCE.

THE Revolution of September 4, which raised suddenly to power the Government of National Defence, offered a singularly advantageous opportunity for the assumption of authority by a band of conspirators. It is no insult to apply this title to the successful members of the Left who on that occasion seized upon the fallen reins of Government. The situation was one in which the immediate transmission of power to an authority regularly constituted was a practical impossibility. The popular feeling which thrust out the Imperial Government was of a somewhat vague and indefinite kind. Its impulse was eminently one of destruction, and not of reconstruction. It was absorbed wholly in the consideration of the past, and took little or no thought for the morrow. Out of the cloud of rage and shame with which the tremendous tidings of September 3 had almost blinded them, the Parisians saw a gleam of light in the establishment of a free Government; and as that gleam grew and widened into broad day they forgot their grief, and, in the words of Milton, hailed with joy the rising sun of the new Republic. Like the Spartan envoy at Athens, and with a similar burst of enthusiasm, they exclaimed, 'This is the first day of Liberty'; and in the exultation of the moment they took little pains to ensure the security or the permanence of what they imagined they had attained. Thus the twelve members of the old Left who, with well-timed energy, rushed into the vacant seat of empire, found themselves masters of the situation without a rival, without an attempt at opposition. Had the National Guards who effected the Revolution of September taken time to consider what they wished for—had they laid their plans with greater foresight, and joined their indignation against the late Government with a thought as to that which was to succeed it—it is more than probable that they would have insisted successfully upon the establishment of a Communal Assembly. The extreme party, always foremost in such scenes as these, were as favourably inclined at that time to this scheme as they showed themselves afterwards to be, but they did not awake in time to the necessity of immediate action. When they did so it was too late, and their less advanced comrades—their 'reactionary' adversaries, as they afterwards learnt to call them—had got too long a start.

There is a good deal of truth in the common saying that the French can only think of one thing at a time. The *acteurs* of September 4 had but one thought, one preoccupation—that of destroying and obliterating all traces of the rule they had just succeeded in overthrowing. Thus while the population of Paris was engaged in tearing down the Imperial eagles and effacing the Imperial initials, the twelve aspirants to power, sitting in the Hôtel de Ville, were laying the foundations of their proposed Government and making out their plans of future action.

The strength of the new Government, hastily constituted as it was, consisted rather in the absence of opposition than in any positive recognised merit of its own. There was no enthusiasm about their elevation to power—they were acquiesced in, that was all. The mob outside the Hôtel de Ville cheered the Ministry within, but they cheered it without knowing, and almost without enquiring, of what men it was composed. They shouted 'Vive La Gauche' and 'Vive la République' but not one-half of them knew who were the leaders and chiefs that their shouts were raising up to be their

rulers. The mere joy of finding themselves again *en République* was almost sufficient for the moment, and they took little trouble to enquire what sort of a Republic it was likely to be, or to examine minutely what sort of men were at its head. They knew that they were members of the Left, enemies of the late Empire; and for the moment this was a sufficient guarantee: they were content, and continued their rejoicings. And the twelve made the best use of the golden hours, and went on maturing their plans and securing their position. As for the respectable part of the population, it was now too eager to welcome the new power. With all their affected enthusiasm, many of them mistrusted their new-found liberty, and beneath the garb of Republicanism, hastily thrust on, concealed a secret regret for the old *régime* and a contempt and hatred of the new. But *que faire?* There were the new rulers already in the place of power. Was it worth while to depose them? And after all the violence and probable bloodshed of a forcible deposition whom should they agree upon to take their place? The Parisians, moreover, dearly love a *coup de canon*, and there was a sort of retributive justice in the idea that the new Government should supplant the Empire by a stroke similar to that by which the Emperor had destroyed the Constitution of '48.

Then, moreover, who was there to organise an opposition? Which of the scattered and disunited parties into which France had so long been divided? Imperialist, Orleanist, or Legitimist,—none of these, single-handed, had a chance. The storm which swept away the Empire was so violent, and the catastrophe which aroused it so overwhelming, that the Imperial party was entirely crushed and overpowered, and could not hope for a moment to stem the tide that had at last rushed over it. Whether that tide could have been resisted at first, and at what cost, is altogether another question. But, once fallen, the Empire was irrecoverably lost: its partisans had nothing left for them but instant flight. The same rush of feeling which carried away the Imperial dynasty threatened all attempts at establishing a monarchical government of any kind. Neither Legitimists nor Orleanists, even had their supporters been at hand and prepared to act, could have dared to put forward their pretensions against the Deputies who had seized upon the Hôtel de Ville. No combination even of the monarchical factions, had it been possible for them to combine, would have stood a chance for an instant, in Paris, against the republican feeling on the 4th. The Orleanists were only too well pleased to find Trochu still in a place of power; and they were well content to wait until they should have collected their scattered forces, and to take advantage meanwhile of the mistakes and blunders which the new rulers were pretty sure to make.

The only party that had a chance of resisting successfully the new order was the ultra-republican faction—the socialists and communists of Paris. Had they known their strength, had they rallied their forces and struck the blow at once, they might have altered the aspect of the situation, and Paris at least, if not France, might have fallen under their sway. They were unarmed, it is true, and they were undisciplined; but the men who were to oppose them were little better off in these respects. Their numbers and strength have been terribly revealed by events that have since occurred in Paris. It will be fortunate if still more dreadful scenes do not one day prove with an unmistakable clearness how great is their power in the capital.

The choice of the new Ministry —or Committee, as it began by calling itself— was perhaps, under the circumstances, the best that could have been made out of the limited material at the command of the successful party. Between Trochu, whose name stood at the head of the list, and Rochefort, who came last, as wide a range of political opinion was represented as could be expected or desired. It is hardly fair to argue from events that have since occurred that a better choice could have been made at the necessary moment. The men did not unite; they did not make up together a body of able statesmen or efficient organizers; but considering the difficulties of the situation, and the necessity of immediate action, it may well be doubted whether a Radical Ministry would have been formed having at the moment a better prospect of success. 'It is much easier,' as M. Thiers lately remarked in alluding to the late Government, 'to criticise than to act.' Of the twelve members of the new Committee every one was a man whose name was, or had once been, known throughout the whole of France. Some of them had filled places of trust and honour under the old Empire.

The nomination of General Trochu as Governor of Paris, and the addition of his name at the head of the list of Ministers, lent a certain confirmation to that irregularly constituted body. The General was at that time extremely popular in Paris and his co-operation gave to the new Ministry a sort of semblance of authority, and bridged over to a certain extent the gulf that separated the old régime from the new. The addition of Rochefort, on the other hand, while it overwhelmed the respectability, increased enormously the working strength, of the Government. Its most doubtful friends and dangerous supporters were, as it well knew, the followers of that extraordinary person. Little was needed, as subsequent events too amply proved, to change them from lukewarm allies into defiant enemies. But as long as the decrees of the new governors of France bore the signature of Rochefort, they could not well be impugned by the patriots of Belleville and La Villette. The men who outside the Hôtel de Ville greeted the liberated prisoner with their old cry of 'Vive Rochefort!' could not consistently declare themselves hostile to a Ministry of which he formed a part.

It is hardly possible to proceed to a criticism of the conduct of the Government under consideration without a glance at the individual character of the men of whom it was composed.

General Trochu, President of the Committee of National Defence and Governor of Paris, was very far from being a sincere Republican. Throughout all the latter part of his life a decided Orleanist, he had taken little pains to conceal his sympathies, and none to conceal his antipathies. Although, after the revolution, he kept his political opinions very carefully and patriotically to himself, he was always mistrusted and disliked by the extreme Republicans, who constantly suspected or pretended to suspect him of monarchical intrigues. General Trochu, who was born in the famous year 1815, distinguished himself highly in the Crimean war, and received the title and decoration of Grand Officer of the Legion of Honour. Since that time he has become author of a famous book on the constitution of armies and the French army especially; a book, whatever be its merits, which gave to its author the reputation of a great military organiser. The General is a Breton, and now sits as deputy for his native Department of Morbihan in the National Assembly. The

Breton Mobiles, devotedly attached to him, formed a sort of body-guard upon which he could rely to the very last, had there been occasion to appeal to force. During the whole siege these Mobiles were the terror of the 'Reds,' who knew that they would find no mercy at their hands, if once they were let loose. Only one more word as to the character of General Trochu. He is afflicted, unlike most military men, with an inordinate love of speaking, writing, and proclaiming.

Jules Favre, Minister of Foreign Affairs, and, during Gambetta's absence, Minister of the Interior at Paris, was the most celebrated and probably the most able of the new Ministers. Born in 1809, he distinguished himself very early in life as an opponent of monarchical institutions. At the time of the *coup d'état* he was enjoying a good practice at the Bar, and had occupied a post as secretary at the Ministry of the Interior. Under the Empire he became the chief of the small party of opposition called *Les Cinq*, and, applying himself with undiminished energy to his profession, came to be considered, before the year '69, the leading man at the Parisian Bar. In that year he was named Member of the Academy, and his ambition had nothing left to hope for except political power. This he proposed to obtain by a steady opposition to the Empire. He is as far removed from socialist principles as he is from monarchical prejudices, and being a man of position and influence, with a very large fortune at stake, formed the head of what was called the reactionary party in the new Republican Government.

Leon Gambetta, the man whose career has flashed like a meteor through the troubled sky of 1870, commenced life also as a barrister. In 1865, at the age of twenty-three, he gave the first proof of his great abilities in some theses on politics, religion, and art, pronounced before the students of the *Faculté de Droit*. The Baudin trial gave him an opportunity of displaying before a larger world his extraordinary powers of oratory, and he was shortly afterwards elected Deputy as a Republican candidate both at Paris and Marseilles. It was in the last days of the Empire that Gambetta gave full vent to his strong political views, and astonished the House by a display of force and eloquence extremely remarkable. In every measure taken by the Opposition under the Ollivier Ministry he was the foremost and the loudest speaker; and by the audacity and insolence of his language had, during the session of 1870, thrust himself into one of the most prominent places amongst the Republican members of the House. Gambetta's character accords perfectly with his personal appearance. The vivacity and resolution of his mind are immediately suggested by his animated features, florid complexion, and strongly-built frame. He possesses genuine convictions as a Republican, but his grand motive is personal ambition. He is made of the stuff which makes tyrants and bigots, but which also makes heroes and great men. His great merit is energy of determination; his great fault, self-love and over-confidence. Well did Paris estimate his character, long before the world knew much about him, in calling him, with a prophetic truth, 'the most ambitious young man in France.'

The Minister of Public Instruction under the two Republics of 1848 has illustrated in his life the history so familiar to story books, so much more rare in actual life—the history of a man who by his own unaided exertion has, from the very lowest round on the ladder of fame, ascended to very near its summit. Jules Simon started from his native village, at the age of thirteen, with the traditional five

shillings in his pocket. Passing through the inevitable struggles of youthful genius and unusual vicissitudes, he finds himself, after years of obscure trial, a professor at Caen, and the friend of Victor Cousin. In 1818 appeared his first book, *La Liberté de Penser*, which was succeeded by the long series of philosophical treatises which have made his name celebrated throughout Europe. He took his seat in the Legislative Chamber in 1863, and was almost immediately recognised as one of the leading orators in the House. From that time down to the end of the Empire he was a firm opponent of the Imperial system, and a straightforward as well as somewhat violent and intemperate Republicanist. Since his appointment to office, he has applied himself with a firm hand to the great reforms needed in his especial department, and Paris already feels some of the effects of his administration. Never was there such a field of action open to the Ministers of State. Of all the reforms for which France cries aloud, that of her educational system is the most important. M. Jules Simon has shown a strong hand to set about the work; we shall see whether M. Jules Simon is equal to the gigantic task.

Adolphe Crémieux, late Minister of Justice, born only three years after the sanguinary scenes that ushered in the first Republic, is another member of the Bar. He fixed the earlier part of his career under the Republic of 1848 as that which he has lately quitted. At the time of the coup d'état he was imprisoned at Mazas, and re-entered the Legislative Chamber as late as 1869. M. Crémieux has hereditary reputation as an orator and politician. Age has not moderated the violence of his opinions, though it has impaired the powers of his mind and body. He lent his countenance to all the extreme measures attempted by his colleague Gambetta, without possessing any of the energy or force of character necessary to carry them into execution. During the month succeeding his resignation he has attempted to justify his conduct and that of the Deputation by a series of letters whose least fault is their utter feebleness. This *pauvre excellent*, as the Parisians call him, is talked of with more of pity than indignation; and even the Assembly, in its gravest moments, received the mention of his name with a loud murmur of ridicule.

Ernest Picard, Minister of Finance, made his reputation partly as a barrister of ability, but especially by a peculiar wit and irony of manner, which gained him more admiration in Paris than many more solid merits might have done. Immediately on his entry into the Legislative Chamber in 1863 he applied himself to questions of finance, on which he has long been an authority. He was another member of *les Cinq*—that knot of members of the Opposition of which Jules Favre has been mentioned as the chief.

Emmanuel Arago, son of the celebrated astronomer, and brother of the late Mayor of Paris, was in early life the writer of some plays which had a considerable success. He afterwards practised at the Bar, and was one of the chief leaders of the opposition against the Orleans dynasty. It was at Lyons, where he arrived as Commissaire-général of the Republic of February, that he acquired his chief reputation, by the bold act of advancing from the national account a sum of 500,000 francs to be distributed among the destitute workpeople ruined by the political disturbances.

Contemporaneous among the orators on the Opposition benches throughout the time of the Ollivier Ministry was the name of Jules Ferry. This man may be called the Cobden

of French politics. He first became known as the writer of some articles in *Le Temps* setting forth his strong political views. Elected as deputy in '69, he took at once a prominent place among the speakers on the extreme Left.

Louis Antoine Garnier-Pagès, one of the leading men of the Republic of '48, first served the republican cause as a volunteer under arms in his native city of Marseilles as early as the time of the July revolution. He was a chief agent in the reform agitation of '47, and in the following year became successively Mayor of Paris and Minister of Finances. In 1852 he retired into private life, where it would have been as well for himself and his country if he had been suffered to remain. His *History of the Revolution of '48* achieved a good deal of merited fame; but as a Minister of State he must be admitted to have proved neither useful nor ornamental.

Another antiquated member of the late Government is Alexandre Glais-Bizoin. His long parliamentary life has been spent in continual, though not formidable, opposition to monarchical rule. He has been a constant member of the extreme Left, where he has not hesitated to express his admiration and approbation of the principles of '89. This superannuated statesman disputed with his confrère Crémieux the lion's share of the national contempt.

Eugène Pelletan, a violent and pretentious orator, quitted in an evil hour the field of literature for that of politics. His works accord well with his character; the most celebrated of them are *Le Clergé et l'Etat* and *Les Droits de l'Homme*. He was fined and imprisoned in 1861 for an abusive article in the *Courrier du Dimanche*.

The history of Henri Rochefort is too well known to require more than an allusion. Born heir to the title of a Count, he began life as a badly-paid writer to the *Charivari*. The general public first heard of him as a playwright of no mean merit and success; and the Parisians, who had long smiled at his witticisms at their expense, applauded still more loudly on the stage his sarcastic delineation of their manners. The wit and sarcasm of Rochefort were exactly of the form and calibre to attract and delight a true Parisian audience; and his *Lanterne* breathes a flavour of the spirit of Juvenal. The imprisonment and, as it may perhaps be called, the persecution of its venturesome editor gave him the opportunity of completing his popularity as a martyr to the cause of the populace, among whom his audacity and naïve Parisian manner had already made him a kind of idol.

Such was the body of men who undertook to conduct the government of France in a crisis of almost unparalleled difficulty and danger. Never since the days of Rienzi was so serious a charge so lightly undertaken. Never did there seem to be so little chance of a successful issue. But the very gravity of the situation that had collected and started on their course this heterogeneous band, the very imminence of the peril that threatened almost instantly to overwhelm them, helped them to hit upon the only watch-word that could rally the people and give them hope. Their one justification in their conduct was the desperate condition of the country: their one chance of power was their success in extricating her. Here was their line of policy sketched out plainly enough from the very first. The only course open to them was to enter boldly upon it with the best confidence that they could muster. Hence the happy invention, the unanimous adoption, of their famous title, 'the Government of National Defence.'

But, in order that they should get credit to themselves for the

course that they were thus enforced to pursue, they must not only deliver France; they must deliver her with honour. They must be the leaders of a national movement as successful as that of '92. Hence their celebrated war-cry—the ultimatum of their foreign policy—'Not a stone of our fortresses; not an inch of our territory!'

In regarding the situation and chances of the Government at this first moment of their existence, we must assume them to have been influenced by motives of personal ambition—an honourable ambition, perhaps; an ambition certainly justifiable, if consentaneously undertaken. But it is impossible to deny that they deliberately chose to form themselves into a dictatorial decadecemvirate. To say that they were all influenced by mere thirst for power and individual pride of place, would be going much too far. The case of General Trochu would undoubtedly furnish an exception to so sweeping an accusation. But each of the several parties in that Government Orleanists, Liberals, or Ultra-Republicanists were anxious, more or less, to give themselves the chance that their personal influence as members of an existing Government would secure to them ultimately in forwarding their own political schemes. And the Committee (as it began by calling itself) of National Defence proceeded by gradual but decided steps to assume to itself the full powers of Government and the functions of a sovereign authority

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ing to the terms of the revised Constitution of May 1852, which maintained in all its strictness the theory of the responsibility of the Chief of the State recognised in the Constitution of January 1852.

'(2) To revise immediately the Constitution of November 1848, and, according to the terms of the Constitution, to convene the nation without delay, but with the necessary allowance of time, to choose by universal suffrage on Sunday the 18th September, a President of the French Republic, and on the following Sunday, the 25th, a legislative body, to be considered as a constituent of that which was violently deposed by a nocturnal stratagem on the 2nd December, 1851.

'(3) To convoke all the electors of France, for the purpose of electing, on Sunday the 18th, a Government Assembly, to join issue with sovereign authority upon the fate of the Empire, the maintenance or change of the form of government, and upon the conclusion of peace or the continuation of the war.

'The Deputies of Paris were absolute masters of the situation. The fact is proved by their successfully maintaining an entire dictature from the 4th of September to this day (November).'

The adoption of any one of these courses would have given France a regular Government capable of treating with the enemy. Count Bismark could not, in such case, have had the plea to fall back upon which put an end to the negotiations of September 19. But 'it is, unfortunately, undeniable that the Deputies who seized upon the ruins of power on September 4 last did no one of these three things. They assumed, therefore, an immense responsibility, from which they will be discharged only by victory.'

'The invaders of the Hotel de Ville chose to give themselves the same title, to start with the same origin, as the deposed Emperor had done on an act of violence. They deliberately took upon themselves the functions of sovereignty, and assumed all the responsibilities with all the fruits of a *de facto* Government unauthorised by legal sanction. It was not till Novem-

[1] *Les Conséquences par Emile de Girardin*, p. 38.

ber 3 that the Government of National Defence acquired anything like a legal title to the powers they were exercising. Even then the vote or *plébiscite* which gave them that imperfect title was only the vote of a single city. The rest of France pronounced no opinion, and was asked for no opinion, until February 8.

The new Government, having thus determined to exercise all the powers of practical sovereignty, proceeded without delay to the execution of several important measures which they deemed necessary to the furtherance of their scheme. Into these measures a committee, appointed for that purpose by the National Assembly, is now pursuing its investigations. The charges which that committee will have to examine, side by side with the explanations of the late Ministers, will be found, omitting minor details, to connect themselves with one or other of the following heads of consideration: (1) the removal and replacement of public magistrates; (2) the suppression of public institutions; (3) public expenditure; and (4) military appointments and organisation.

Almost the first act of the September Government was the removal of all the prefects and sub-prefects then exercising the powers to which they had been appointed under the Imperial regime. It was this strong measure that first opened the eyes of the country to the real intentions of the new rulers of France. Yet the mere removal of these officers might be a salutary measure. A free election of their successors in the departments and sous-prefectures would give a complete new set of magistrates possessing, in all probability, the confidence of the provinces over which their sway extended. This would be the first-fruits of the days of Liberty: one of the abuses of the Empire would really be removed. But these hopes were soon frustrated; in fact, almost before they could be formed. To the removal of the old magistrates succeeded the nomination of new ones. The creatures of the Opposition faction stepped into the place of the minions of the Empire. The indignation was intense. Such a measure was the mere substitution of one tyranny for another. But in fact the new tyranny was an aggravation of the former. The Imperial prefects were at least usually men of position in their departments; they were known and, certainly in most cases, respected by the population with whom they had to deal. But the new Republican prefects were simply adventurers imported from the capital.

There was a great outcry against centralisation; the provincial jealousy against Paris was increased tenfold. It was remarked that out of forty-five new prefects and sub-prefects thirty-seven were barristers practising in Paris. The responsibility of this measure, and of those immediately to be mentioned, falls upon M. Gambetta, the Minister of the Interior, as the act of his special department in the Cabinet. More recent official documents have shown that the moderate members of the Government, headed by Jules Favre, were strongly opposed to it from the first. As for the departments themselves, nothing but the fear of force induced them to acquiesce, and Marseilles, always independent and insolent, flatly refused to receive the prefect appointed for her.

In a very significant passage of one of his late speeches[1] M. Thiers avowed that France "within the last few months had seen her fair organisation shattered and crushed." It is not difficult to give a definite

[1] Speech in the National Assembly, February 19, 1871, announcing the formation of the Ministry.

interpretation to the meaning of these words. Every Frenchman understands them well. We will endeavour to make them equally intelligible to English ears. Another celebrated document[1], more particularly asserts that 'the sacred law providing for the permanency of magistrates' has been unconstitutionally infringed. It is to the acts of M. Cremieux, the Minister of Justice, that this condemnatory remark refers. The judges of the four French Courts have all of them, ever since the Revolution of '93, enjoyed, like our judges, the right of holding their offices 'during good behaviour.' No one of the Governments that had succeeded one another since that time had dared to interfere with this constitutional privilege. M. Cremieux, bold beyond precedent, at last ventured on the step, and summarily dismissed those Judges whose appointments, under the Imperial rule, he had reason to be dissatisfied with. He of course endeavoured to put forward a plausible excuse for this very arbitrary proceeding.

In order to comprehend at all the bearings and importance of the question relating to the *Conseils généraux* and the *Conseils municipaux*, it is necessary to have some understanding of the internal organization of France as established by the Napoleonic Code, with certain modifications introduced from time to time. A very few words will explain the system sufficiently for our present purpose.

The eighty-nine Departments of France are each of them divided into a number of 'communal arrondissements,' varying according to the extent and population of the department. The whole number of these arrondissements in France is no less than 1,362. In each of them was exercised precisely its own 'communal control,' which superintended the minor internal affairs of the arrondissement that is to say, what may be called the *legislative* and *administrative* part of them, the *executive* being, for the main part, in the hands of the prefects and sub-prefects. These councils were made up of persons of respectability, elected by the universal suffrage of the arrondissement, paid for their services, but acting in a great many cases rather out of regard for the honour of the post than with a view to emolument.

A more important council in each of the departments holds its sittings once every year. It is these last councils which go by the name of *Conseils généraux*. They are composed of persons chosen in a different manner by the population of the whole department. For the purpose of electing the *Conseillers généraux* the Department is divided into *cantons*, each of which comprises about 35,000 inhabitants. The title of *Conseiller général* always ranked high in the public estimation, and the places were filled by men of wealth and good character, possessing great influence throughout the department, more especially as the honours of the counsellor were often followed by his election as Deputy.

The 'municipal councils' did very much the same service for the towns and boroughs as the communal councils did for the arrondissements. They were presided over by the Mayor, a dignitary who was appointed in towns of more than two thousand inhabitants by the Government, and in towns containing a less population by the suffrage of the citizens. The control of the prefect over these councils extended only to a power of suspending the execution of their decrees; they could be reversed only by the Minister of the Interior.

[1] Proclamation of M. Jules Favre and the Paris members of the Government of National Defence to announce the decree of the Legislature.

The three councils, thus constituted, had each their functions definitely marked out. That of the *Conseil général* was to listen to a report read to them by the prefect, their president, as to the financial and general internal condition of the department and the wants of the several arrondissements as signified to the prefect by the communal assembly. Upon this report the councillors, sitting as a sort of miniature parliament, discussed and passed or rejected the measures which they were asked to authorise. The municipal councils, unlike those of the communes, were responsible only to the Legislative Body, by whom, and by the prefect, as above mentioned, their acts were superintended. With the *Conseils de Préfecture* we have here nothing to do: they were mere bodies of advisers selected by the prefect to assist him in his functions.

A moment's consideration of the complicated scheme of internal administration thus briefly sketched out will show what a sweeping measure was that taken by the French Government of September, or rather by its Minister, in abruptly suppressing the *Conseils généraux* altogether and transferring their functions to the hands of the prefects and sub-prefects, whom they had already secured as agents of their own. This second measure of Gambetta's was a still more flagrant instance than the other of the attempt at centralisation and at weakening the power of the local authorities. The two measures together placed the whole rural population at one blow under the pressure of an immense political influence, compared with which that exercised previously by the Emperor was trifling and unobtrusive. If the Imperialists were crushed by it, the more ardent local partisans also winced under the stroke. This might be the thin end of the wedge that was to destroy all their hopes and establish a Republican rule based upon more tyrannous principles than any that France had yet suffered under. It would be as easy to supersede Orleanist prefects as it had been to supplant the Imperialist nominees, and in a very short time every magistracy in France might be filled with the subservient Ministers of the will of this upstart Government. The *Conseillers généraux* themselves resented personally the affront as much as they objected on political grounds to its arbitrary character. The measure was a bold one, inspired by the same ambitious spirit which M. Gambetta strove to the very end to carry into action, but which soon failed the less sanguine members of the Government in Paris, and had utterly died out of their breasts long before the day of the capitulation.

It was not, however, considered sufficient by the Minister of the Interior to get rid of the Imperialist agents among the rural population. Even in the towns he proposed to purge the country of that pernicious and detested influence. The mayors were degraded almost universally, and superseded, as the prefects had been. Even the *Conseils municipaux* were held in suspicion, and it was proposed to supersede these purely local assemblies by municipal 'commissions' appointed under Government. Such a scheme, precisely analogous as it was to the other measures of M. Gambetta, excited hardly less dissatisfaction in the towns than they had in the hamlets and *communes*. It was never extensively carried into actual effect, but the intention is plain, it was well understood in France that, had the military ability and successes of Gambetta only given him a little more strength, he would have carried out this measure as fully as he did the others, and France would have been very nearly at the mercy of his ambition.

The subject of national expenditure by the Delegation at Tours and Bordeaux cannot be discussed with any degree of accuracy until the account-books, now under inspection, have been thoroughly looked through. It is not to be denied that a very strong impression exists throughout France that huge waste — to use the very mildest term — has been going on in the name of the Government.

It is impossible for the late Government to shift from its shoulders the blame that attaches to the conduct and management of the armies of France during the time of their administration. Were it the fault of the Generals and officers, or of the men, or of the War Office, they elected, as we have seen, to bear the responsibility of defeat, as they would have reaped the glory of victory. They undertook, by their title and their programme, to defend France and to save her intact. They must bear the blame of the failure of their promise, however good their intention may have been, and Gambetta must aid.

The moral and intellectual calibre of this man would be a curious study, were it not that his own power, while he lasted, and reputation made him unassailable, and his own mind and sole exertions were equal to fulfilling all the functions that he attempted, military as well as civil. It is on this principle alone that we can explain the jealousy and discord which existed between the Minister and his Generals. It is to it that we explain the constant change of commanders, and the fatal separation of forces into separate and often isolated armies or corps. A flagrant instance of the spirit of jealousy and its effects but one which has not received its due share of notice in public, is the refusal of the Minister of the general and supreme Administration. With this brave and competent man, as we have strong reason to suppose him, to advise and counsel him, Gambetta might have made a very different affair of his work of national organisation. As it was, the Admiral was almost immediately disgusted with the obstinacy and presumption of a man who used his civil position of temporary superiority as an excuse for dictating measures upon which he was wholly incompetent to form an opinion.

The same self-willed and arrogant spirit which was at the root of all this mischief induced Gambetta to raise to places of trust and responsibility men who were nowise fit by their capacity or position to occupy them, but whom he could count upon as docile agents and subservient followers. A few instances will substantiate this charge — a very grave one, as it will at once be admitted. They will illustrate, also, the whole system of Gambetta's policy as active criticised. At Toulouse M. Duportal, a violent Republican agitator, was substituted (with a salary of 6000 francs) for the deposed prefect, who had been in receipt of 4000. M. Charles Monnier, a correspondent, was made chief director and attached to the staff of Gambetta's army. M. Cavaré, executor of an obscure journal called the *Journal de Vaucluse*, was made chief of the cabinet of correspondence to the Prefect of the Bouches du Rhône. M. Bayol, a lawyer, was appointed Inspector of the Commissariat for the Midi, with a salary of 8000 francs. Lieutenant of artillery, and Chief of Staff, was made military governor of Lyons, with a salary of 12000 francs. These appointments may be considered at the very least premature. It is notorious that persons of the lowest rank, and often of the most questionable morals, were elevated to places of trust and emolument in the ministerial offices and in the army.

It is hardly necessary to mention the crowning instance of Gambetta's presumption in the famous decree of the Bordeaux Deputation, excluding the Imperial candidates from election as Deputies. It was this measure which caused to burst out the long-concealed jealousy between the Governments of Paris and Bordeaux. The answer of the Parisian Ministers, already quoted, might almost serve as articles of impeachment against the authors of the obnoxious decree. The rupture which had long existed in the Ministry of September 4 was at last exposed publicly to view. The resignation of Gambetta and Crémieux almost completed the dissolution of a Ministry already weakened by the withdrawal of Rochefort.

It remains only to say a word or two on the brighter side of the conduct of the Government of National Defence. The instances of patriotic energy, forbearance, good temper, and desire to recognise and deal fairly with all rights and interests, are far too many to be enumerated. To set them in their proper light, it is only necessary to put the conduct and the acts of the leaders of the Revolution of 1870 side by side with those of the Revolutionists of 1789, or even 1848. Comparing them together, and taking into consideration the extremely difficult position in which General Trochu and his colleagues were placed, and the enemies they had to deal with, internal and external, they come out of the struggle, not certainly with glory and renown, but at least with honour. In point of personal honesty the character of almost all the Ministers is without a stain of suspicion.

We have said not a word on the subject of their foreign policy: that is a question with which we did not propose to deal, but the diplomatic perils and trials which beset them must be taken into consideration as enhancing the difficulties of their home administration. Now their rule is over, and their weaknesses have been fairly laid open to our view, we may question whether any other men in France would have done better than they did. Since their resignation, the Government that has succeeded them has already become embroiled in a civil war, and France now presents a more melancholy spectacle than before the changes effected at Bordeaux. With all their unpopularity at the time, with all their faults and failings, the Barrister Ministry will not be looked back upon wholly without sympathy and perhaps a certain share of admiration.

It seems not unlikely that the verdict of their country may be an echo of the words of M. Thiers,—'If they erred, it was on the side of over-zeal.'

They were unhappy in having undertaken a task utterly beyond their strength, and France was most unhappy in not finding any better men to entrust it to.

E. B. M.

FRASER'S MAGAZINE.

MAY 1871.

THE CONDITION OF FRENCH POLITICS

Of most political problems it is easy to discern, or to fancy, a possible if not a probable solution. Out of most political situations the means of extrication are usually to be found in the calling forth, or the combination, of some actually existing forces in the nation. Either misconceptions are to blame for the difficulty,—and there are statesmen clear-headed, honest, and respected enough to bring about a better understanding between the contending parties. Or the essence of the crisis lies in a struggle between contending interests and inextricable conspiracies alone the way out of the danger. Or suffering and adversity have roused the masses into an irresistible turbulence, and then good harvests and returning prosperity may bring about that reaction and satisfaction which, if natural, may be to blame, and then there is an opening for the judicious efforts of the pacificator. Or the case is one merely of an obstinate misunderstanding between two powerful and strong-willed persons, and then a mere word may have caused the quarrel, and almost spontaneous recollection and reversion, and then returning trans-

quillity may be purchased by the abolition of the oppressive tax, or privilege, or law. Or finally, it may be a man of genius and character equal to the crisis that is the one thing needful,—and such men are known to exist in the nation, and are pretty certain to rise to the surface by their own buoyancy, or to be summoned forth by the acclaiming voices of their fellow-citizens. But none of these descriptions fit the actual state of France. In almost every country and at almost every period, elements of order and disorder—integrating and disintegrating forces—exist in varying proportions of activity and strength. But in France the elements of violence, confusion, and disintegration seem boundless and ubiquitous, and those of concentration, of coherence, of command, to be hidden out of sight, or painfully feeble and inadequate. There is no "great interest against a whole nation," such as Burke said kept down the independence of a foreign country and carried away the wealth locally to it—a cause which appears to have given power and spread wider than have men of brains or character have yet learned to realise. Neither are there now observers keen enough to have marked the fatal flaw in the fine linen. Have both natural eyes and field-glass from studying symptoms and probing more to the bottom, because the

search must involve a condemnation so stern and an inference so nearly hopeless.

The first fact to be faced is this: that, while the French possess no one source or centre of authority which there is a general predisposition to reverence and obey, they at the same time refuse to acknowledge those fundamental political axioms which lie at the very basis of self-government, and are destitute of those moral qualifications by which alone it can be maintained. In a word they recognise no right to rule in any institution, person, or principle. They have no faith in any creed, no allegiance to any family, no loyalty to any political theory or doctrine capable of intelligible definition. Practically they repudiate the duty of obedience to any law but their own individual wills. They have overthrown an ancient church, an hereditary aristocracy, and three sovereign dynasties, and have enthroned universal suffrage, or the will of the nation, in their stead;—and thus far it may be argued that they were right, or at least warranted, if not wise, in doing so. But they have shown no more respect to the universal suffrage they had set up than to the principalities and powers they had thrown down. The majority everywhere and on all occasions have set the minority at defiance, utterly refusing to obey their decisions or defer to their authority, and deserting or destroying their representatives and administrative agents wherever they had power to do so, and they have acted thus without, to all appearance, the least consciousness that such proceedings flagrantly set at naught the very foundation on which their cherished democracy was built. Nowhere, neither in the higher nor the lower ranges of society in this country nor in the colonies, has there been any frank acquiescence in the result of universal suffrage, or any perception even of the moral duty of obeying it. Is it not clear that at the root of this habitual frame of mind and style of action lies the instinct of the arbitrary despot; that its appeal is to force wielded by egotism; and that a temper and a people thus strangely fashioned can be governed by coercion only? It assumes a right to control, defy, and override the wishes and the rights of others, more numerous and with equal claims, and can obviously therefore be met only by the [illegible] of all tyrants, whether popular or regal. Are we not justified in saying that a prevalent habit and proclivity of this sort makes self-government impossible, is virtually a negation of free institutions and a constitutional régime, and leads inevitably and by correct logical sequence to a transference of rule to exasperated Vigilance Committees among a people like the Americans, or to the supremacy of a military chief, or a despot wielding the army, and too probably obliged to bribe or, to pamper, and thereby to demoralise it?

Next in order comes the disintegration of national life in France — a disintegration which is scarcely more political than social. There never was true human fraternity, now there is not even the appearance of unity necessary to that of co-operation. There is no longer a 'People', there are still classes, coteries, and sections, but even among these the internal bonds of unity seem to be loosening year by year. There is no longer any force above or without to fuse and weld the materials of the nation into a whole, and no intimate attraction or cohesive influence to bind them together, in the absence of such external pressure. Society has ceased to be national, it is barely a congeries of ranks and classes in any definite sense, it is scarcely tending to be so at all. [illegible] to the Latin [illegible]

ion large section of the electorate—perhaps as numerous as the adherents of any of the three Pretenders—who maintain that there ought to be no Chief at all. There are the Legitimists, who claim to rule in virtue of Divine right and hereditary usage, and these have to back them the few scattered remnants of the old nobility, the majority of the priesthood, and certain districts in the south and west, where ancient superstition and long usage may have survived the change of the last eighty years. There are the Orleanists, who base their pretensions on the descendant claims of the middle and educated classes, who represent what are called "constitutional principles," and who, in the event of a restoration, would have to reckon with their former predecessors, and their large, active, energetic, and powerful, and fortunate adherents. There are the Bonapartists, resting their hopes of a third Empire on the three forms of democratic rule, the vast [illegible] the diverse elements of military glory and [illegible] which they appeal to the [illegible] of the [illegible] and the [illegible] which [illegible] as the [illegible] Napoleon, with [illegible] Bonaparte, [illegible] Napoleon [illegible] Bonaparte [illegible] Napoleon [illegible] Bonaparte [illegible] Napoleon [illegible] Bonaparte

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...ss large section of the electorate perhaps as numerous as the adherents of any of the three Pretenders—who maintains that there ought to be no Pretender at all. There are the Legitimists, who claim to rule in virtue of Divine right and hereditary usage, and these have to back them the few scattered relics of the old nobility, the majority of the priesthood, and certain districts in the south and west, which are attached to feudal and loyal traditions. There are the Orleanists, who base their pretensions on the democratic choice of the nation and the middle classes, who represent what are called constitutional principles, and with the ... are, moreover, the Protestants, with their feeble pretensions, and their large, active, wealthy, and influential ... There are the Bonapartists, resting their hopes of a ... on the three millions of votes by which the ... was established, the great Napoleonic traditions, the devotion of the army to the memory of the ... and the prestige which attaches to the name of the ... A ... added down from the west of the first Napoleon, a little whimsical ... the tradition, and a ... against ... causes and ... such as the ... Napoleon, with all ... the ... of forty years' ... the ... years' ... world, ... the ... the ... and ... —these ... as ... and ... the ... Bartholomy St Hilaire may stand as representatives,—the fanatics and aspirers after economic impossibilities, whose strength and inspiration lie more in the latter and more honest of the artisans, whose dream is of a revolution far more social than political, and of which, perhaps, men like Pyat and Louis Blanc may be taken as spokesmen and leaders—and, lastly, the idlers, roughs and ... desperadoes, ... criminals and ... who ... in Paris and ... at large cities, who find their ... in every ... , hanging on to the skirts of every insurrection, and ... and disheartening by their fatal adhesion every wild scheme of reform, and every ... outburst of liberty or patriotism.

Now, in none of all these parties has any marked ascendency over the others, or any permanent influence over the mind of France; each is an antagonist of the rest, each in turn has tried its hand at supremacy, and each has been thrown back by repeated discomfiture or ... The Church has presented ... in such a ... that it has divided the interest of the possessing, and ... the ... by and ... in the ... and Americas, and with the Protestant, has ... the ... of ... ...

Roused at my step, she started, while the damsel,
While to her call a steed [illegible]
'Tis he,' she cried, 'tis [illegible] 'Omar!'
What brought him here, through night and fire and darkness?
Ah me! too mad the lover! too rash the lover!
How 'scape the death? how bide the [illegible] the danger?'
'Fear not, my fame, my life for thine,' I answered,
'From thousand foes secure thee and to shield thee.'

And so on, through sixty more couplets, containing much of love, and not a little of vanity.

Under the later Abbaside Caliphs, the fate of a poet, whatever his rank or talent, who should have dared to make free with the name of the reigning sovereign's daughter in amatory verse, would have been doubtful at best, and under Persian or Turkish rulers it would not have been doubtful at all. But the Benoo-Omeyyah, though often despotic and even sanguinary at the bidding of ambition or policy, were yet genuine Arabs; and among Arabs, not the Benoo-'Adra only, Heine's favourites, 'who when they love they die,' but throughout the tribes of Nejd, and the northern peninsula, adventures like those of 'Omar the Mogherite and Fatimah the Caliph's daughter were neither uncommon nor even disreputable. True, when pushed too far, or when the principal parties concerned happened to belong to hostile tribes, or when some particularly hot-tempered cousin or jealous rival came on the stage, the issue might be serious, and, in rare instances, fatal; but under no circumstances did disgrace attach itself to the loved or the lover so long as their affection was proof against inconstancy and unstained by vice. The so-called chivalrous feeling, that lays the laurels won by sword or pen at the feet, not of a chief or a party, but of female beauty and excellence—that consecrates its efforts to the honour of woman, and ennobles daring and danger by her name and behoof, had always existed in germ among the Arab tribes, even during the epoch of their first barbarism, and may be yet found among the inhabitants of Nejd, where the first ranks of battle are even in our day, as in old time, headed by a maiden, the standard-bearer and arbitress of the fight. But it was in the genuine days of Arab leadership, from the establishment of the Damascene throne till its removal to Bagdad, that this form of Arab life—poetry spread widest and produced its most brilliant examples.

To return, however, to 'Omar. Though unvisited by any direct chastisement for his rashness he underwent for some time the indirect penalty of exclusion from the Court, where indeed his presence, so long as the daughter of 'Abd-el-Melik remained there, could hardly have been permitted, but at last her marriage with one of her numerous cousins, and shortly afterwards the death of her father, did away with this exclusion; and his son and successor El-Walyd, on a visit to Mecca during the first year of his reign, restored the poet to all his former favour and easy intimacy. The prudence of family dependants seems to have abstained from any notice of Fatimah's share in the adventure.

W. Gifford Palgrave.

CHINESE STATESMEN AND STATE PAPERS.

II

IN a previous Number we gave two State papers from the pen of one of China's most distinguished statesmen, of one of the highest placed Chinese that ever was more especially attached to the palace as the preceptor of the young Emperor. What his opinions and feelings were in regard to the foreign relations of China, was made abundantly clear. That he was prejudiced to the point of bigotry, and hostile to all innovation as well to everything foreign, was very plain. As we read these overflowings of splenetic rage at the propositions of the Yamén to institute a foreign college at Peking, and to send a diplomatic mission to Europe, it is impossible not to be struck with the ominous announcement of an imperial preceptor of this stamp, and a youth under fifteen for his pupil—when that pupil is to be the future Ruler of China.

It has sometimes been assumed that the general tendency of modern progress is to destroy or modify the importance of the personal element in the direction of individuals and governments in the destiny of nations. But though the power of the masses may be greater, and the voice of the many may be more frequently heard in political questions—when the press has, in this, as in other respects, changed the face of the West, having made the fourth estate scarcely inferior in power to that of the Sovereign at the head of the nation, it would be a great mistake to assume that individuality of character has ceased to exercise a predominating influence both in the affairs of life and the destiny of nations. Over the two continents where the Aryan race rules with all the levelling influences of modern civilization and democratic institutions combined, only masked in many constitutional governments like our own by a monarchy,—*how often we see the preponderance of single minds prevail!* What has been the effect in France of the life and actions of one man for the last twenty years? If in 1848 there had been no Louis Napoleon to inherit the name and with it the traditions, the prestige and vain glory of the Empire, how different might have been the destiny of France in 1852—and in all the succeeding years, up to the declaration of the last most disastrous war! And in the first conduct of that war, how much of the unparalleled reverses which immediately followed, was due to the Emperor's character and tendencies as an individual? May not the same be said with even greater truth of the first of his name, and the influence he exercised over Europe and the destinies not of one but of many nations, for nearly as long a period? So of Nicholas of Russia, and certain leading men of the peace-party in England. Did they not between them bring about a Crimean war? In the United States of America, under the largest and freest play of democracy, is it not certain that the secession which led to one of the most sanguinary and protracted wars of modern times, and to the emancipation of the slaves for its ultimate end, was mainly due to a few individual men who took the lead? Without going back to more remote periods when the nations of Europe were avowedly shaped to their different ends by single men—not always kings or statesmen either—witness Luther and the Reformation—we are led rather to the conclusion that the power of single minds over the many was never more certain, under whatever form of government, whether republican or monarchical. In modern times we repeat it is not always those nominally at the head

Roused at my step, she started, while the damsel,
Wide to her call a sister [illegible]
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II

IN a previous Number we gave the State papers from the pen, if not the most polished statesman, of one of the best placed Chinese functionaries more especially attached to the palace as the preceptor of the young Emperor. What his opinions and feelings were in regard to the foreign relations of China, was made abundantly clear. That he was prejudiced to the point of bigotry, and hostile to all innovation as well to everything foreign, was very plain. As we read these overflowings of splenetic rage at the proposals of the Yamén to institute a foreign college at Peking, and to send a diplomatic mission to Europe, it is impossible not to be struck with the ominous connection of an ignorant preceptor of this stamp, and a youth under fifteen for his pupil—when that pupil is to be the future Ruler of China.

It has sometimes been assumed that the great tendency of modern progress is to destroy or greatly abridge the influence of individual statesmen, through the destiny of nations. If this be so, the power of the few may be greater, and the power of the many may be more frequently traced in all political events—whether the press has, in this, another counterpart in the West, being a fourth estate scarcely inferior in power to that of the Sovereign at the head of the nation, it were a great mistake to assume that individuality of character has ceased to exercise a predominating influence both in the affairs of life and the destiny of nations. Over the two continents where the Aryan race rules with all the levelling agencies of modern civilization and democratic institutions combined, only masked in many constitutional governments like our own by a monarchy,—how often we see the will of single minds prevail! What has been the effect in France of the life and actions of one man for the last twenty years? If in 1848 there had been no Louis Napoleon to inherit the name and with it the traditions, the prestige and vain glory of the Empire, how different might have been the destiny of France in 1852—and in all the succeeding years, up to the declaration of the last most disastrous war! And in the first conduct of that war, how much of the unparalleled reverses which immediately followed, was due to the Emperor's character and tendencies as an individual? May not the same be said with even greater truth of the first of his name, and the influence he exercised over Europe and the destinies not of one but of many nations, for nearly as long a period? So of Nicholas of Russia, and certain leading men of the peace-party in England. Did they not between them bring about a Crimean war? In the United States of America, under the largest and freest play of democracy, is it not certain that the secession which led to one of the most sanguinary and protracted wars of modern times, and to the emancipation of the slaves for its ultimate end, was mainly due to a few individual men who took the lead? Without going back to more remote periods when the nations of Europe were avowedly shaped to their different ends by single men—not always kings or statesmen either—witness Luther and the Reformation—we are led rather to the conclusion that the power of single minds over the many was never more certain, under whatever form of government, whether republican or monarchical. In modern times we repeat it is not always those nominally at the head

saw this idea enunciated in Mattieu Williams's *Fuel of the Sun* were scarcely more ready to accept it than to admit those other associated ideas which, while not a whit more startling, were opposed to known dynamical laws. There is indeed nothing absolutely incredible in the conception that masses of gaseous, liquid, or solid matter should be flung to a height exceeding manifold that of the loftiest of the coloured prominences; whereas it is not only incredible but impossible that such matter should in any case come to circle on a closed orbit around the sun. Yet probably the latter idea scarcely seemed to the majority of readers to be more definitely opposed to accepted astronomical views than the former.

But before dismissing the supposition as altogether incredible, it will be well to remember that although it appears in Mr. Williams's book in company with ideas and conclusions which *must* be rejected, it is not on the one hand opposed to any known laws, physical or dynamical, while on the other it is supported by much evidence of a kind that it would be unsafe to overlook. Combining these considerations with the circumstance that the supposition seems to promise a solution of some of the difficulties which have been considered above, while, even since Mr Williams wrote, evidence of the most striking character has been obtained respecting the sun's eruptive energies, it seems desirable that we should examine it very carefully.

It will be obvious even at a first view that if the sun has power to propel streams of gaseous, liquid, or solid matter to distances corresponding to the observed extension of the coronal radiations, all those difficulties which depend on the association of the radiations with the bulging portions of the inner corona, and the regions of most active prominence-formation, vanish at once. The observed relations are in fact what the theory would require: if others were noticed, the theory would have to be rejected.

But is it conceivable that the required velocity of projection or eruption can be given to such streams or masses? Or rather have we any evidence which could render the conception credible? For I take it that as regards the sun's potential energies in respect of eruptive action, it would be very difficult to fix any definite limit. The forces at work within the sun are so enormous that there would be nothing absolutely incredible in the idea that a globe as vast as our earth, or even as one of the giant planets, might be propelled from him with a velocity sufficing to carry it within the sphere of attraction ruled over by some other sun.

We have in the eruptive prominences the means of gauging in some sort the sun's propulsive energies. It seems to have been proved beyond possibility of question that some of these prominences have been projected from the sun with a velocity of about one hundred and twenty miles per second. Young gave this as the result of direct observation, and the result has been confirmed by observations made with the spectroscope. Motions within the sierra at such a rate as well as upward motions in the hydrogen around the photosphere at a similar rate seem to leave no question that glowing hydrogen is at times urged with this inconceivable velocity through the solar atmosphere envelope.

The two white spots [illegible] in Sagittarius, receding at a rate of at least [illegible] per second. [illegible] may not [illegible]

But now, assuming with Zöllner that the phenomena of eruption are due to a force of compression having its birthplace far below the photosphere, and in regard to which the analogy of terrestrial volcanoes leads us to expect that the resistance encountered after the photosphere is reached will be very great, we may conclude that in the beginning the velocity is far greater than that of which we can form any adequate conception. The crust is penetrated with but little difficulty, and apart from the retarding influence of the atmosphere, it will be quite rationally assumed that the matter rushes upwards with a velocity which is at least as great as that originally imparted. This statement must not be misunderstood to imply that the force, but on the contrary implies it. At a height equal to the radius of the sun the larger portion of the erupted matter may be proving hydrogen, yet it must be far from unlikely that other and denser matter, even perhaps metallic matter, may be present, mixed with the hydrogen,—much as water, sand, and mud are projected mingling with steam in the case of a geyser eruption. All present in the water, the latter is projected from a geyser vent to a far greater height than the steam, as is shown by the rise of the cloud into which the latter resolves itself, and it must be manifest that any denser matter, and especially any liquid or solid matter projected during a solar eruption, would reach to a far greater height than the erupted hydrogen, or, what is to the present purpose, would rush from the sun's surface with a far greater proportion of the velocity originally imparted. When we remember that observations made during the recent eclipse serve to show that immediately above the solar photosphere there exists an atmosphere (which, to be visible at all, can scarcely be less than two hundred miles deep) composed of the vapours of heavy metals known to exist in the sun, and therefore necessarily (under the enormous influence of the attractive energy) extremely dense, it will not, I think, be unreasonable to assign as the initial velocity imparted far below even the photospheric level, a rate exceeding two or three times that observed within the corona. This would give us for the velocity of such denser or even liquid matter as we have supposed to be erupted along with the hydrogen, a rate of between two hundred and forty and three hundred and sixty miles per second. The least of these velocities would suffice to carry a projectile as far from the sun as the outer limits of the coronal radiations observed under ordinarily favourable circumstances. A velocity of three hundred and sixty miles per second would suffice to send a projectile as far from the sun as our orbit. It would need but an addition of twenty miles per second to this velocity to send a projectile clean away from the sun, so that if there were any further increase, the erupted matter would

[illegible] Young and Mr Lyo

not only be propelled with force enough to carry it beyond the domain of the sun, but when it eventually entered the domain of another sun, then, over and above the velocity imparted to it by the attractive energies of that sun, it would possess a proportion of the velocity imparted to it by its parent sun.[1]

It would almost seem, then, that we are proving too much; that velocities not so much greater than those necessary to explain the coronal radiations as phenomena of eruption would cause our earth to be saluted with solar missiles; and also—for we must push this argument to its limit—that, our sun sending within the domains of other stars masses still possessing a portion of their initial velocity, we should be led to expect that from out *those* domains masses would reach *our* solar system with extra-solar velocities. In the former case it is clear that the fall of large meteoritic masses (assuming solar and stellar eruptions to vomit *such* bodies) should be a phenomenon occurring oftener in the day-time than at night—that is, over the hemisphere turned towards the sun. Strangely enough, this preponderance of day-falls actually exists in a very marked degree, and has never, so far as I know, received any adequate explanation. Yet again if meteoritic masses reached us with extra-solar velocities—that is, with velocities greater than the sun could impart to matter drawn by him from an indefinitely great distance up to our earth's place—then the observations which have been made upon the motions of meteors and falling stars ought to have revealed this excessive velocity. Here again it happens that velocities far greater than could be explained by the sun's attractive energies[2] had been assigned by most careful observers to certain meteoric bodies; and it had been pointed out (I think first by Mayer) that these velocities presented a difficulty very hard to interpret; nor, so far as I am aware, had any satisfactory explanation been afforded. Quite apart too from the perhaps questionable observations of meteoric velocities, many comets had been proved beyond all cavil to travel on hyperbolic orbits, the velocity in such orbits being (in part) necessarily extra-solar. The observed association between meteor systems and certain comets renders this evidence as satisfactory as the direct measurement of meteoric velocities.

Have meteors, then, been expelled from the stars? Surely it might be supposed that such an idea is too wild to be entertained for an instant. Let us pause, however, to learn what the meteors themselves may have to tell us on this point. We are travelling

[1] It would in fact possess just so much of that original velocity as was in excess of the velocity of 38 miles per second required to carry a body away to infinity from the sun's distance. If the sun flung a body forth with a velocity of 38 miles per second, the body would pass away with a velocity of 1 mile per second, the body would pass away with a velocity of 1 mile per second, diminishing down to zero, but if the body was flung forth with a velocity of 39 miles per second, it would pass away with a velocity of 1 mile per second, diminishing down to the limit as before mentioned.

[2] The greatest possible velocity with which a meteor could enter the earth's atmosphere under solar influence alone would amount to 44·4 miles per second, obtained by adding the earth's portion of velocity of 18·4 miles per second to the maximum velocity of 26·0 miles per second which the sun could give to a body at the earth's distance. But the observed velocities of meteors range from 10·5 miles per second. In the case of a meteor rushing at the rate of 80 miles per second through our atmosphere we know certainly that 35·6 miles per second of that velocity is extra-solar or has been imparted to the meteor by other cause than sun. Neither the earth's rotation nor her power of attraction need be remembered in this enquiry, since neither cause can give meteors any velocity whatever in comparison with that due to their own and the earth's motion.

rather far, it may seem, from the solar corona; but we shall return to it presently; and in the mean time there are questions which *must* be answered before we can safely adopt such a theory as the one we are dealing with.

Now there is one fact respecting meteors which has long been a source of great perplexity to me. Soon after I had published my treatise on *Saturn and its System*, Mr Sorby, F.R.S., sent me notes of his researches into the structure of meteoric bodies, as bearing on the questions which I had discussed in Chapter V. (on the nature of the Saturnian Rings). He found evidence that the substance composing meteors had been vaporised while existing under enormous pressure—'in mountain masses' as he expressed it. Whence and how had come the enormous temperature and the enormous pressure thus required? On any of the ordinary theories respecting meteors I can see my way to no explanation. Combustion, friction in passing through resisting media, and other like processes, are altogether inadequate to account for the observed facts. But if meteors had their birth in far-off suns, in the very midst of that intense heat and light which causes those suns to shine clearly in our skies from beyond depths which are inscrutable by us, then the explanation of what Sorby's microscope has revealed is found at once. We should expect to find the substance of meteors in precisely that condition which he describes.

But then, if meteors were thus projected from beneath the surface of sun or star, one might expect that chemical as well as microscopic traces of their origin might be recognised. Supposing for instance that the hydrogen of an eruption-prominence is to be compared with the smoke which rushes from the mouth of a cannon, volleys of meteors being the missiles, is it not likely that these meteors would show some signs of having been originally surrounded by intensely hot hydrogen existing at an inconceivably enormous pressure? It has been established by the researches of chemists, and specially by those of the late Professor Graham, that iron solidified under such conditions would condense within its substance a considerable proportion of hydrogen. Since then meteorites contain always a large quantity of iron, the question suggests itself whether that iron shows any signs of having been surrounded by hydrogen when as yet the metal had not solidified. The answer comes in no doubtful terms. To Professor Graham himself we owe the examination of meteoric iron and the definite enunciation of the conclusions warranted by his prior researches. He examined a piece of the meteoric iron of Lenarto, which, says Mr Mattieu Williams, has been shown by the analysis of Wöhler to consist of 90·881 parts of iron, to 8·450 parts of nickel, 0·665 of cobalt, and 0·002 of copper. When a volume of 5·78 cubic centimetres of this iron was heated to redness, 'gas came off rather freely, namely, in thirty-five minutes 5·18 cubic centimetres, in the next one hundred minutes 0·58, and in the next twenty minutes 1·61 cubic centimetres'—in all, in rather more than two hours and a half, no less than 10·53 cubic centimetres, or about three times the volume of the iron itself. 'The first portion of the gas collected,' says Professor Graham, 'had a slight odour, but

[1] Quoted from Mr W. Mattieu Williams's *The Fuel of the Sun*, not having access to the original paper myself. [illegible] I have myself carefully repeated the experiment, and can confirm the statement as to the evolution of hydrogen. Nevertheless there is much in the [illegible] evidence which has been adduced, much there-

much less than the natural gases occluded by ordinary hydrogen. It did not contain a trace of carbonic acid.' The second portion of gas collected (consisting of 9·52 cubic centimètres) gave of hydrogen 85·68 parts per cent., the rest consisting of nitrogen and carbonic oxide. 'The Lenarto iron appears, therefore, to yield 2·85 times its volume of gas,' says Graham, 'of which 86 per cent. nearly is hydrogen, the proportion of carbonic oxide being so low as 4½ per cent.' But 'the gas occluded by iron from a carbonaceous fire is very different, the prevailing gas then being carbonic oxide. For comparison a quantity of clean horse-shoe nails was submitted to a similar distillation.' 'This metal gave 2·66 times its volume of gas; the first portion collected contained only 35 per cent. of hydrogen, 50·3 per cent. being carbonic oxide, 7·7 per cent. carbonic acid, and 7 per cent. nitrogen; the second portion gave no carbonic acid, but 58 per cent. of carbonic oxide, and only 21 per cent. of hydrogen. The contrast between these results and the former is very marked. But let us hear Professor Graham's own reasoning on the subject.

'It has been found difficult,' he says, 'to impregnate malleable iron with more than an equal volume of hydrogen under the pressure of our atmosphere. Now the meteoric iron (this Lenarto iron is remarkably pure and malleable) gave up about three times that amount without being fully exhausted. The inference is that *the gas could not have been extracted from a dense atmosphere of hydrogen gas*, for which we must look beyond the light cometary matter floating about within the limits of our solar system.' . . .

'Hydrogen has been recognised in the spectrum analysis of the light of the fixed stars by Messrs. Huggins and Miller. The same gas constitutes, according to the wide researches of Father Secchi, the principal elements of a numerous class of stars, of which α Lyræ is the type. *The iron of Lenarto has no doubt come from such an atmosphere, in which hydrogen prevailed. This meteorite is to be looked upon as having passed within the sphere of the sun, and bearing to us, the hydrogen of the stars.*'

So far, then, is the theory we are dealing with from being negatived by the startling conclusions to which it seems to point, that on the contrary it seems to afford an account of startling facts which appear in no other way explicable. But let us consider whether the corona itself supplies any further evidence on the subject.

The coronal spectrum is compound, consisting of certain bright lines superposed on a continuous spectrum. Now the bright lines correspond to those seen in the auroral spectrum, and had been held to indicate that the corona is a perpetual aurora. But a great difficulty was suggested by the question how the electrical action thus indicated could be excited. If the theory we are now upon be correct, the rush of the erupted matter through even the exceedingly tenuous medium at great distances from the sun should produce precisely such an effect. The fact that one of the lines of the coronal spectrum belongs to the spectrum of iron may be regarded as supplying subsidiary evidence of some weight. As regards the continuous spectrum, indicative of liquid or solid matter in a state of incan-

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[illegible] Mr. W[illegible]ame has [illegible] from astronomers [illegible] the other hand he has [illegible] very well. [illegible] theory has [illegible] less astronomers

deference, the theory obviously requires that such a spectrum should be discernible.

It will be seen that according to the theory we are dealing with, the prominences, large and small, come to be regarded as the signs of the shooting forth of liquid or solid masses or streams of matter, and it might be asked whether any direct evidence has ever been obtained of the outpouring of such substances. It might well be that no such evidence was available, for it must be remembered that the actual volume of such masses of matter must needs be very far less than the prominences, so that owing to their rapid motion their detection would be very difficult, and that as their light would give a continuous spectrum, their detection by means of the spectroscope would be almost out of the question. Still, swiftly as they are supposed to move, a velocity even of three hundred miles per second would not cause them at the vast distance of the sun to pass very quickly across the field of view of a telescope, on the contrary if viewed during total eclipses (the only occasions on which they could be expected to become thus specially visible), they could be watched quite readily, their motion, even during so long an eclipse as the Indian one, sufficing only to carry them over about such a distance as would correspond to the height of one of the prominences. It would be their momentariness rather than their swift motion which might be expected to defeat scrutiny. Single masses indeed could hardly be seen, only streams or clusters formed of many masses. I think the excessively short flashes seen by Mr Lockyer in the largest prominence visible during the eclipse of 1868 may be regarded as presenting the appearance to be expected. 'They stood out,' he says, 'as if totally disconnected from the rest of the prominence.' Again there is an observation of Zöllner's which seems to bear on this matter. I have said that only with the telescope could the liquid or solid matter be actually seen. In the spectroscope they would give a continuous streak; and unless the light of the matter were very much brighter than that of the prominences, such a spectrum could not be recognised. For it is the concentration of the prominence-light into a few definite parts of the spectrum's length which enables us to see the prominences when the sun is not eclipsed. The light from the liquid matter being spread out into a continuous streak would be matched on equal terms with the light from our own illuminated atmosphere, which we know blots out the prominence-light altogether. Yet Zöllner, on June 22, 1869, made the following remarkable observation. 'As soon,' he writes, 'as I approached the slit of the spectroscope to a certain position on the sun's limb, *whose [illegible] was [illegible] and [illegible]*, bright and [illegible] vertical flashes passed through the whole length of the dull spectrum over the limb of the sun, about three or four minutes distant from the latter. These flashes passed over the whole of the spectrum in the field of view, and became so intense at a certain point of the sun's limb as to produce the impression of a series of electrical discharges rapidly succeeding one another and passing through the whole of the spectrum in straight lines.' Mr Vogel, who afterwards for a short time took part in these observations, found

[1] It seems to follow from this that for the largest portion of the surface of the sun corresponds to the [illegible] spectrum a [illegible] spread out into a continuous range, [illegible] between [illegible] far more bright than the spectrum [illegible] as that constituting [illegible]

the same phenomenon at a different portion of the sun's limb, *where protuberances also appeared.*' Zöllner proceeds to remark that 'the phenomenon can be explained by the hypothesis that small intensely incandescent bodies moving near the surface of the sun emit rays of all degrees of refrangibility, and produce flashes of a thread-like spectrum as their image passes before the slit of the spectroscope.'

It may be added that the researches of De la Rue, Stewart, and Loewy seem to prove that 'the faculæ of a spot have been uplifted from the very area occupied by the spot, and have fallen behind from being thrown up into a region where the velocity of rotation is greater.' This, of course, would correspond with the results which the theory we are dealing with would suggest. And it may be noticed that regarding spots as phenomena of eruption—that is, *beginning* with eruption—we can find a reason for their occurrence being associated, as De La Rue and his colleagues believe, with the relative proximity of the planets. For eruptions and earthquakes on our own earth, stable as its substance undoubtedly is by comparison with the sun's, have been observed to occur more frequently when the moon is in perigee; and again Herschel has explained the predominance of active volcanoes and earthquake regions along shore lines, as depending on the seemingly insignificant changes of controlling pressure due to tidal action. How much more, therefore, might we expect that the solar equilibrium would be disturbed by planetary action, when all that has been revealed respecting him tends to show that the mightiest conceivable forces are always contending beneath his photosphere, one or other needing only (it may well be) the minutest assistance from without to gain a temporary mastery over its rivals! And if, as recent observations tend to show, the mightiest of the planets sympathises with solar action—if, when the sun is most disturbed, the belts of Jupiter are also subject (as of late and in 1860) to strange phenomena of change, how readily do we find an explanation of what otherwise would seem so mysterious, when we remember that as Jupiter disturbs the mighty mass of the sun, so the sun would reciprocally disturb the mass of the largest of his attendant orbs.

In conclusion let me remark that I by no means urge the somewhat startling theory here put forward as definitely to be adopted. It does seem, however, to afford an explanation, or at least some account, of many striking facts which at first sight seem in no way associated, and therefore it is not to be safely dismissed without further and very careful examination. I have made no reference hitherto to the circumstance which first directed my attention in a special manner to this particular theory; the fact, namely, that with the photographs of the late eclipse before me, the conception of *eruptive action* seemed forced upon me as the true explanation of the corona's peculiarities. But the direct evidence thus afforded by the aspect of the corona is not to be neglected, simple though it is in character. It is in this respect that the photographs of the late eclipse are, as I think, calculated to be most useful. We can study at our leisure appearances which during an eclipse must be hastily examined, under circumstances not favourable to the calm exercise of the reasoning faculties. As time progresses, and other photographic records of the corona are placed at our disposal, I believe the definite solution of the problems it presents may be confidently anticipated.

THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT OF NATIONAL DEFENCE.

THE Revolution of September 4, which raised suddenly to power the Government of National Defence, offered a singularly advantageous opportunity for the assumption of authority by a band of conspirators. It is no insult to apply this title to the successful members of the Left who on that occasion seized upon the fallen reins of Government. The situation was one in which the immediate transmission of power to an authority regularly constituted was a practical impossibility. The popular feeling which thrust out the Imperial Government was of a somewhat vague and indefinite kind. Its impulse was eminently one of destruction, and not of reconstruction. It was absorbed wholly in the consideration of the past, and took little or no thought for the morrow. Out of the cloud of rage and shame with which the tremendous tidings of September 3 had almost blinded them, the Parisians saw a gleam of light in the establishment of a free Government; and as that gleam grew and widened into broad day they forgot their grief, and, in the words of Milton, hailed with joy the rising sun of the new Republic. Like the Spartan envoy at Athens, and with a similar burst of enthusiasm, they exclaimed, 'This is the first day of Liberty'; and in the exultation of the moment they took little pains to ensure the security or the permanence of what they imagined they had attained. Thus the twelve members of the old Left who, with well-timed energy, rushed into the vacant seat of empire, found themselves masters of the situation without a rival, without an attempt at opposition. Had the National Guards who effected the Revolution of September taken time to consider what they wished for—had they laid their plans with greater foresight, and framed their indignation against the late Government with a thought as to that which was to succeed it—it is more than probable that they would have insisted successfully upon the establishment of a Communal Assembly. The extreme party, always foremost in such scenes as these, were as favourably inclined at that time to this scheme as they showed themselves afterwards to be, but they did not awake in time to the necessity of immediate action. When they did so it was too late, and their less advanced comrades—their 'reactionary' adversaries, as they afterwards learnt to call them—had got too long a start.

There is a good deal of truth in the common saying that the French can only think of one thing at a time. The *conspirators* of September 4 had but one thought, one preoccupation—that of destroying and obliterating all traces of the rule they had just succeeded in overthrowing. Thus while the population of Paris was engaged in tearing down the Imperial eagles and effacing the Imperial initials, the twelve aspirants to power, sitting in the Hôtel de Ville, were laying the foundations of their proposed Government and making out their plans of future action.

The strength of the new Government, hastily constituted as it was, consisted rather in the absence of opposition than in any positive recognised merit of its own. There was no enthusiasm about their elevation to power—they were acquiesced in, that was all. The mob outside the Hôtel de Ville cheered the Ministry within, but they cheered it without knowing, and almost without enquiring, of what men it was composed. They shouted 'Vive la Guerre!' and 'Vive la République!' but not one-half of them knew who were the leaders and chiefs that their shouts were raising up to be their

rulers. The mere joy of finding themselves again *en République* was almost sufficient for the moment, and they took little trouble to enquire what sort of a Republic it was likely to be, or to examine minutely what sort of men were at its head. They knew that they were members of the Left, enemies of the late Empire; and for the moment this was a sufficient guarantee: they were content, and continued their rejoicings. And the twelve made the best use of the golden hours, and went on maturing their plans and securing their position. As for the respectable part of the population, it was nowise eager to welcome the new power. With all their affected enthusiasm, many of them mistrusted their new-found liberty, and beneath the garb of Republicanism, hastily thrust on, concealed a secret regret for the old *régime* and a contempt and hatred of the new. But *que faire?* There were the new rulers already in the place of power. Was it worth while to depose them? And after all the violence and probable bloodshed of a forcible deposition whom should they agree upon to take their place? The Parisians, moreover, dearly love a *coup de théâtre*; and there was a sort of retributive justice in the idea that the new Government should supplant the Empire by a stroke similar to that by which the Emperor had destroyed the Constitution of '48.

Then, moreover, who was there to organise an opposition? Which of the scattered and disunited parties into which France had so long been divided? Imperialist, Orleanist, or Legitimist,—none of these, single-handed, had a chance. The storm which swept away the Empire was so violent, and the catastrophe which aroused it so overwhelming, that the Imperial party was entirely crushed and overpowered, and could not hope for a moment to stem the tide that had at last rushed over it. Whether that tide could have been resisted at first, and at what cost, is altogether another question. But, once fallen, the Empire was irrecoverably lost: its partisans had nothing left for them but instant flight. The same rush of feeling which carried away the Imperial dynasty threatened all attempts at establishing a monarchical government of any kind. Neither Legitimists nor Orleanists, even had their supporters been at hand and prepared to act, could have dared to put forward their pretensions against the Deputies who had seized upon the Hôtel de Ville. No combination even of the monarchical factions, had it been possible for them to combine, would have stood a chance for an instant, in Paris, against the republican feeling on the 4th. The Orleanists were only too well pleased to find Trochu still in a place of power; and they were well content to wait until they should have consolidated their scattered forces, and to take advantage meanwhile of the mistakes and blunders which the new rulers were pretty sure to make.

The only party that had a chance of resisting successfully the new régime was the ultra-republican faction—the socialists and communists of Paris. Had they known their strength, had they rallied their forces and struck the blow at once, they might have altered the aspect of the situation, and Paris at least, if not France, might have fallen under their sway. They were unarmed, it is true, and they were unorganised; but the men who were to oppose them were little better off in these respects. Their numbers and strength have been terribly revealed by events that have since occurred in Paris. It will be fortunate if still more dreadful scenes do not one day prove with an unmistakable clearness how great is their power in the capital.

The choice of the new Ministry —or Committee, as it began by calling itself— was perhaps, under the circumstances, the best that could have been made out of the limited material at the command of the successful party. Between Trochu, whose name stood at the head of the list, and Rochefort, who came last, as wide a range of political opinion was represented as could be expected or desired. It is hardly fair to argue from events that have since occurred that a better choice could have been made at the necessary moment. The men did not unite; they did not make up together a body of able statesmen or efficient organisers; but considering the difficulties of the situation, and the necessity of immediate action, it may well be doubted whether a Radical Ministry would have been formed having at the moment a better prospect of success. 'It is much easier,' as M. Thiers lately remarked in allusion to the late Government, 'to criticise than to act.' Of the twelve members of the new Committee every one was a man whose name was, or had once been, known throughout the whole of France. Some of them had held places of trust and honour under the old Republic.

The confirmation of General Trochu as Governor of Paris, and the addition of his name at the head of the list of Ministers, lent a certain sanction to that irregularly constituted body. The General was at that time extremely popular in Paris, and his co-operation gave to the new Ministry a sort of semblance of authority, and bridged over to a certain extent the gulf that separated the old régime from the new. The addition of Rochefort, on the other hand, while it diminished the respectability, increased enormously the working strength of the Government. Its most doubtful friends and dangerous supporters were, as it well knew, the followers of that extraordinary person. Little was needed, as subsequent events too amply proved, to change them from lukewarm allies into defiant enemies. But as long as the decrees of the new governors of France bore the signature of Rochefort, they could not well be impugned by the patriots of Belleville and La Villette. The men who outside the Hôtel de Ville greeted the liberated prisoner with their old cry of 'Vive Rochefort!' could not consistently declare themselves hostile to a Ministry of which he formed a part.

It is hardly possible to proceed to a criticism of the conduct of the Government under consideration without a glance at the individual character of the men of whom it was composed.

General Trochu, President of the Committee of National Defence and Governor of Paris, was very far from being a sincere Republican. Throughout all the latter part of his life a decided Orleanist, he had taken little pains to conceal his sympathies, and none to conceal his antipathies. Although, after the revolution, he kept his political opinions very carefully and patriotically to himself, he was always mistrusted and disliked by the extreme Republicans, who constantly suspected or pretended to suspect him of monarchical intrigues. General Trochu, who was born in the famous year 1815, distinguished himself highly in the Crimean war, and received the title and decoration of Grand Officer of the Legion of Honour. Since that time he has become author of a famous book on the constitution of armies and the French army especially; a book, whatever be its merits, which gave to its author the reputation of a great military organiser. The General is a Breton, and now sits as deputy for his native Department of Morbihan in the National Assembly. The

Breton Mobiles, devotedly attached to him, formed a sort of body-guard upon which he could rely to the very last, had there been occasion to appeal to force. During the whole siege these Mobiles were the terror of the 'Reds,' who knew that they would find no mercy at their hands, if once they were let loose. Only one more word as to the character of General Trochu. He is afflicted, unlike most military men, with an inordinate love of speaking, writing, and proclaiming.

Jules Favre, Minister of Foreign Affairs, and, during Gambetta's absence, Minister of the Interior at Paris, was the most celebrated and probably the most able of the new Ministers. Born in 1809, he distinguished himself very early in life as an opponent of monarchical institutions. At the time of the *coup d'état* he was enjoying a good practice at the Bar, and had occupied a post as secretary at the Ministry of the Interior. Under the Empire he became the chief of the small party of opposition called *Les Cinq*, and, applying himself with undiminished energy to his profession, came to be considered, before the year '69, the leading man at the Parisian Bar. In that year he was named Member of the Academy, and his ambition had nothing left to hope for except political power. This he proposed to obtain by a steady opposition to the Empire. He is as far removed from socialist principles as he is from monarchical prejudices, and being a man of position and influence, with a very large fortune at stake, formed the head of what was called the reactionary party in the new Republican Government.

Leon Gambetta, the man whose career has flashed like a meteor through the troubled sky of 1870, commenced life also as a barrister. In 1857, at the age of twenty-three, he gave the first proof of his great abilities in some theses on politics, religion, and art, pronounced before the students of the *Faculté de Droit*. The Baudin trial gave him an opportunity of displaying before a larger world his extraordinary powers of oratory, and he was shortly afterwards elected Deputy as a Republican candidate both at Paris and Marseilles. It was in the last days of the Empire that Gambetta gave full vent to his strong political views, and astonished the House by a display of force and eloquence extremely remarkable. In every measure taken by the Opposition under the Ollivier Ministry he was the foremost and the loudest speaker; and by the audacity and insolence of his language had, during the session of 1870, thrust himself into one of the most prominent places amongst the Republican members of the House. Gambetta's character accords perfectly with his personal appearance. The vivacity and resolution of his mind are immediately suggested by his animated features, florid complexion, and strongly-built frame. He possesses genuine convictions as a Republican, but his grand motive is personal ambition. He is made of the stuff which makes tyrants and bigots, but which also makes heroes and great men. His great merit is energy of determination; his great fault, self-love and over-confidence. Well did Paris estimate his character, long before the world knew much about him, in calling him, with a prophetic truth, 'the most ambitious young man in France.'

The Minister of Public Instruction under the two Republics of 1848 has illustrated in his life the history so familiar to story but so much more rare in actual life—the history of a man who by his own unaided exertion has, from the very lowest round on the ladder of fame, ascended to very near its summit. Jules Simon started from his native village, at the age of thirteen, with the traditional five

shillings in his pocket. Passing through the inevitable struggles of youthful genius and unusual vicissitudes, he finds himself, after years of obscure trial, a professor at Caen, and the friend of Victor Cousin. In 1838 appeared his first book, *La Liberté de Penser*, which was succeeded by the long series of philosophical treatises which have made his name celebrated throughout Europe. He took his seat in the Legislative Chamber in 1863, and was almost immediately recognised as one of the leading orators in the House. From that time down to the end of the Empire he was a firm opponent of the Imperial system, and a straightforward as well as somewhat violent and intemperate Republicanist. Since his appointment to office, he has applied himself with a firm hand to the great reforms needed in his especial department, and Paris already feels some of the effects of his administration. Never was there such a field of action open to the Ministers of State. Of all the reforms for which France cries aloud, that of her educational system is the most important. M. Thiers has chosen a strong hand to set about the work; we shall see whether M. Jules Simon is equal to the gigantic task.

Adolphe Crémieux, late Minister of Justice, born only three years after the sanguinary scenes that ushered in the first Republic, is another member of the Bar. He lived through the same past under the Republic of 1848 as that which he has lately quitted. At the time of the coup d'état he was imprisoned at Mazas, and re-entered the Legislative Chamber as late as 1869. M. Crémieux has long outlived his reputation as an orator and politician. Age has not moderated the violence of his opinions, though it has impaired the powers of his mind and body. He lent his countenance to all the extreme measures attempted by his colleague Gambetta, without possessing any of the energy or force of character necessary to carry them into execution. During the month succeeding his resignation he has attempted to justify his conduct and that of the Deputation by a series of letters whose least fault is their utter feebleness. This *Jules Caillard*, as the Parisians call him, is talked of with more of pity than indignation; and even the Assembly, in its gravest moments, received the mention of his name with a loud murmur of ridicule.

Ernest Picard, Minister of Finance, made his reputation partly as a barrister of ability, but especially by a peculiar wit and irony of manner, which gained him more admiration in Paris than many more solid merits might have done. Immediately on his entry into the Legislative Chamber in 1863 he applied himself to questions of finance, on which he has long been an authority. He was another member of *les Cinq*—that knot of members of the Opposition of which Jules Favre has been mentioned as the chief.

Emmanuel Arago, son of the celebrated astronomer, and brother of the late Mayor of Paris, was in early life the writer of some plays which had a considerable success. He afterwards practised at the Bar, and was one of the chief leaders of the opposition against the Orleans dynasty. It was at Lyons where he arrived as Commissioner [illegible] of the Republic of February, that he acquired his chief reputation, by the bold act of advancing from the national account a sum of 500,000 francs to be distributed among the destitute workpeople ruined by the political disturbances.

Conspicuous among the orators on the Opposition bench throughout the time of the Olivier Ministry was the name of Jules Ferry. This man may be called the Cobden

of French politics. He first became known as the writer of some articles in *Le Temps* setting forth his strong political views. Elected as deputy in '69, he took at once a prominent place among the speakers on the extreme Left.

Louis Antoine Garnier-Pagès, one of the leading men of the Republic of '48, first served the republican cause as a volunteer under arms in his native city of Marseilles as early as the time of the July revolution. He was a chief agent in the reform agitation of '47, and in the following year became successively Mayor of Paris and Minister of Finances. In 1852 he retired into private life, where it would have been as well for himself and his country if he had been suffered to remain. His *History of the Revolution of '48* achieved a good deal of merited fame; but as a Minister of State he must be admitted to have proved neither useful nor ornamental.

Another antiquated member of the late Government is Alexandre Glais-Bizoin. His long parliamentary life has been spent in continual, though not formidable, opposition to monarchical rule. He has been a constant member of the extreme Left, where he has not hesitated to express his admiration and approbation of the principles of '89. This superannuated statesman disputed with his confrère Crémieux the lion's share of the national contempt.

Eugène Pelletan, a violent and pretentious orator, quitted in an evil hour the field of literature for that of politics. His works accord well with his character; the most celebrated of them are *Le Clergé et l'Etat* and *Les Droits de l'Homme*. He was fined and imprisoned in 1861 for an abusive article in the *Courrier du Dimanche*.

The history of Henri Rochefort is too well known to require more than an allusion. Born heir to the title of a Count, he began life as a badly-paid writer to the *Charivari*. The general public first heard of him as a playwright of no mean merit and success; and the Parisians, who had long smiled at his witticisms at their expense, applauded still more loudly on the stage his sarcastic delineation of their manners. The wit and sarcasm of Rochefort were exactly of the form and calibre to attract and delight a true Parisian audience; and his *Lanterne* breathes a flavour of the spirit of Juvenal. The imprisonment and, as it may perhaps be called, the persecution of its venturesome editor gave him the opportunity of completing his popularity as a martyr to the cause of the populace, among whom his audacity and naïve Parisian manner had already made him a kind of idol.

Such was the body of men who undertook to conduct the government of France in a crisis of almost unparalleled difficulty and danger. Never since the days of Rienzi was so serious a charge so lightly undertaken. Never did there seem to be so little chance of a successful issue. But the very gravity of the situation that had collected and started on their course this heterogeneous band, the very imminence of the peril that threatened almost instantly to overwhelm them, helped them to hit upon the only watchword that could rally the people and give them hope. Their one justification in their conduct was the desperate condition of the country: their one chance of power was their success in extricating her. Here was their line of policy sketched out plainly enough from the very first. The only course open to them was to enter boldly upon it with the best conscience that they could muster. Hence the happy invention, the unanimous adoption, of their famous title, 'the Government of National Defence.'

But, in order that they should get credit to themselves from the

course that they were thus enforced to pursue, they must not only deliver France; they must deliver her with honour. They must be the leaders of a national movement as successful as that of '92. Hence their celebrated war-cry—the ultimatum of their foreign policy—'Not a stone of our fortresses; not an inch of our territory!'

In regarding the situation and chances of the Government at this first moment of their existence, we must assume them to have been influenced by motives of personal ambition—an honourable ambition, perhaps; an ambition certainly justifiable, if conscientiously undertaken. But it is impossible to deny that they deliberately chose to form themselves into a dictatorial directorate. To say that they were all influenced by mere thirst for power and individual pride of place, would be going much too far. The case of General Trochu would undoubtedly furnish an exception to so sweeping an accusation. But each of the several parties in that Government—Orleanists, Liberals, or Ultra-Republicanists—were anxious, more or less, to give themselves the chance that their personal influence as members of an existing Government would secure to them ultimately in forwarding their own political schemes. And the Committee (as it began by calling itself) of National Defence proceeded by gradual but decided steps to assume to itself the full powers of Government and the functions of a sovereign authority.

[illegible]

according to the terms of the revised Constitution of May 1852, which maintained in all its strictness the theory of the responsibility of the Chief of the State recognised in the Constitution of January 1852.

'(2) To revise immediately the Constitution of November 1848, and, according to the terms of the Constitution, to convene the nation without delay, but with the necessary allowance of time, to choose by universal suffrage on Sunday the 18th September, a President of the French Republic; and on the following Sunday, the 25th, a legislative body, to be considered as a constituent of that which was violently dispersed by a nocturnal stratagem on the 2nd December, 1851.

'(3) To convoke all the electors of France, for the purpose of electing, on Sunday the 16th, a Government Assembly, to pronounce with sovereign authority upon the fate of the Empire, the maintenance or change of the form of government, and upon the continuation of peace or the continuation of the war.

'The Deputies of Paris were absolute masters of the situation. This fact is proved by their successive maintaining an exclusive dictature from the 4th of September to this day (November).'

The adoption of any one of these courses would have given France a regular Government capable of treating with the enemy. Count Bismark could not, in such case, have had the plea to fall back upon which put an end to the negotiations of September 17. But it is, unfortunately, undeniable that the Deputies who seized upon the ruins of power on September 4 last did no one of these three things. They assumed, therefore, an immense responsibility, from which they will be discharged only by victory.

'The invaders of the Hôtel de Ville chose to give themselves the same title, to start with the same origin, as the deposed Emperor had done on an act of violence.' They deliberately took upon themselves the functions of sovereignty, and assumed all the responsibilities with all the fruits of a *de facto* Government unauthorised by legal sanction. It was not till Novem-

[1] *Les Conséquences par Emile de Girardin*, p. 38.

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ber 3 that the Government of National Defence acquired anything like a legal title to the powers they were exercising. Even then the vote or *plébiscite* which gave them that imperfect title was only the vote of a single city. The rest of France pronounced no opinion, and was asked for no opinion, until February 8.

The new Government, having thus determined to exercise all the powers of practical sovereignty, proceeded without delay to the execution of several important measures which they deemed necessary to the furtherance of their scheme. Into these measures a committee, appointed for that purpose by the National Assembly, is now pursuing its investigations. The charges which that committee will have to examine, side by side with the explanations of the late Ministers, will be found, omitting minor details, to connect themselves with one or other of the following heads of consideration: (1) the removal and replacement of public magistrates; (2) the suppression of public institutions; (3) public expenditure; and (4) military appointments and organisation.

Almost the first act of the September Government was the removal of all the prefects and sub-prefects then exercising the powers to which they had been appointed under the Imperial regime. It was this strong measure that first opened the eyes of the country to the real intentions of the new rulers of France. Yet the mere removal of these officers might be a salutary measure. A free election of their successors in the departments and sous-prefectures would give a complete new set of magistrates possessing, in all probability, the confidence of the provinces over which their sway extended. This would be the first-fruits of the days of Liberty: one of the abuses of the Empire would really be removed. But these hopes were soon frustrated; in fact, almost before they could be formed. To the removal of the old magistrates succeeded the nomination of new ones. The creatures of the Opposition faction stepped into the place of the minions of the Empire. The indignation was intense. Such a measure was the mere substitution of one tyranny for another. But in fact the new tyranny was an aggravation of the former. The Imperial prefects were at least usually men of position in their departments; they were known and, certainly in most cases, respected by the population with whom they had to deal. But the new Republican prefects were simply adventurers imported from the capital.

There was a great outcry against centralisation; the provincial jealousy against Paris was increased tenfold. It was remarked that out of forty-five new prefects and sub-prefects thirty-seven were barristers practising in Paris. The responsibility of this measure, and of those immediately to be mentioned, fairly upon M. Gambetta, the Minister of the Interior, as the act of his special department in the Cabinet. More recent official documents have shown that the moderate members of the Government, headed by Jules Favre, were strongly opposed to it from the first. As for the departments themselves, nothing but the fear of force induced them to acquiesce, and Marseilles, always impatient and insolent, flatly refused to receive the prefect appointed for her.

In a very significant passage of one of his late speeches[1] M. Thiers avowed that France 'within the last few months had seen her fair organisation shattered and crushed.' It is not difficult to give a definite

[1] Speech in the National Assembly, February, concerning the formation of the Ministry, February 19, 1871.

interpretation to the meaning of these words. Every Frenchman understands them well. We will endeavour to make them equally intelligible to English ears. Another celebrated document[1], more particularly asserts that 'the sacred law providing for the permanency of magistrates' has been unconstitutionally infringed. It is to the acts of M. Cremieux, the Minister of Justice, that this condemnatory remark refers. The judges of the four French Courts have all of them, ever since the Revolution of '92, enjoyed, like our judges, the right of holding their offices 'during good behaviour.' No one of the Governments that had succeeded one another since that time had dared to interfere with this constitutional privilege. M. Cremieux, bold beyond precedent, at last ventured on the step, and summarily dismissed those Judges whose appointments, under the Imperial rule, he had reason to be dissatisfied with. He of course endeavoured to put forward a plausible excuse for this very arbitrary proceeding.

In order to comprehend at all the bearings and importance of the question relating to the *Conseils généraux* and the *Conseils municipaux*, it is necessary to have some understanding of the internal organization of France as established by the Napoleonic Code, with certain modifications introduced from time to time. A very few words will explain the system sufficiently for our present purpose.

The eighty-nine Departments of France are each of them divided into a number of 'communal arrondissements,' varying according to the extent and population of the department. The whole number of these arrondissements in France is no less than 3,720. In each of them was conferred personally its own 'communal council,' which superintended the minor internal affairs of the arrondissement—that is to say, what may be called the *legislative* and *administrative* part of them, the *executive* being, for the main part, in the hands of the prefects and sub-prefects. These councils were made up of persons of respectability, elected by the universal suffrage of the arrondissement, paid for their services, but acting in a great many cases rather out of regard for the honour of the post than with a view to emolument.

A more important council in each of the departments holds its sittings once every year. It is these last councils which go by the name of *Conseils généraux*. They are composed of persons chosen in a different manner by the population of the whole department. For the purpose of electing the *Conseillers généraux* the Department is divided into *circonscriptions*, each of which comprises about 35,000 inhabitants. The title of *Conseiller général* always ranked high in the public estimation, and the places were filled by men of wealth and good character, possessing great influence throughout the department, more especially as the honours of the councillorship were often followed by his election as Deputy.

The 'municipal councils' did very much the same service for the towns and boroughs as the communal councils did for the arrondissements. They were presided over by the Mayor, a dignitary who was appointed in towns of more than 3,000 inhabitants by the Government, and in towns containing a less population by the suffrage of the citizens. The control of the prefect over these councils extended only to a power of suspending the execution of their decrees: they could be reversed only by the Minister of the Interior.

[1] Two members of M. Jules Favre and the Paris members of the Government of National Defence to answer to the decree of the legislature.

The three councils, thus constituted, had each their functions definitely marked out. That of the *Conseil général* was to listen to a report read to them by the prefect, their president, as to the financial and general internal condition of the department and the wants of the several arrondissements as signified to the prefect by the communal assembly. Upon this report the councillors, sitting as a sort of miniature parliament, discussed and passed or rejected the measures which they were asked to authorise. The municipal councils, unlike those of the communes, were responsible only to the Legislative Body, by whom, and by the prefect, as above mentioned, their acts were superintended. With the *Conseils de Préfecture* we have here nothing to do: they were mere bodies of advisers selected by the prefect to assist him in his functions.

A moment's consideration of the complicated scheme of internal administration thus briefly sketched out will show what a sweeping measure was that taken by the French Government of September, or rather by its Minister, in abruptly suppressing the *Conseils généraux* altogether and transferring their functions to the hands of the prefects and sub-prefects, whom they had already secured as agents of their own. This second measure of Gambetta's was a still more flagrant instance than the other of the attempt at centralisation and at weakening the power of the local authorities. The two measures together placed the whole rural population at one blow under the pressure of an immense political influence, compared with which that exercised previously by the Emperor was trifling and insignificant. If the Imperialists were crushed by it, the moderate local parties also writhed under the stroke. This might be the thin end of the wedge that was to destroy all their hopes and establish a Republican rule based upon more tyrannous principles than any that France had yet suffered under. It would be as easy to supersede Orleanist prefects as it had been to supplant the Imperialist nominees, and in a very short time every magistracy in France might be filled with the subservient Ministers of the will of this upstart Government. The *Conseillers généraux* themselves resented personally the affront as much as they objected on political grounds to its arbitrary character. The measure was a bold one, inspired by the same ambitious spirit which M. Gambetta strove to the very end to carry into action, but which soon failed the less sanguine members of the Government in Paris, and had utterly died out of their breasts long before the day of the capitulation.

It was not, however, considered sufficient by the Minister of the Interior to get rid of the Imperialist agents among the rural population. Even in the towns he proposed to purge the country of that pernicious and detested influence. The mayors were degraded almost universally, and superseded, as the prefects had been. Even the *Conseils municipaux* were held in suspicion, and it was proposed to supersede these purely local assemblies by municipal 'commissions' appointed under Government. Such a scheme, precisely analogous as it was to the other measures of M. Gambetta, excited hardly less dissatisfaction in the towns than they had in the hamlets and *communes*. It was never extensively carried into actual effect, but the intention is plain, it was well understood in France that, had the military successes of Gambetta only given him a little more strength, he would have carried out this measure as fully as he did the others, and France would have been very nearly at the mercy of his ambition.

The subject of national expenditure by the Delegation at Tours and Bordeaux cannot be discussed with any degree of accuracy until the account-books, now under inspection, have been thoroughly looked through. It is not to be denied that a very strong impression exists throughout France that huge waste—to use the very mildest term—has been going on in the name of the Government.

It is impossible for the late Government to shift from its shoulders the blame that attaches to the conduct and management of the armies of France during the time of their administration. Were it the fault of the Generals and officers, or of the men, or of the War Office, they elected, as we have seen, to bear the responsibility of defeat, as they would have reaped the glory of victory. They undertook, by their title and their programme, to defend France and to save her intact. They must bear the blame of the failure of their promise, however good their intention may have been, and Gambetta most of all.

The inordinate ambition of the man would endure no rival whose services might undermine his own power, while his boundless self-confidence made him imagine that his own mind and active energies were equal to fulfilling all the functions that he attempted, military as well as civil. It is on this principle alone that we can explain the jealousy and discord which existed between the Minister and his Generals. It is thus that we explain the constant change of commanders, the recall of commanders, and the fatal separation of forces into separate and often isolated army corps. A flagrant instance of this sort of jealousy and its effects, but one which has not received its due share of blame in public, is the alienation by the Minister of the gallant and popular Admiral Fourichon. With this brave and competent man, as we have strong reason to suppose him, to advise and counsel him, Gambetta might have made a very different affair of his work of national organisation. As it was, the Admiral was almost immediately disgusted with the obstinacy and presumption of a man who used his civil position of temporary superiority as an excuse for dictating measures upon which he was wholly incompetent to form an opinion.

The same self-willed and arrogant spirit which was at the root of all this mischief induced Gambetta to raise to places of trust and responsibility men who were nowise fit by their capacity or position to occupy them, but whom he could count upon as docile agents and subservient followers. A few instances will substantiate this charge—a very grave one, as it will at once be admitted. They will illustrate, also, the whole system of Gambetta's policy as above criticised. At Toulouse M. Duportal, a violent Republican agitator, was substituted (with a salary of 6000 francs) for the deposed prefect, who had been in receipt of 4000. M. Charles Monnier, a cabinet-maker, was made [illegible] and attached to the staff of Garibaldi's army. M. Cluseret, ex-editor of an obscure journal called the *Journal de Vaucluse*, was made chief of the cabinet of the minister to the Prefect of the Bouches du Rhône. M. Bayol, a lawyer, was appointed Inspector of the Chemin de fer du M[illegible], with a salary of 8000 francs. [illegible]n of a cabinet-maker, called C[illegible]t, was made actually a captain of the staff without any apparent reason. Hundreds of such appointments may be collected out of the various provincial papers. It is notorious that persons of the lowest rank, and often of the most questionable morals, were elevated to places of trust and emolument in the ministerial offices and in the army.

It is hardly necessary to mention the crowning instance of Gambetta's presumption in the famous decree of the Bordeaux Deputation, excluding the Imperial candidates from election as Deputies. It was this measure which caused to burst out the long-concealed jealousy between the Governments of Paris and Bordeaux. The answer of the Parisian Ministers, already quoted, might almost serve as articles of impeachment against the authors of the obnoxious decree. The rupture which had long existed in the Ministry of September 4 was at last exposed publicly to view. The resignation of Gambetta and Crémieux almost completed the dissolution of a Ministry already weakened by the withdrawal of Rochefort.

It remains only to say a word or two on the brighter side of the conduct of the Government of National Defence. The instances of patriotic energy, forbearance, good temper, and desire to recognise and deal fairly with all rights and interests, are far too many to be enumerated. To set them in their proper light, it is only necessary to put the conduct and the acts of the leaders of the Revolution of 1870 side by side with those of the Revolutionists of 1789, or even 1848. Comparing them together, and taking into consideration the extremely difficult position in which General Trochu and his colleagues were placed, and the enemies they had to deal with, internal and external, they come out of the struggle, not certainly with glory and renown, but at least with honour. In point of personal honesty the character of almost all the Ministers is without a stain of suspicion.

We have said not a word on the subject of their foreign policy: that is a question with which we did not propose to deal, but the diplomatic perils and trials which beset them must be taken into consideration as enhancing the difficulties of their home administration. Now their rule is over, and their weaknesses have been fairly laid open to our view, we may question whether any other men in France would have done better than they did. Since their resignation, the Government that has succeeded them has already become embroiled in a civil war, and France now presents a more melancholy spectacle than before the changes effected at Bordeaux. With all their unpopularity at the time, with all their faults and failings, the Barrister Ministry will not be looked back upon wholly without sympathy and perhaps a certain share of admiration.

It seems not unlikely that the verdict of their country may be an echo of the words of M. Thiers,—'If they erred, it was on the side of over-zeal.'

They were unhappy in having undertaken a task utterly beyond their strength, and France was most unhappy in not finding any better men to entrust it to

E. B. M

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THE CONDITION OF FRENCH POLITICS.

Of most political problems it is easy to discern, or to fancy, a possible if not a probable solution. Out of most political situations the means of extrication are usually to be found in the calling forth, or the combination, of some actually existing forces in the nation. Either measures or men are to blame for the difficulty—and there are statesmen clear-headed, honest, and respected enough to bring about a better understanding between the contending parties. Or the essence of the crisis lies in a struggle between conflicting interests, and in such cases compromise shows the way out of the danger. Or suffering and adversity have roused the masses into aimless turbulence,—and then good harvests and returning prosperity may bring about that reaction and those better times. Or ill hatreds, no longer natural or warranted, may be to blame, and then there is an opening for the pacific efforts of the peace-maker. Or the case is one merely of an outbreak of the lawless passions, and then stern and prompt repression is the simple remedy, and society has only to throw off the weight which but recently so nearly crushed it. Or again, the general moral and religious wrong may have fixed popular sentiment beyond reach of remonstrance and almost of pity, and then retributive transformation, or extinction, may be the only way of relief. In most of these cases the difficulty may be purchased by the abolition of the oppressive tax, or privilege, or law. Or finally, it may be a man of genius and character equal to the crisis that is the one thing needful; and such men are known to exist in the nation, and are pretty certain to rise to the surface by their own buoyancy, or to be summoned forth by the acclaiming voices of their fellow-citizens. But none of these descriptions fit the actual state of France. In almost every country and at almost every period, elements of order and disorder—insurgent and controlling forces—exist in varying proportions of activity and strength. But in France the elements of violence, confusion, and disintegration seem boundless and ubiquitous, and those of concentration, of coherence, of command, to be hidden out of sight, or painfully feeble and inadequate. This is no "indictment against a whole nation," such as Burke and Lord Chatham drew up—it is the disagreeable task of a writer who has pains-taking and caring away to which he feels—a reluctance which appears to have gone deeper and spread wider than the sentiment of fear—even have not warned to realise. Neither are there now observers less wont to have looked facts fairly in the face. They have both, naturally enough, flinched from studying symptoms and probing sores to the bottom, because the

search must involve a condemnation so stern and an inference so nearly hopeless.

The first fact to be faced is this: that, while the French possess no one source or centre of authority which there is a general predisposition to reverence and obey, they at the same time refuse to acknowledge those fundamental political axioms which lie at the very basis of self-government, and are destitute of those moral qualifications by which alone it can be maintained. In a word they recognise no right to rule in any institution, person, or principle. They have no faith in any creed, no allegiance to any family, no loyalty to any political theory or doctrine capable of intelligible definition. Practically they repudiate the duty of obedience to any law but their own individual wills. They have overthrown an ancient church, an hereditary aristocracy, and three sovereign dynasties, and have enthroned universal suffrage, or the will of the nation, in their stead;—and thus far it may be argued that they were right, or at least warranted, if not wise, in doing so. But they have shown no more respect to the universal suffrage they had set up than to the prerogatives and powers they had thrown down. The majority everywhere and on all occasions have set the minority at defiance, utterly refusing to obey their decrees or defer to their authority, and destroying or destroying their representatives and administrative agents wherever they had power to do so, and they have acted thus without, to all appearance, the least consciousness that such proceedings flagrantly set at naught the very foundation on which their cherished democracy was built. Nowhere, neither in the higher nor the lower ranks, neither in the country nor in the cities, has there been any frank acceptance of the vast fact of universal suffrage, or any perception even of the moral duty of obeying it. Is it not clear that at the root of this habitual frame of mind and style of action lies the instinct of the arbitrary despot; that its appeal is to force wielded by egotism; and that a temper and a people thus strangely fashioned can be governed by coercion only? It assumes a right to control, defy, and overrule the wishes and the rights of others, more numerous and with equal claims, and can obviously therefore be met only by the [illegible] of all tyrants, whether popular or regal. Are we not justified in saying that a prevalent habit and proclivity of this sort makes self-government impossible, is virtually a negation of free institutions and a constitutional [illegible], and leads inevitably and by correct logical sequence to a transference of rule to consecrated Vigilance Committees among a people like the Athenians, or to the supremacy of a military chief, or a despot wielding the army, and too probably obliged to hire it, to pamper, and thereby to demoralise it?

Next in order comes the disintegration of national life in France—a disintegration which is scarcely more political than social. There never was true human intercourse, now there is not even the appearance of unity or society but of cohesion. There is no longer a 'People', there are all classes, cliques, and sections, but even among these the natural bonds of union seem to be loosening year by year. There is no longer any force above or without to fuse and weld the materials of the nation into a whole, and private attempts are extensive enough to hold them together, in the absence of such external pressure. Society has ceased to be national, it is barely a congeries of ranks and classes in any definite sense, it is rapidly tending to become [illegible]. There are [illegible]

ion a large section of the citizens—perhaps as numerous as the adherents of any of the three Pretenders—which maintains that there ought to be no throne at all. There are the Legitimists, who claim to rule in virtue of Divine right and hereditary usage, and these have to back them up the few scattered relics of the old nobility, the majority of the priesthood, and certain districts in the south and west, which are to-day not to be trusted, and which have served the Bourbons for the last eighty years. There are the Orleanists, who base their pretensions on the democratic choice of the middle and educated classes, who represent what are called there constitutional or liberal ideas in France, and who, in the main, are, as a rule, honest and loyal men, with their faults of pride, narrowness, cowardice, selfishness, and tenacious egotism. There are the Bonapartists, resting their hopes of a third Empire on the three forces of the army, the priesthood, and the democracy, the first of which has been alienated during the last two years, the second is hopelessly divided, and the third, though still powerful in the provinces, is not to be trusted in Paris. Besides these there are the Republicans, who are themselves divided into three sections, the Moderates, who are—to use a phrase of Mr. Gladstone's—as good Conservatives as we have in England, and who, if they could only trust their own principles, might be the best and strongest force in France; the Democrats, who are the party of the barricades

Bonapartism, nearly extinguished in 1815, revived, indeed, after the departure of the generation which had felt and witnessed the grievous burdens and the terrible retribution which the Napoleonic wars brought upon the country, and when Thiers led the way in exaggerating the glories and suppressing the miseries and altogether falsifying both the drawing and the colouring of that exciting epoch. But it can scarcely hope to recover its hold in the very midst of the bitterest humiliation and the heaviest penalties ever suffered by a European nation in modern days, and mainly attributable, beyond any possibility of concealment or misrepresentation, to the astounding incapacity of the Imperial rule. And as to Republicanism, it is enough to say that—partly through its essential theory, partly through its inevitable allies—it arrays against itself all the propertied and nearly all the educated classes; all who are capable of sound thought and all who love order, security, justice; all the peasant-proprietors and all the captains of industry, whether manufacturing or commercial; and that the auxiliaries through whose aid alone it can hope to gain ascendancy or propagate its doctrines, are more fatal to its success than all its foes.

But disintegration has spread wider and gone deeper than mere political opinions and desires. Something of the same want of cohesion—we might even say the substitution of repulsion for coherence—manifests itself in most social relations. The hostility to rank which gave such bitterness and ferocity to the first revolution at all events, the right of the exclusive privileges and of all abuses which then really justified it have long since been swept away. It has assumed even a more vital and general form, and is to be met with at the root of society in any stage—a sort of horror of subordination, a resentful recalcitration against command—a levelling temper, directed not to rise but to pull down. In some districts, indeed, where a few old properties and old families yet linger, position and character combined appear still to give some social influence to rank in isolated cases: and it is said that the unexpected number of Legitimists elected to the National Assembly is to be attributed to the spirit and courage shown by the gentlemen of the provinces (and almost exclusively by them) during the last struggle of the German War. But these rallying-points have been too few and too exceptional to invalidate the general conclusion. In the army—where, if anywhere, it might have been expected that the hierarchy of rank or grade would have been maintained by the traditions and requirements of the profession—the want of discipline and obedience has been more obvious and more fatal than in any other position, officers have scarcely been able to exercise any control, and men have been ostentatiously deficient in respect and subordination. The feeling of the working classes to the [illegible] has been, too, commonly one of hostility and jealousy, mingled with something of contempt and very much of covetous desire, in the great centres of industry the Trade Union temper has of late years begun, as with ourselves, to menace manufacturing efficiency and progress, while the 'Workmen's International Association' (for it is said an Anglo-German institution) has displayed a tendency entirely new in France, and disquieting even in a country to fall into the background, and to make class sympathies overrule patriotism.

A further phase and illustration of the social disintegration of which we speak may be seen in the startling declaration of war,

we might almost call it, between Town and Country which has been proclaimed so nakedly and loudly in some of the earlier manifestoes of the Paris Commune. Discrepancies of views, interests and characteristics between the rural and the urban population, between agricultural and manufacturing masses, between the stirring, swarming, concentrated crowds who dwell in cities, and the settled, scattered, stagnant tillers of the soil have existed more or less in all countries, have constantly given origin to political issues and complications of perplexing magnitude, and have not unfrequently broken out into violent opposition. These two classes, no doubt, do constitute elements in the social body essentially antagonistic, but not therefore necessarily hostile; and it is the business of statesmanship and public virtue and political sense and education and mutual forbearance and respect, to make their inherent differences issue, not in a dead-lock, but in a dialectical advance. In France, however, such is the unfortunate political temperament differences of race and opinion have a habit of ending not in compromise, but in conflict, and in the present instance the city population has avowedly raised the standard of revolt, and demands a separate autonomy; and there is so much that is plausible and at first sight reasonable in their general attitude, that not a few English thinkers have been inclined to entertain their claims with at least a provisional favour, and to consider whether some concession could not be made to their demands. Their case has been represented by themselves (and a unique opportunity has been manifested to accept the representation) as the plea of intelligence against stupidity, of progress against stagnation, of enlightened patriotism against selfish provincialism, of an oppressed minority against mere overwhelming supremacy of numbers. But a few moments' reflection will show that this representation is only superficially plausible, and is in all its essential features utterly inexact.

No doubt the rural population of France is unintellectual, ignorant and selfish to a singular degree; the peasant-proprietors who (with a number of labourers and farmers) mainly compose it, have but few ideas, and those few not always sound; their minds are essentially *petits*, their conceptions narrow rather than advanced; their shrewdness, which is often great, is confined within the limits of their farm and market; they are largely under the influence and control of the *maire* and the priest; they have faint political interests and little political intelligence; they wish only for quiet, regular security, no change, no increase of taxes, and if possible no conscription. They care very languidly for this form of Government or that, for this Sovereign or for that, but they care passionately for a régime that shall respect and preserve their properties, and keep down all disturbers of the public peace, all broachers of upsetting theories, all revolutionary novelties. Above all they abhor, with a kind of panic horror and disgust, the very name of a Republic; for Republicanism brings back to them only two reminiscences—Socialism, and the Reign of Terror. Probably the only thing that could rouse them to organise and fight with zeal and fury would be the advent of the *bête rouge* [illegible].

No doubt, again, the large cities, especially Paris, are the seats of nearly all the intellectual activity that exists in France. It is there that the concentration of mind with mind excites productive ideas and encourages literature and progress. There men of science congregate and study, there men of thought

pour forth their manifold contributions to the philosophical, historical, poetical, and fictitious literature of the age; there politicians and statesmen dwell, speculate, and teach; there all theories and projects for human amelioration take their rise; there ideas, novel, brilliant, or profound, are for ever springing into life and circulating from mouth to mouth among excited crowds fitted to receive them. There, too, the pretensions of priestcraft and despotism and the lawless encroachments of authority are held in check, conceptions of freedom (or what is taken for freedom in France) are seized and promulgated; and it is there, finally, that Governments are overthrown, Revolutions commenced, Constitutions framed, and that all those movements called 'Advents of a New Era' are set in action. It is Paris, in fine, that represents French intelligence, French genius, French civilisation, in the eyes of Europe; and it seems intolerable and unjust that such a city should be thwarted or overborne by the votes of uneducated and superstitious boors.

So far good. But now let us look at the reverse of the picture, or rather, let us bring out the naked facts which all this verbiage serves only to drape, gild, and hide. The rural districts are the strongholds of Conservatism, and Conservatism is the great need of France. The towns are the centres and sources of change and restlessness, and ceaseless changes or menaces of change are the ruin of the country. The populations of the provinces desire stability and peace, internal peace especially, they constitute the mainstay of order, they are disturbience, they thirst above all things for a strong and settled Government, and are therefore naturally the adherents (though often only passive ones) of the powers that be. Whatever forces of maintenance and resistance yet linger in France are to be found mainly in the rural districts and in the ranks of the agricultural proprietors; and for all practical purposes therefore, as far as the wellbeing of the nation is concerned, the sound instincts of the country people, in spite of their admitted ignorance and torpid benightment, form a safer and better element in politics than the seething and turbid intellectual activity of the towns. They may not reason acutely, they may not see far, they may not know much; but on the whole they *feel* soundly even where they do not discern clearly, and in fine they want what *France* wants. On the other hand, granting the vastly superior intelligence of the great towns, *it is not that intelligence that directs or determines their political action.* All history shows this, and none more than the living history that is now before our eyes. Paris is the centre of brilliant thought, of splendid genius, of knowledge both deep and wide; *but Paris is not governed by these qualities.* Paris abounds in wealth, in industry, in commercial enterprise, in admirably organised administrative machinery; but in periods of social peril or political excitement all these gifts 'efface themselves,' or are submerged. Paris no doubt can furnish statesmen fit to take the helm of State in the severest crises; but somehow, whenever such crises come, the helm is seized by the most lubberly lascaman of the crew. As sure as the emergency arrives when the supremacy of trained intellect, the safeguarding influence of wealth and property, the commanding influence of the governing faculty, are especially required to tide over the danger or to ride the storm, as surely do the genius, the property, and statesmanship disappear, and power falls into the hands of the ignorant, the fanatical, the insane, the juggler, and the criminal. The haunted Parisian intellect with which there comes to the surface as

in fact quite as ignorant as the dull stagnation of the deepest agricultural mind, and, if less stupid, is far more irrational, and certain to go far wider and more fatally astray. In all the great questions bearing on social and political economy, on which being about equal on both sides, the healthy common sense of the peasants keeps them practically far ahead of the wild, crazy, shallow theories which find favour with the artisans. In all countries, too, masses of men, men in crowds, are incomparably more excitable than the same men as individuals or in scattered groups, and with Frenchmen this is more the case than with any other people. In French cities, as observers have often remarked, there seems to become spontaneous generation of great quantity and passion which rapidly grows to absolute lunacy, each man contributes his quota of vanity, cocksureness, credulity, and violent passion, and the aggregate of each contribution is multiplied by some unknown factor, till the storm of total almost transcends comprehension. There is a real truth we find that, in times of much political excitement, the peasant, a type intelligence of the great towns of France is virtually for the time that of the most ignorant and credulous of the rural population.

Let us first point out the line of thought which foreign French observers are apt to overlook most, because, however, powerful other material factors may be, French, or rather Parisian, revolutions. It is that the theories, interests, and passions of which they are composed are essentially Parisian. However, at the present time, however, at most all the great towns, however, most and even most of the interests and the organisation of these towns, their original bodies, and their existence to and alternate between the war—at invasion, and perhaps mentally happens that the agents they have to employ, the followers whom they gather round them or who flock to their standards, the physical force in fact which enables them so generally (at first at least) to get the upper hand, consist of mobs, four-fifths of whom have properly speaking no political aims or doctrines whatever, who seek only their own material profit or indulgence, who foster rows for the sake of the plunder which they promise, and who are in fact the enemies of all social order, and of all controlling power. The 'dangerous classes' are more numerous, more daring, and probably more depraved and violent in Paris than in any other city. Besides professional thieves, habitual criminals, and those who (whether convicted or not) prey upon society in a thousand forms, all who have watched the more serious *émeutes* in the French capital agree that on the second and third days there suddenly appear faces and figures of the most degraded and ferocious type, who are *en évidence* everywhere, who seem to be the creation of the hour, and who are the instigators and perpetrators of the worst crimes which disgrace these popular insurrections. But putting aside these ruffians, always mercenary and mostly cowards, who may be regarded as the low camp-followers of the revolutionary army, putting aside also a large number of the better class of working men, genuine lovers of liberty and honest believers in the wild economical doctrines they are taught, and the grand dreams of regeneration with which their imaginations have been fired, sincere enthusiasts who give a sort of respectability to these movements at the outset, and whose ultimate withdrawal is deeply regretted to see involved in their final disgrace and ruin—there remains as the substratum and main body of the phy-

pour forth their manifold contributions to the philosophical, historical, poetical, and fictitious literature of the age; there politicians and statesmen dwell, speculate, and teach; there all theories and projects for human amelioration take their rise; there ideas, novel, brilliant, or profound, are for ever springing into life and circulating from mouth to mouth among excited crowds fitted to receive them. There, too, the pretensions of priestcraft and despotism and the lawless encroachments of authority are held in check, conceptions of freedom (or what is taken for freedom in France) are seized and promulgated; and it is there, finally, that Governments are overthrown, Revolutions commenced, Constitutions framed, and that all those movements called 'Advents of a New Era' are set in action. It is Paris, in fine, that represents French intelligence, French genius, French civilisation, in the eyes of Europe; and it seems intolerable and unjust that such a city should be thwarted or overborne by the votes of uneducated and superstitious boors.

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in fact quite as ignorant as the dull stagnation of the deepest agricultural mind, and, if less stupid, is far more irrational, and certain to go far wider and more fatally astray. In all the great questions bearing on social and political economy, where men being about equal on both sides, the healthy common sense of the peasants keeps them practically far ahead of the wild, airy, shallow theories which find favour with the artisans. In all countries, too, masses of men, men in crowds, are incomparably more excitable than the same men as individuals or in scattered groups, and with Frenchmen this is more the case than with any other people. In French cities, as observers have often remarked, there seems to become spontaneously generated a kind of insanity and passion which hardly grows to absolute lunacy, each man contributes his quota of wrong-headedness, credulity, and violent excitement, and the aggregate of all becomes ultimately multiplied by a fourth unknown factor, till the sum total aims at transcendental conceptions. Looking at real truth we find that, in times of French political excitement, the predominant, active intelligence of the great towns of France is very much like that of those wild, irresponsible flames of the rural population.

Let us first look at the line of thought that those who have grave misgivings as to what is, however, perhaps rather a natural fact than a French, or rather Parisian, revolution. It is that the theories at the root of what, as it proceeds, they are pleased to call the "movement" are pernicious. However, as to principles, I never met a man of the slightest intelligence, however violent a revolutionist, who did not admit the immediate evils of the insurrection, their original badness, and the expectation and almost desire to see the war—at once by land and sea—ultimately happens that the agents they have to employ, the followers whom they gather round them or who flock to their standards, the physical force in fact which enables them so generally (at first at least) to get the upper hand, consist of mobs, four-fifths of whom have properly speaking no political aims or doctrines whatever, who seek only their own material profit or indulgence, who foster news for the sake of the plunder which they promise, and who are in fact the enemies of all social order and of all controlling power. The "dangerous classes" are more numerous, more daring, and probably more depraved and violent in Paris than in any other city. Hordes professional thieves, habitual criminals, and those who (whether convicted or not) prey upon society in a thousand forms, all who have watched the more serious riots in the French capital agree that on the second and third days there suddenly appear faces and figures of the most degraded and ferocious type, who are seen at no other time, who seem to be the creation of the hour, and who are the most gaters and perpetrators of the worst crimes which disgrace these popular insurrections. But putting aside these ruffians, always sanguinary and mostly cowards, who may be regarded as the low camp-followers of the revolutionary army, putting aside also a large number of the better class of working men, genuine Socialists and honest believers in the wild economical doctrines they are taught, and the grand dreams of regeneration with which their imaginations have been fired, sincere enthusiasts who give a sort of respectability to these movements at the outset, and who it is impossible not to look at with deep regret to see involved in their final disgrace and ruin—there remains as the substratum and real body of the phy-

sical forces by whom these Parisian Revolutions are brought about (and who swarm round their originators almost in spite of themselves), the great artisan class of the capital, whose ostensible demand is for work and wages, but whose real passion in a vast proportion of cases has now become to escape work and to live on wages that have not been earned. It is instructive to observe how successive Governments have recognised the existence of this class, and perceived the danger with which social order is threatened through its increase, yet have combined to aggravate the evil from lack of firmness or of capacity to deal with the difficulty. One after another they have pampered and multiplied what we may call the idle working-class of Paris (and of other cities in a less degree), till it has become master of the situation. The *droit au travail* preached, and the *ateliers nationaux* established, in 1848, and felt then to be a sort of necessity for the maintenance of property and order, were, perhaps, the first blunder on a great scale committed in this direction, and the attempt to undo this false step was one of the great causes of the fierce struggle of the three days of June. The Emperor was conscious of the same danger, and of the necessity of meeting it with promptitude. But he dealt with it in a different way; and while quite ready to keep the artisans down with a strong military grasp if necessary, he at once set about providing work for them on a great scale by organising what was virtually the rebuilding of the city. It was a fatal policy, but perhaps, an inevitable one. The wits of the opposition described the situation in the epigrammatic sentence: "Ce gouvernement-ci est condamné aux travaux forcés à perpétuité." The sarcasm, however, was as applicable to any other Government which could have been established. But the Emperor overshot his mark. Not contented with providing work at the public cost for all the artisans then in Paris, he pushed on his enterprise with such rapidity, and on such a scale, as to attract a vast amount of labour from the provinces; and thus probably in twenty years nearly doubled the working population of the capital—the population which *must* have work found for them or pain of insurrection. Nay, he took one step further in the wrong direction. More than once he artificially reduced and fixed the price of bread, lest the turbulent crowd should break out into hunger riots. The instant the Republicans of the 4th of last September overthrew the Imperial régime, they found themselves face to face with the same difficulty—a difficulty which admitted of no hesitation or delay—viz. a mass of people living from hand to mouth, who must be employed and paid must perish or pillage. Ordinary industry was suspended, all was in confusion, a siege was impending. What was the Provisional Government to do? They began their fatal downward course within the week. They first decreed the return without payment of all the goods of the poorer sort pawned at the *Mont-de-Piété*. This was giving back the working classes their furniture and clothes for nothing. They next passed a law suspending the payment of rents, thus lodging the artisans and idlers rent-free, or at the cost of the landed proprietors of Paris. In the third place they enrolled nearly the whole of them as National Guards at the wages of 30 sous per day with 75 centimes for their families in addition. Thus, in the course of a very few days, they threw upon the Government the entire maintenance of the so-called operatives of the capital, provided them, while not war at all, with lodging, and food, and practi-

easily placing them in as good a position, or perhaps a better position than before—supporting them in idleness, paying them for doing nothing, enabling them to lounge about and drink at the public cost in a wholly unaccustomed fashion. Naturally enough, when peace was proclaimed and the Government of the National Assembly (not too favourable to these proceedings) was established, the artisans of Paris foresaw an end of the pampered and unproductive existence, and determined not to surrender their pay without a struggle. This, by concurring testimony, is the real meaning and origin of the Communist insurrection, and naturally enough the Communist leaders have followed suit. The one franc and a-half a-day has grown into two and a-half, pensions to widows and children (legitimate or illegitimate) are promised with a lavish hand; debtors are exonerated for an indefinite period from the payment of their debts, and peace has repeatedly been resorted to to provide for the financial embarrassments. Thus every fresh revolution or insurrection, like most that have preceded it, is less political than social, and it is scarcely possible to call it an uprising of the city population against rustic majorities, or a Republican protest against monarchic reaction, it is, or has become, simply, at least mainly, the protest of some hundred thousands of idle and subsidised masses against the cessation of their pleasures and the withdrawal of their pensions. The aims of the insurgents—whatever may be the ostensible terms of their manifestoes and proclamations, or however they may be stated by their sympathisers—are to get rid of the Republican Government, or to make it a stepping-stone to the Communist Republic. At the bottom of the whole movement lies the vast, dangerous, hungry, unemployed and unemployable mass of Parisian population, demoralised and fermented artisans, with arms in their hands, that renders all government so unstable in France, all recovery so difficult.

Perhaps among the various national characteristics, or, it may be, mere features of the crisis, the strangest and most ominous is what we may call the general collapse of Parisian manhood in nearly all classes. We are not disposed to credit the whole people with a sudden access of simple cowardice, still less the army. We believe that the regular troops, and even in many instances the Mobiles, fought well wherever they were skilfully handled and duly provided, at least till constant defeats had utterly disheartened them and destroyed all confidence in themselves and in their officers. It is believed that on one occasion, in the three days' obstinate battles around Metz, the French had actually gained the victory, and the Germans were just on the point of retiring, when one of their officers heard Bazaine, who was not aware of the position of affairs, give orders for his troops to fall back, and the favourable opportunity was lost. The series of defeats undergone by the Imperial army was attributable far more to bad generalship and bad discipline than to want of common soldierly pluck. That the raw recruits collected by Gambetta in such ill-fed crowds should have shown a total want of heart and steadiness is no more than might have been expected, untrained, unorganised, unfed, and unclothed as they were; though, no doubt, many of the accounts of their cowardly and shameless shunning were astonishing enough. The men who joined the armies of the Republic in such numbers under Carnot and Aurelles de Paladine fought splendidly and suffered severely. But the characteristic to which we wish to direct attention is the absence of pluck, of moral power, of the disposition

to make head against danger, any menace, any panic, manifested nearly everywhere by the authorities, and by all civilians whether armed or not. The mere appearance of a few scattered and foraging Uhlans used to be the signal for prompt submission. Demands were complied with as soon as made. Contributions were often levied where there was no armed force to extort them. Both before and since the peace, it seemed as if commands given were obeyed almost mechanically, no one questioning or repudiating the right of the commander. The unblushing poltroonery of the great majority of the National Guards of Paris during the siege was something monstrous; the noisiest were usually the most cowardly; with many the feeling displayed was as much shameless indifference as mere personal fear; and the stories told on good authority of their behaviour are almost beyond belief. In other cases and classes, as well as among uniformed ranks, the same feature was observable: ferocious and bombastic boasting, running away at the first appearance of a serious conflict, panic terror and dispersion if an accidental shot was fired—in fact the nerves of the whole people seem to be shaken. The same disgraceful temper has been manifested almost more strongly during the wretched civil war; we read in different towns of the insurgents marching on the Hôtel de Ville, imprisoning or dismissing the authorities without a shot being fired or a stroke struck on either side; and the next day or the same evening, of the rightful rulers resuming their position simply because the insurgents found themselves unsupported, and so quietly evaporated their strength. The Paris Communists, there seems too much reason to think, could have been put down at once had the friends of order, the equals of them armed and organised, shown the faintest spirit, or even ordinary discipline and obedience. But the first act in the drama was that the well-disposed National Guards, those of the *bourgeoisie*—partly out of discontent with the Government, partly out of the lump and nerveless selfishness characteristic of the money-making class in Paris, partly out of calculation whether the defence of peace and order was worth a broken leg or a gunshot wound, partly out of indisposition to do for themselves what they fancied M. Thiers and the Assembly ought to do for them—showed the white feather, and refused to answer the *Rappel* or to fight when they did appear upon parade. The second act displayed these same battalions, 'friends of order' and established rule, personally far more numerous and certainly wealthier and better educated than the insurgents, quietly submitting to be by them disbanded and disarmed. The third act shows us hundreds of these same men seized in their own homes by press-gangs from Belleville and dragged away by force to serve in the ranks of the insurgents. Nowhere does there appear to have been any rallying-point of resistance to the insurrection, nowhere any courageous spirit to rally round. At one point demoralisation, too, of other sorts seems to have spread wide and deep. There would appear to be no mutual confidence and no recognised obedience or control. Citizens are slow to act with individual boldness in an emergency, because they cannot rely upon their fellow-citizens standing by them or upon the Government upholding them. So they act timorously and at random, and it is said almost from every one of the insurgent chiefs that he was forced upon them by the necessity of not being left behind, even in battle, because they could not rely upon their troops following them in the first place or after because they could not trust their own ranks to be resolute and faithful.

Other virtues besides those of courage and fidelity appear to be dying out. It is becoming now too notorious to be denied that during the war the worst brutalities and the most lawless plunderings and the most wanton inflictions suffered by Frenchmen were sustained at the hands of their own countrymen and not from the German soldiery, and French villagers too often dreaded the advent of their enemies far less than that of their defenders. We have heard the severest comments from French lips on the indifference and inhumanity displayed by the National Guards of Paris during the siege — especially those of the disaffected quarters — towards their suffering fellow-citizens and notably towards their own wives and children, they themselves be it remembered, well paid and daily rationed, escaped all suffering and all shrank all fighting. And how is, from what quarter did the several contributions in money and the vast amount of personal exertion, not to say nursing of rank poor under the roof of the rusted and the sick-bed of the wounded? Not from the centre and south of France, whose manhood at once armed and recruited, with or without no campaign had ravaged, whose cities more or less had been under contribution, who had been almost spared all the misery and cost of the burdens of the war that fell from England and America from warm sympathy, from generous thousand miles away, from all sorts of societies and associations and committees took pressure in uplifting at the time.

It is sad to have to believe in the loss of the civic virtues in a great people — to have even to speculate as to whether they may no longer exist. But if it should be true that associated charity has grown rare, that individual generosity is languishing out, that social courage and private morals have been sadly sinking and impaired, that social sympathies have been dangerously weakened, and the gangrene of selfishness has overspread the nation; if decadence and degeneracy have indeed set in and menace the whole future destiny of a distinguished race, it behoves us, in commenting upon these things, not only to avoid all Pharisaic self-congratulation, but to learn at once charity and warning from an analysis of the sources of the melancholy spectacle. There has been enough in the history of France during the last hundred years to excuse much and to explain all. At the rising of the curtain we look upon a people the great masses of which, alike in town and country, groaned under intolerable wrongs, in which poverty, injustice, and oppression were all intensified by a consciousness of utter helplessness under the supremacy of a church which had fallen away from its old purity and could command no reverence, and a nobility which had lost all those antique virtues that once almost sanctioned its haughty domination. The people were degraded, civilization was corrupt and shallow, and in intellectual matters startlingly new wine was being recklessly poured into wretchedly old bottles. Then came a convulsion and an overthrow such as, perhaps, was never but once seen since the world began; an upheaval of everything from its innermost foundations. Every institution was upset, the upper ranks were exiled, discarded, dethroned, and slain, many of the best families became extinct; all were impoverished and deprived of influence and power; the middle and often the lower classes stepped into the high places of the nation, the last became first and the first last, the most feudal state in Europe became the most democratic, the entire character of the people appeared changed. There was a short period during which abso-

lute anarchy prevailed; and such period, however brief, can never be traversed without leaving indelible traces on a nation's temper. For a while everything was disorganised, nothing was stable, nothing sacred. Every possibility was opened to every individual and every class,—a mighty source of demoralisation or of grandeur according to the fitness of the nation. All the old moral and material bonds of society were loosed, and no new ones had as yet been framed.

Next came the Republican and Napoleonic wars—a quarter of a century of military domination, of ceaseless conflict, of intoxicating and demoralising glory. There were three different modes in which this epoch may be said to have depraved the French nation. In the first place the physical degeneracy indirectly caused was great and lasting, though the degree of it can scarcely be accurately measured. For nearly a generation the tallest, healthiest and most vigorous youth of the nation were carried off by the conscription; condemned to a life of celibacy passed for the most part in foreign countries, few of them permitted finally to return, and those who did survive, surviving usually as invalids or cripples. It appears from authentic documents collected by Sir A. Alison that, from the commencement to the close of the Revolutionary Wars, the levies of soldiers in France exceeded *four millions*, and that not less than three millions of these, on the lowest calculation, perished in the field, the hospital, or the bivouac. The picked men of the population were selected for slaughter; the rejected men were left to become the parents of subsequent generations. According to Jules Simon, the birth-rate in France has steadily diminished since 1784. The average standard of height among recruits has been considerably reduced, and the great proportion of French soldiers of the line are decidedly below the middle size. Of 325,000 young men who annually reach the conscriptible age, 109,000, or more than one-third, are unfit for service either as under the height, or feeble and sickly, or disqualified by some physical defect. Most medical authorities agree in admitting a downward tendency in the physical and hygienic aspect of the people, to which decreasing sobriety and the insidious effects of absinthe have of late years much contributed. But the moral poison of those evil days was probably even more certain, and more subtle than the material mischief, and at least as lasting and as widely disseminated. It was of two sorts—the habit of unquestioning submission to military rule at home, with its peremptory silence and its imperious dogmatism,—and the systematic practice of aggressive and plundering wars abroad. These things generated and confirmed two of the worst of national vices—insolence and cringing, timid and unresisting subservience among civilians, and a contempt for justice and individual rights among the military classes. Pillage, recognised and systematised, became one of the belligerent rights and belligerent rewards, and conquered nations were forced to pay the cost of conquering them. There was, moreover, a degree of vulgar cynicism and brutality in the manner of Napoleon's tyranny that rendered it impossible to retain any degree of self-respect in submitting to it. It degraded those who enslaved or over-rode; and illustrating by the perfection of its systematic centralisation every part of civil life, crushing all spontaneous action and all personal independence, frowning upon and punishing every political, municipal or social movement that did not originate from administrative authority, it completed that destructive act

very faculty of [illegible] which renders France now so fatally helpless in her day of trial.

Then followed an interval of misery from 1815 to 1848—a generation of constitutional government not perhaps very noble, but the longest and the whitest most [illegible] which France has known interrupted only in 1830 by the comparatively excusable of her many revolutions. The weakness of Louis Philippe once more gave the mob a temporary ascendancy, and a movement which ought to have been a mere street riot became the signal for a general uprising of all the disturbing elements in European politics. A republic, which had been built upon the national will or affections, was violently overthrown by a despot whose name at least had a strange hold over the popular imagination, and the second Empire commenced its malevolent career, and completed the demoralisation of all classes simultaneously. Its favourite maxim to the people was, Enrich yourselves, and be merry; I will look after the country and do all your disagreeable things. Make money as hard as you can, the best of the flesh, the best of the eggs, and the pride of life shall be the order of the day. It was essentially an ignoble epoch, which starved the moral and intellectual life of the nation, it paralysed the will, it narrowed the conscience; it fostered and pampered all the worst and most sensual characteristics of the race, it ruined private and public honesty, and it left the Court living the [illegible] life that [illegible] in the midst of the moral ruin and [illegible] that it had created. [illegible] and the army in its own estimation [illegible] the moral system and [illegible] it had created and [illegible] it.

We are in the dark [illegible] about the war of Paris, and [illegible] ground to every quarter of the dark horizon, we can see no light or hope in any direction—no dawning prospect of a better day—no probable combination of any extant elements from which salvation can be so much as dreamed. There is no true standard round which we could wish to rally; no great statesman among whose followers we could be contented to enrol ourselves; no institution erect which might serve as a nucleus of union and strength; no ark even in which the faithful few could find a secure refuge while the waters of the deluge sweep over the land. Whence is recovery to come? For whom should an army fight? Why should troops who failed to drive back the foreigner shed the blood of their countrymen at the bidding of an incapable Assembly, or an aimless and headless insurrection, or a king who has never been tried, or an emperor who has been tried and found so terribly wanting? The issue of the conflict clearly lies in the hands of the regular army. If they fight with tolerable skill, and conquer—as in that case they must—it will not be for M. Thiers, or out of devotion to him, that they will win the day. Their victory will raise them masters of the situation, and the successful general who leads them to victory will be able to determine the Government and to award the crown. In any case the pacification of the country and the restoration of order will be the establishment of Prætorianism. It is possible, indeed, for the chapter of accidents is always rich in France, as it is only a man de carton here [illegible] that some great genius may suddenly emerge out of the dark chaos, gifted with the capacity to lead and rule, and with the especially impossible loyalty of rallying the army and the people round his power and law to his ascendancy. In such a miraculous advent only does there seem any solution of the problem, yet of such we can see not the faintest

indication; for one of the saddest features of the time is that nothing noble, nothing generous, nothing original or great, either in intellect or character, has been drawn forth by the most spirit-stirring crisis a country ever underwent. A nation overwhelmed, an Empire and a dynasty overthrown, a revolution and a civil war—all compressed into about half a year—have elicited nothing beyond the poorest mediocrities, the hollowest shams, the most hopeless rehabilitations of effete imbecilities and failures.

And if such a heaven-born genius should be sent at the eleventh hour to dominate the crisis and to solve the problem, what would be the work before him? To re-organise and purify an army shaken to its centre by astonishing, and to it incomprehensible, defeats, catastrophes and humiliations, and from which even the traditions of discipline and obedience have died out; to inspire such a force with confidence in itself and devotion to its leader; to create or to restore a stable Government in a nation in which every dynasty and every form of polity and administration has been discredited in turn; to disarm and send back to honest and toilsome industry, to the plough and the workshop and the factory, a quarter of a million of men ruined by months of idleness, dissipation, flattery, deception, and subsidies; to disperse the supernumerary artisan class of Paris, to the number of probably 100,000, amid the rural districts; to keep down the populace of every city with the sternest weapons of repression; to govern, with the strong hand, a whole people to whom severe control is at once a necessity and an abhorrence; and to do all this without the active and and with at most the passive approval of a [illegible] eaten up with lazy egotism, who wish for the end but quarrel with or refuse the means; and in spite of the reckless and inflammatory brutality of orators, and journalists, and [illegible] of every type, to win a [illegible] of order is a sentence of obscurity. Finally, also, to establish this well-nigh superhuman task in the midst of financial difficulties extraordinary, and gigantic unpaid liabilities such as never before weighed upon a nation. 'Who is sufficient for these things?'

W R G.

'OURS' IN JAPAN.[1]

JAPANESE manners and those of English mess life at our Eastern military stations are simultaneously illustrated in this droll volume. It must be admitted that the holiness of our 'Holy Boys' (as they were accustomed to call themselves, probably under the influence of some Hibernian comrade) is of a peculiar character. Their devotions are ardent, but paid chiefly to what they term the 'equine deity;' and they find in *Allah* 'a word that some of one's holiest recollections are bound up with.' Saints, too, are named in their calendar; notably, 'a certain Colonel who holds as forward a place over the grassy slopes of Leicestershire as over the less stuffy enclosed fields of fiction, and whom for years we have looked up to with much the same kind of veneration as we can imagine the Greeks in the olden days to have entertained for their poet-warrior, Sophocles.' The Boys did indeed startle the Japanese in various ways, and mainly by an inordinate determination to break their own necks or limbs, worthy of a colony of madmen. There is not much said, directly, of the relations existing between the English soldiers at Yokohama and the native inhabitants, but there are many things incidentally mentioned which warrant the belief that they are not unfriendly. It is, perhaps, especially worthy of note that the Japanese are not uniformly called 'niggers,' indeed, that typical officer to whom 'all nations other than European are niggers' is mentioned here with contempt. Thus is getting on; for it has hitherto seemed that, as it took a hundred years to get our slave-trading ancestors out of the notion that all coloured people were Moors, so, despite all ethnological researches, our military men meant to go on endlessly calling Hindoos and Japanese 'niggers.' The comparisons instituted in this volume of the manners and habits of the Japanese with our own are not always favourable to ourselves; and this, to some extent, is a reflection of the politeness which our Boys received, and we may hope merited, from the people among whom they resided. The sketches of Japanese life in this volume, scanty and incidental as they are, are now and then of no little interest. The true glimpses of the complex Eastern societies which we receive are generally obtained in such casual ways, and they invariably reveal the elaborate erroneousness of our conventional estimates of them. If the ordinary traveller who 'does' Japan, commonly gives us the shell of an Oriental society, the missionary is careful to import only the barr. With credulous horror we gaze upon the ugly 'idols,' held up to draw surpasses for the conversion of their worshippers, without reflecting how some of our own dogmas may impress the pagans, or what physiognomies our creeds sometimes present when they are sculptured and painted. Were foreigners to regard the Lord Mayor's show and the Church Convocation as the chief institutions of England, their error could hardly be greater than when the traditional forms of Japanese law and religion are taken as the measure of the civilization of that country. The testimony of the writers of this volume is that 'no people

[1] *Our Life in Japan.* By H. Montagu Jephson and Edward Fennell Fitzhugh, 9th Regiment. With numerous fine photographs by Lord Walter Kerr, Signor Beato, and native Japanese drawings. London: Chapman and Hall.

in the world are more polished in their manners, not only towards strangers, but each other;' that their speech has 'a soft and pleasant sound,' not at all unlike Italian; that their dwellings are 'all equally and scrupulously clean, as also is their food, and their manner of cooking and serving it.' The following description of a Japanese dinner-party will be found interesting:—

'The guests, about ten in number, were met at the entrance of the banquet-house by their hosts, who, with a profusion of bows and compliments, invited them to enter. After taking off our shoes—a proceeding which caused considerable merriment amongst one or two of the party, to whom it was totally unexpected, and who consequently had not looked out their latest relay of merinos—we were shown into a large apartment, the greater portion of the walls of which was, as usual, made of paper, and tastefully painted. There was no furniture of any description in the room, which was brilliantly lighted with paper lanterns; but carpets were spread on which to sit *à la Turc*, and the rest of the floor was covered with fine matting.

'As a commencement to the evening's entertainment, tea was brought in cups about the size of an ordinary liqueur glass, and drunk, of course, according to the Eastern fashion, without milk or sugar. This was handed to each guest by a pretty little maiden, who was told off to wait upon him during the evening, and whose bright eyes and merry smile were enough to make a man eat a score pun had she handed it to him. After partaking of the tea, some ten minutes were devoted to smoking; and, not unnaturally, we preferred our own tobacco to that provided by our hosts, whose little metal pipes—with bowls holding only sufficient for two or three whiffs—and light, insipid tobacco, were hardly suited to the taste of foreigners.

'A box of *confiture*, consisting of barley sugar, sugar fish, tortoises, &c.—all very good in their way for those who have not yet lost their "sweet tooth," though not exactly the thing to begin dinner on—was next placed before each. Then came a little cup of soup, made of the delicate *biche de mer*, followed by dish after dish, or rather covered cup after covered cup, of various Japanese delicacies, by no means the least of which was raw fish.

'Everything was served on the most beautiful lacquer ware, no one set appearing twice throughout the evening. The drink, in addition to some English champagne specially obtained for the occasion, was a spirit called saki, which is extracted from rice; it is not at all unlike whisky in flavour, and is taken "hot without."

'One was expected to taste a little of everything that was placed before one; and as there is, unfortunately, a limit to man's powers in that line, after eighteen courses had been gone through we were forced to cry Enough. They then brought in fruit, and we thought, of course, the dinner was over, for it had already lasted more than three hours; but, to our astonishment, in a few minutes' time there appeared, in special compliment to the foreigners, a series of solids—enormous fish, haunches of beef, fowls, &c. All these, not unnaturally, were removed untouched; when they began again, and kept on for another couple of hours, putting before one soups and eatables till some forty courses must have been sent up, about fifteen of which were different kinds of soups.

'The little handmaids did their work delightfully, and everything was served with the greatest regard to taste and neatness.

'At the same time with what might be called the second or solid perusal, dancing-girls entered the room with another band, who accompanied their movements on guitars—not striking the chords with their fingers, but with a small, flat piece of wood triangular in shape. The dancing was remarkably graceful and pretty; and the guitar-girls, if they did not give exactly what we should call music, kept up a lively accompaniment. After a time the dancers retired, and were replaced by singers—including a man or two as bass—who treated us to the most extraordinary and excruciating succession of notes.

'Our hosts were most civil and agreeable fellows, and did all in their power to make us feel at home at our strange repast.'

On some of the Japanese customs our Holy Boys look out from their hut of imported England with simple wonder. They are much puzzled, for example, by the custom of flying a kite, shaped and painted like a fish, over each house when a child has just been born. They are, however, more imitative than archæological, and though they do not recognise the ancient symbol of Venus, nor trace any connexion between the fish flying over the newborn in Japan and that still eaten by Catholics on the day consecrated to Venus, they are prompt in appreciating the custom, and having heard that the wife of one of their officers has been confined, they hasten to fly a fish-kite over her lodging in the barracks.

The Japanese are wonderful actors, their every fault being an excess of realism. 'A juvenile performance took place at the close of the day; as a regular Japanese play-night would last from sunset to sunrise, having the meals brought to him. There is no rest or waiting between the scenes. They follow each other in rapid succession. One stage we saw at Yedo was divided into different compartments by partitions radiating from the centre. On the completion of one scene, the stage revolved on a central pivot, disclosing the next compartment prepared for the ensuing one. The gestures and pantomimic actions are so expressive that the plot, which is invariably very simple, can easily be followed.'

Many of the plays are founded upon the legendary lore of the country, of which this volume has less to say than we could desire. An amusing account, however, is given of the ascent by two of the officers of the mountain Oyama, the special abode of an evil spirit with a long nose, called Ten-jo, a superstition resembling the Tchornibog of Sclavonian mythology and his mountain abode. The natives were very earnest in warning them of the danger of the adventure, and declared that he of the long nose would surely desecrate their limits. 'How did they know Ten-jo had a long nose?' 'Because all evil spirits have long noses'—a theory that did not altogether please one of the English party. 'Did you ever know a man with a long nose who was good?' urged the native, not perceiving that he was here making personal to one of the interrogators. Fortunately for the reputation of Ten-jo, one of the climbers met with an accident by which his leg was broken in two places. While he was on his back many natives visited him to express their regret and to say prayers to Ten-jo's guardian. As the visitors was an evil man, who came to end his days in another fashion, he being a victim of the peculiar superstition that departed relatives revisit the scenes of their life in animal forms.

'He said that he had lost his little property, but that was not so much the cause of his grief as the absurd way in which his wife, backed up by a whole conclave of

old women who had taken up their quarters in his house to comfort her, was going on.

'"What do they all do?" we asked sympathetically.

'"Why," he replied, "every beastly animal that comes to my house, there is a cry amongst them all, 'Chiosin, Chiosin has come back!' and the whole house swarms with cats, and dogs, and bats—for they say they are not quite sure which is Chiosin, and that they had better be kind to the lot than run the chance of treating him badly: the consequence is, all of these brutes are fed on my rice and meat, and now I am driven out of doors, and called an unnatural parent, because I killed a mosquito which bit me."'

Japanese executions have often been described, but one witnessed by the writers of this book seems to have been accompanied by a scene so singular that we must regard it as one of the few additions to our information concerning Japan given in these pages. The criminal was taken to execution tied on a horse, and preceded by men bearing placards proclaiming his age, birthplace, and crime. As he passed by the English party he called out, with a scornful laugh, for the *tojins*, the foreigners, 'to come and see how a Nippon could die.' Entering the courtyard, or execution-ground, they saw the heads of executed criminals piled in a corner. The doomed man was here given a breakfast, which he ate heartily. He was then placed kneeling, with his head over a hole dug for its reception.

'The prisoner's arms were then pinioned behind his back, but before the cloth was tied over his eyes he requested that a minute's grace might be allowed him. This being granted, he raised a weak, quavering voice to its highest pitch, and screamed out "My friends!"

'Immediately an unearthly chorus of wails answered the poor wretch from his friends outside the walls, none of whom could be seen from the interior. . . .

'"Friends!" again shouted the unfortunate man—and after each sentence the same thrilling response was sent back to him—"I am about to die, but think not that I care." A horrible attempt at a laugh followed the last words. "Do not mind me! It is quite indifferent to me! Rather look out for yourselves! Syonara (good-bye)!" and with a deeper and more prolonged wail the crowd outside answered, "Syonara!"'

After the execution the procession was re-formed much as before, except that the executioner was now mounted on the horse which had borne the criminal, whose head he carried to a kind of gallows, where it was placed to remain for six days in full sight of all passers-by—a sort of triumphal procedure which suggests a military origin of their capital punishments.

The aspects of Japanese life recorded by foreigners in Japan are, we must bear in mind, naturally those which are most peculiar and sensational; and this may be regarded as especially the case in a work like that before us, whose main object is to depict English garrison life in Japan rather than scenes in the surrounding country. But the normal life of the people, as it incidentally appears here, shows them, as we have already intimated, to have reached a height in moral relations, in manners and in art, far beyond what some of their inherited customs—lingering unreasonably long in an art-and-ware-shipping country—would seem to indicate.

Turning our attention now from the Japanese to our Home Boys we will say at once that there is no difficulty whatever in recognising them as fair samples of the British breed. Not that the Boys in Japan have the cravings of their nature

fully met there. By existing treaty Europeans are confined within the limits of a segment of a circle whose radius is thirty miles, and beyond these limits the jay, the deer, and many other interesting but sagacious creatures have long since removed their families, whence, with foreshortened telescope, they may look complacently on the Briton while he makes game of his comrade in lieu of any other, and runs down himself in default of fox.

Nevertheless, within the allotted space they have reproduced a creditable Japanese edition of their native country; and it would even seem that instead of their activities being dwarfed by a circumscribed habitat, they are stimulated. As reflected in this Japan mirror, the life and interest of our English youth may be classified under the following heads:

Fox-hunting,

Horse-racing,

Pistol-practising,

After-dinner toasting, and repartee-ing,

Drinking soda and B.

While it is impossible to doubt the enthusiasm with which fox-hunting is carried on at Yokohama, it is equally certain that fox-finding is a perpetual impossibility. The only wonder that philanthropy could have in the matter must be in consideration for the sportsmen. Even if occasionally started, the fox has but little difficulty in gaining the protection of some country flag, but it is hardly possible to think of the brown beasts and lairs of the sportsmen as unmitigated pleasures. Yet with the Holy Days the essence of fun seems to be mishap, and in that direction their ingenuity appears to be taxed. Mr Satterthwaite tells us that these holy days—with pleasant memories—might well envy the laughter caused by the overturn of a rider, while the downfall of a particularly clumsy one with his horse on top raises the delight to an uproarious climax.

The favourite sport of our heroes seems to have been a drag by moonlight, and the upper garment for the expedition is a shirt only, our officers deeming so much in deference to the superiority of Yokohamese over Texan civilisation.

The Japanese are great wrestlers, though there does not seem to be among them an acquaintance with 'the one hundred and thirty-eight slights of the art,' of which the Persians speak as known to the professional wrestlers of their country. The wrestling matches of the Japanese, however, seem to be attended with considerable pomp and circumstance, and the vast amphitheatres in which they take place are adorned with banners, on which are written the names of the chief wrestlers.

'Two burly fellows had just stepped into the arena, and were walking round—each with the swagger of a cock on his own dunghill stretching their arms and legs, and showing their muscle to an admiring and applauding crowd, who, with eager, excited faces, were backing their fancy, and shouting as loudly and determinedly as the ring men on a Derby day. They were very tall for Japanese—one of the two being fully six feet high and enormously fat, with huge bellies, but sadly deficient in real hard muscle. Stripped to a cloth twisted round their waists, you could see plainly the masses of blubber that hung loosely about them. This is to be accounted for by the fact that weight is the greatest possible desideratum in their principles of wrestling, inasmuch as being pushed out of the ring counts as a fall, and, in consequence of the space being so narrow, as a rule not more than one tumble out of every three produces a fair back-fall.

'Having swelled about to their satisfaction, each took a pinch of salt from a cup handed to him,

received a final sponging over from his attendant, and then proceeded to challenge. This consisted in placing a hand on each thigh, just above the knee; then stooping slightly, lifting each leg in turn, at the same time raising the hand, and replacing it with a loud smack, as the foot came sharply to the ground. In this way they went on slowly and deliberately in front of each other for about a minute. Then, keeping their hands still on their thighs, they squatted on their heels face to face, and about a foot apart. Standing just outside the ring was the umpire, who also acted the part of herald, proclaiming in a loud voice, as each pair of combatants appeared, their names, place of birth and residence, previous performances, &c. He was a rather showily-dressed individual, and carried a rod in his hand, with which to signal to those engaged to stop or go on, or to pronounce a fall. The men are supposed to begin by mutual agreement; and if the umpire considers that they have started with an equal chance, he signs to them to continue; if not, he stops them, and they resume their position.

'This match was evidently one which excited much more interest than common. The two wrestlers were the champions of their respective districts; and as both were strongly represented among the spectators, the house seemed to divide itself into two parties, and the betting was spirited in the extreme. After gazing on each other for some time, one of them springs up; but having anticipated his adversary, the umpire's wand interposes, and they both rise to walk round the ring, refresh themselves with another pinch of salt, rinse their mouths out with water, and go through the challenging process as before. These false starts, with the subsequent swaggering, are gone through two or three times, until it becomes rather wearisome; but at length they make up their minds to business and buckle to in earnest, giving forth short quick shouts as they struggle for a grip.

. . . . . .

'The third being the deciding fall, they take even longer than before in their preparations, and it is not until the second call to time by the umpire that they again take their places in the arena. The excitement is now tremendous, and it seems as if whichever man is victorious the whole affair will end in a free fight. The party-feeling is almost contagious, and the members of the group of foreigners are backing their opinion freely among themselves. Bobby'—an Englishman—'as is but right, puts his five dollars on the smaller champion, and, to judge by appearances, the chances are slightly in his favour, for the other is blowing rather heavily.

'This time they observe the greatest caution in opening the ball, and it is not until after two false attempts that they are up together, and the umpire bids them "Go on." Their blood is now thoroughly up, and they close at once without shouting, for neither can afford to lose breath. Twisting and writhing, they struggle from side to side, first one obtaining a momentary advantage, then the other. Now the taller one all but succeeds in repeating the crumbling [illegible], now, in his turn, he is all but tripped off his legs; and now, without relaxing their grasp, they stand motionless for some seconds. The heavy weight, though, is too fat to last, and each effort blows him more and more, till his wiry antagonist, getting a good under-grip, deposes him over his leg, and the giant staggers and falls, the other on top of him.

'At this juncture it seems as if one-half the assembled multitude

had gone mad. Yelling, dancing, and singing, they testify their joy in the wildest conceivable way. Scores of coats, shoes (the long sash prevents that the Japanese of both sexes will wear [illegible] waist), and swords are cast on the ground, each man actually straining himself to [illegible] to avoid the list of gifts. The victorious hero himself meets with treatment which, successful though he be, is calculated to damp the ardour of his triumph. Instead of being hailed as an object of admiration, he is pinched and prodded in the most unfeeling manner, and his thighs, arms, and breasts, and behaving altogether like the learned doctor warrior before mentioned when he returns triumphant from the fray. When Bobby, with his accustomed assurance, strolled into the magic circle, to feel him over as he would have done a horse, he seemed highly flattered by the attention, though still more pleased by the present of an [illegible] (about 6d.) which accompanied the inspection.'

As may be anticipated, this examination of the muscular points of the hero was very contrary to a challenge from the Englishmen which led to the appearance of the native wrestlers at the camp, where, it seems to have been agreed, the majority of the encounters ended unfavourably to the Englishmen. Our Heroes naturally feel that their national pride has been somewhat neglected in the discussion, and reflect with satisfaction on the fact that whereas the combatants at the Crystal Palace Fête of the South of England for the encouragement of wrestling, back-sword, and quarter-staff exist no longer in Japan a portion of the gymnasium in every temple is devoted to exercises of a character bearing the two last-named appellations. Many who want to dispute the difference between the present existence of the two countries, will be struck by the circumstance that in both such exercises of skill have been associated with places of worship.

Our Holy Boys seem to be for the most part staunch Conservatives; but it may interest the ladies who are contending for political equality to know that, as to this particular question, the Japanese mind is very much more anti-progressive than our oldest Tories. When on a visit to see the great Buddhist idol called Daibootz they lingered in a village where the inhabitants were very inquisitive, and seemed especially anxious to know something about the [illegible] (woman) figuring on their caps. It was 'Britannia,' the badge of the regiment; but the officers were not sufficiently masters of the language to explain the symbolical significance of the image, and the natives were lost in amazement that military men should so far forget the superiority of their sex as to thus pay public homage to a woman; and the puzzlement was increased when admission escaped one of them that the chief of England was a woman.

At the close of their amusing report of the vagaries of themselves and their comrades, the authors of this volume say that they cherish an inward assurance that many who read their pages will say to themselves, 'I, too, would thoroughly have been one of them had Fate thrown me there.'

And no doubt they are quite right. Nevertheless, some who peruse their stories will probably be inclined to ask whether there might not be invented some better work for cultivated young Englishmen, full of energy and true animal spirits, than a perpetual round of such sports as they have recorded. In fact, there are not wanting certain passages in the volume itself which suggest that the Holy Boys feel bitterly how little training for a career of importance is permitted in the profession to which they belong, and regard their services as making the best of a bad lot at exile. It may be better that their superfluous energies

should be employed in hunting foxes than in hunting natives. Yet we cannot suppress reflections also concerning those vast outlying possessions of England which are comparatively stagnant and unproductive for want of the populations which would furnish a field for the energies of just such men. Crowded and cramped in our overgrown cities, forming centres of disease and moral corruption, turning the struggle for existence into a chronic war of class against class—here are the people. Across the seas are vast fertile fields untamed, calling for labourers. Not only have we the labourers, for whom there is here no place, but men capable of being active leaders, youths brave and intelligent, many of whom would rejoice in helping to build up and to defend new and solid English nations in colonies which now show only a few straggling settlements, which are at once sources of disgrace and danger. Horses, foxes, and drags ought hardly to be the chief end of a cultivated man's life even for two years, however appropriate they may be as the incidental pleasures of existence. The 'effacement of England,' of which we have been hearing so much lately, is not likely to result from this country's refusal to interfere in local struggles with which she has little or no real concern: if the phrase should ever come to express a truth, it will be because we are wasting in the demoralisation of idle barracks, or diverting into a perpetual pursuit of wild animals at home and abroad, the energies of the nation, instead of devoting them to the large human task of furthering civilisation and the welfare of mankind in regions entrusted to our keeping.

Meanwhile, until we have a Government capable of recognising the further destinies of the country, and cutting out for the Holy Boys more serious work, we take their side against Peckaniff & Co. most decidedly. We have a strong suspicion that if the young men in question were not pursuing their semi-barbarous sports at Yokohama and similar stations, they would be spinning out in some pulpit the string of texts politely called a sermon, begun several hundreds of years ago and destined to be droned on for several hundreds more; they would be dozing in the House of Commons, they would be yawning in clubs, they would be lounging or debauching themselves in Continental capitals—and in effect chanting the dismal refrain of labourers who've 'got no work to do.' Lord Softdown, remaining in London, with no care beyond his evening's feast and no grief beyond his morning's indigestion, is a man only so far as his tailor has invested him with the costume of one; but let fate send Lord Softdown to the jungles of India, or the fields of Japan, and this nobleman will go without a good dinner for a week, will clean his own clothes, cook his own food, sleep under his saddle, and meet you with manly look and laughter worthy of an ancient Norseman. That such training of limbs and senses, of endurance, natural intelligence, indifference to trivial discomforts, and fertility of resource should be ultimately harvested on the 'brush,' is truly a lame and impotent conclusion. It will hardly, however, oppress the minds of our young sportsmen until our philosophers and statesmen shall have been moved thereby to consider whether it be not feasible to send out our youth on missions other than to gain for England a reputation as the Nimrod of nations.

THE WORKING MAN'S POLITICAL QUESTION.

HOW to prevent wages from falling below the living point, or the zero of the labour thermometer? How to make employment easily findable at all times and seasons? How to cure and prevent pauperism?—are various forms of the Working Man's Political Question, to which an effective answer requires to be given.

Before attempting to prescribe remedies for a social grievance, it may be advisable to advert for a moment to the supposed causes of the evil. Insufficient wages and pauperism have for primary or root causes general ignorance on the part of the lower classes, and lack of suitable knowledge on the part of both electors and representatives; and for secondary causes, unwise laws, branching out into bad social customs, and unregulated individual passions and vicious habits, the fruit of the tree being criminals, lunatics, abandoned women, vagrants, drunkards, neglected children, premature invalids, paupers, and operatives in casual distress. If this diagnosis of the disease be correct, the primary or root remedies indicated are, education and industrial training for the lower classes, and special knowledge in social science for legislators. The secondary remedies and the modes of dealing with the fruit of this evil tree are not so clearly indicated. The public-house branch, the overcrowding and fast-living branches, the branch which produces the 'great moral evil,' the baneful branch which kills the person, and the luxuriant branch which overcrowds the workhouse, all seem to require special as well as general treatment. But if all neglected children received a good industrial training and were well able to read and write, and if all our legislators were chosen by intelligent and unbribeable voters, not on account of their volubility of speech, nor in consequence of their wealth and social position, but because of their special aptitude or skill in constructing social machinery suitable to the wants of the age, we might reasonably hope to discover both secondary and sovereign remedies for the various evils which afflict society. In our past attempts at social reform we have generally over-rated the immediate, and under-rated the primary causes of the evil to be removed; hence, instead of laying the axe at the root of the tree, we have expended the greater part of our strength in merely pruning its most prominent branches.

To diminish the pressure of poverty upon a sober population, to provide sufficiently paid work for every arm, and for the greatest number of arms an encouraging marriage law could possibly produce,—easily accessible highways between labour and capital, inexpensive labour-removing machinery, 'cheap trains across the ocean,' the constant development and multiplication of labour markets, and the active circulation of money in reproductive channels, are indispensable. We have committed another error in allowing purely local agencies to deal with national evils. If our assumption of the causes of pauperism is correct, it follows that a pauper is the product of unwise laws, and therefore the common property, not of his fellow-parishioners, but of all who share in the work of national legislation. Suppose, for example, that extensive works of public utility were to be erected in the parish of St. George's-in-the-East, that several thousand workmen had to be imported from a distance in order to complete them within a specified time, and that

these workmen were ultimately thrown out of employment in an overcrowded labour market with no means of their own to convey them where their labour could be made productive, the result would be congestion of the social system, loss of labour force, and such an increase of local destitution as the parish authorities could not cope with.

We are but gradually forced to conclude that local self-government is not so desirable as national self-government when national grievances have to be dealt with, and that the vestry management of public affairs is incompatible with highly developed social machinery. Men in their primitive condition build their own homes, manufacture their own clothing, and are governed on the patriarchal or tribal system. As they advance in the path of civilisation a division of labour takes place concurrently with an alteration in the character of the governing power, which widens and expands with increasing knowledge. The system of divided labour is appreciated and carried to some perfection in the making of a needle, a watch, and a steel pen. In social and political affairs the same tendency towards a higher degree of perfection is at work, and as social machinery becomes more complicated it demands a minuter division of social labour, specially qualified social engineers, and the centralisation of national business. The amateur social engineer, or vestry politician—who may be fairly able to perform the work of repairing the parish clock—is apt to look with suspicion on centralisation, and to consider it an approach towards despotism. But centralisation applied to the conduct of national affairs in a free country, where power is in the hands of the people, is synonymous with national self-government in the fullest and widest sense of that term. The centralist, however, is not Centralisation versus Local Self-government.

There are national, local, and individual duties to be performed in connection with social affairs; and the question is, How ought these duties to be defined?

Whatever may be the defects connected with the French system of dealing with the poor, the French mode of treating vagrants is worthy of commendation. It has been called a system of penal detention; it would be more appropriate to term it a system of fatherly care, and to designate ours a system of penal license or parental neglect. The English vagrant is encouraged to beg, tempted to steal, has the right of entree into the Casual Ward, the privilege of wandering about homeless and half-clad, and the liberty of dying by inches in the streets. The Frenchman of the same type is provided with work and compelled to accept a home. Unfortunately the French fail to appreciate the fact that a healthy child is the most intrinsically valuable of all productions. Here their social machinery, though well adapted for the treatment of one social sore, produces others of greater magnitude, for which neither curative nor preventive remedies are provided.

To underestimate the value of a healthy child is also a common mistake in England. If slavery were established throughout the world and a slave market at Charing Cross, the healthy child of destitute English parents would certainly become considered a parish burden. Is there, then, no way of making free-born citizens profitable, in a pecuniary sense, except by rearing them for the slaughter-house and the battle-field, or by encouraging late marriages, prostitution, and premature deaths? If a destitute baby is treated to be a social product which can, does he not become a power of strength to the nation? If neglected, does he not become a burden and a nuisance? If an

orphan girl is made thoroughly efficient in the work of the laundry and the kitchen and enabled to marry some lonely dweller in the Australian Bush, does she not help to amend the artificially created disparity of the sexes that fruitful parent of grave evils; and, by becoming a mother when she would otherwise remain unmarried, does she not create an additional family of customers for the looms of England, a little army of waste-mutton eaters, better extractors of the essence of meat than the Bushy's Cousin, Limited? If neglected, does she not become a prostitute and a pauper? If these queries are answered in the affirmative the question arises, Why do we burden ourselves with what ought to be one of our chief supports? Why do we derive weakness from that which ought to produce strength? Is it not because we put the saddle on the wrong horse, and expect charitable individuals, or sections of the community, to do work which properly belongs to the nation?

The possession of a gold mine may be of no use to the owner, because of the inability to find capital and machinery to make it productive. Laws or bye-laws may render parents unable to maintain and instruct their offspring, or cause parishes to be overburdened with paupers. But every well-governed civilised nation will be found in particular possession of the means of making every child born within its borders a profitable investment in developing national wealth and strength. To neglect these means sometimes may be folly on the part of individuals; but unfortunately for the assumption, by the nature of the case legislators would incur reproach in general to become responsible and wicked. But wise economical laws will, in the end, have an effect, if the opposite.

No nation can be in a thoroughly thriving condition unless it is constantly adding to its population, and, like the bees, periodically casting off young and vigorous hives of humanity. In a healthy state of society the birth-rate should greatly exceed the death-rate, and this excess which ought to be much greater than it is in England represents the amount of surplus labour or human wealth that may be available for reproductive employment, for export, and for manufacturing purposes.

An increase of population is only an evil when a nation lacks brains. Knowledge ought to produce wise laws, and, while an acre of waste land or waste sea exists, wise laws ought to multiply productive labour-fields as rapidly as population. One of our gravest errors—arising from the want of an efficient parent or owner for neglected children—consists in not rearing the human article most in demand. *Good* wives are wanted in our colonies, but with 500,000 surplus females, we have apparently none to spare; good domestic servants are wanted everywhere, we have few to offer; stout hearts and strong muscles are in demand in Canada and elsewhere, our labour markets are either crowded with drunken or diseased specimens, or we have no available means of a cheap and self-sustaining character suitable for conveying the proper article to the desired destination. We possess the best raw material in the world for the manufacture of ploughmen and fishermen, yet, putting by the operation of our laws, we seem to prefer the manufacture of pickpockets and paupers to the production of skilled workmen.

Assuming that healthy human beings are the most intrinsically valuable of all productions, and that the wealth and strength of a State are in proportion to the number of its productive workmen, the

principal social problems requiring solution are these. (1) How can a healthy, vigorous, and educated population be most rapidly and safely increased? (2) How can the greatest amount of usefulness be extracted from a given number of men? (3) How can the maximum amount of food be raised from a given quantity of land? (4) How can surplus population or emigration force—the best test of a nation's vitality—be most efficiently distributed? and (5) How can the existing useless, semi-useless, and worse than useless portion of the population be reduced in number, improved in quality and condition, and made self-supporting?

1st. As the growth of population already advances more rapidly than social reform, it is unnecessary to enter into this branch of the subject.

With regard to the second question referred to, our past policy has been to permit or encourage much of the capital which ought to have been invested in developing the bones and brains of a free-born native and colonial population to flow into the hands of nations who directly or indirectly use it in maintaining large standing armies. And we have freely and gratuitously poured into the United States shipload after shipload of what is more valuable to a nation than the precious metals. Such a policy must necessarily increase pauperism in this country, which is without organised machinery for distributing surplus population, which has no efficient parent or owner for neglected children, and which is destitute of laws calculated to counteract the various social evils engendered through the natural selfishness of individuals. For example, men generally strive to be able to act the prudent part of political economy at distance. They work, not only that they may be able to do without working if it so please them, but that they may be able to maintain a large retinue of non-productive individuals to minister to their artificial wants. It should be the object of social legislation to counteract this selfish evil and pauperising tendency of human nature. Take the case of A, B, and C, married men with a fixed income of 1,000*l.* a year each. A lives quietly, keeps only one girl to assist in household work, and invests his savings on state security in developing the natural resources of the empire. B imitates A in his mode of living, but resides abroad for his own pleasure, and invests his savings in a foreign country with a hostile tariff and a large standing army, more or less liable to be used in inflicting injuries on our nation. C lives up to, or beyond his income, keeps six servants, three horses, and two dogs. Assuming that A's conduct would tend to elevate the lower classes and enrich the nation; that B's might or might not enrich himself, but would not diminish pauperism; and that C's would multiply paupers in some sort of proportion to the pecuniary value of the labour of six servants, and the food of three horses and two dogs,—what is the duty of the State towards A, B, and C in a pecuniary sense?

Taxation, as generally understood, is a political blunder. An Income tax operates unequally, unfairly, unjustly. A tax on well-managed property restrains enterprise, and indirect taxes are the most injurious of any. Scarcity of productive work is the result of misemployed capital and unemployed natural credit. Taxation is rendered necessary solely because many people neglect property, misuse capital, abuse privileges, misdirect labour, and we contend that, as the proceeds of an adequate tax on the guilty would be sufficient for ordinary revenue purposes, none but the guilty should be liable to taxa-

tion. A, being innocent, should live untaxed; B's loan to a foreign Government, if not his income, should be made to pay tribute to the national banker; and C should be heavily taxed for the luxury of maintaining human beings in an unproductive condition, and for keeping animals not eaten by man, who consume what might be converted into human food without doing other work than minister to the convenience or pleasure of their owner and his friends.

In order to widen the distance which at present divides willing workmen from the workhouse—in order to extract the greatest possible amount of usefulness from free labourers—it is indispensable that they should be constantly employed at well-paid work of a useful character. By means of trades unions, friendly societies, and clubs, working men now try to improve their condition, and to provide for the periods of old age, sickness, and death. But wise laws would render such institutions unnecessary. It is a lamentable proof of misdirected legislation when the surplus resources of labour, instead of being securely invested in such works of public utility as would tend to multiply private employers and enhance the value of the labourer, require to be spent in neutralising the evil effects of an abuse of wealth, and in defending the supposed interests of labour against the supposed interests of capital, as if those interests were naturally antagonistic to each other. The wage-payer and the wage-earner, as individuals, may, in one sense, be fairly opposed to each other, but socially speaking, their interests are identical, and it should be the object of legislation to constrain both parties to shape their actions towards each other in accordance with that belief. In fact what wages is the chronic complaint of labour, and one of the issues the working man commits is to assume that this disease is cured when he and his brother-craftsmen have succeeded in imposing their own terms upon the employers locally engaged in their particular trade. The good effected by strikes may be very precious to working men, but whatever interferes with the onward progress of trade injures the operative as well as the employer; and, unless some wise general law is at work in adding to the number of private employers, and extending reproductive labour fields to meet the growing demands of labour, the good effected by trade strikes can never be permanent or entirely satisfactory.

Insufficient wages is a constitutional malady, a local manifestation of a general disease requiring general treatment, as well as local application and individual attention. A trade strike is a purely local remedy, and therefore performs but a secondary part, whether for good or for evil, in connection with the complaint.

It is chiefly by the operation of wise general laws that wages can be kept abreast or ahead of the living point. What, for example, would working men gain by an advance of wages, if their employers, who make the laws, imposed such a duty on imports as would double the price of food, clothing, and house-rent? The work of legislation being as yet entirely in the hands of wage-payers, who in many instances make extensive personal contribution to the evils it should be their chief business to remove, it is, perhaps, not to be wondered at that legislation directly affecting the wage-earner should be in a somewhat backward condition. It is within the power of working men to remedy this state of things. Instead of fighting in detached bands against the individual holders of capital, trades unions would better secure the permanent elevation of the working classes and the ultimate comfort of their indi-

vidual members by combining together as a nation of wage-earning men for the purpose of securing political power. With 400 Parliamentary delegates pledged to vote for the national owning and training of neglected children; for the extension of labour-fields and the consequent multiplication of private employers; for the abolition of all taxation except that on abused, misused, or unused property and privileges; and for the infusion of the commercial element into all public transactions that admit of it, the sober English workman need never sigh in vain for the bread of independence.

3rd. It is common for working men to sympathise with the views of the socialist and the communist. It may be natural, when looking at a rich man's possessions, to sigh for their distribution among the poor; and the social distance between Belgrave Square and Bethnal Green is great enough and grave enough to excite the reforming ardour of the statesman and the philanthropist. But the reckless pursuit of equality is futile. Blood, breeding, brains, and attainments will manifest themselves, in spite of all levelling laws. As well try to level down a senior wrangler to the intellectual standard of an Esquimaux, as seek to place a Rothschild in a middle position between his own overflowing money bags and the empty wallet of the beggar at his gate. The mere shifting of money from one purse to another would not provide for the material wants of an increasing population; and the dividing of large estates into innumerable small holdings would certainly not be the way to raise the maximum amount of food from a given quantity of land. It matters little to a working man who holds the land or other property of a nation. It is of the utmost importance to him what use is made of that land and that property. For example, every uncultivated acre of land tends in some degree to keep wages low and food dear. It is therefore a double grievance to the poor. And every horse kept for pleasure, or at work which could be performed by human or mechanical agency, has a tendency to produce the same twofold evil result. If it were possible to till the soil and draw all our vehicles by some mechanical power, the immediate effect of destroying our horses would be a considerable fall in the price of food, and a corresponding rise in the rate of wages, for the food liberated from the stable would be very considerable, and the general productive result of scientific husbandry would be much greater than it is at present with horse husbandry.

Suppose that X, Y, and Z possess an equal amount of money and 1,000 acres each of the same quality of wheat-growing land; that X lets his property in lots of five acres to two hundred tenants who cultivate the soil by manual labour; that Y lets his in farms of two hundred and fifty acres to four tenants who employ in the aggregate thirty to forty horses and as many families; and that Z farms his own property in one holding, employs the best machinery, the cheapest mechanical force, the highest skilled labour, abundance of capital, and all the assistance which science can lend him: it would be found that the latter, besides being able to raise most food per acre, would also have most available acres to cultivate. It is clear that Y would require to feed many horses not employed by Z, and that he would be obliged to build four dwelling-houses and four steadings where one would serve the latter. X would require to use many acres for the support of horses and the cost of Z might have most capital [illegible] in the end, X and Y would have most rent, and [illegible]

the aggregate, most *invested*. *Z*, besides being able to bring most food to market, would have most money to spare for other productive purposes; consequently *Z*'s mode of cultivation would be the most likely to check pauperism, and to promote the comfort of a large bread-eating town population. A wine, cotton, or tea producing country may require a large rural population; a country or district suitable only for growing cereals and the various crops used as food for oxen and sheep cannot be densely peopled in the general interests of labour. It is therefore for the interest of the wage-earning classes that every available inch of land should be cultivated on the most scientific principles, and that the forces employed in its cultivation should be mainly mechanical.

4th. One of the chief obstacles in the way of wisely distributing surplus population is the obstructive machinery of a custom-house. By diverting the wealth and energies of a people from the work of developing the natural resources of a country into artificial channels, a custom-house has a direct tendency to confine capital and population within certain localities, not necessarily the most favourable for their increase. It also fosters national, sectional, and class animosities, retards the natural expansion of the labour market; and has to be taken away, as a wise law should have, to make parents cease to view their offspring with a pecuniary as well as a parental interest. Convert the Canadian or the Australian port to free trade, and it at its revenue could be easily raised without the aid of import duties, by economically managing its credit and capital in directly encouraging the development of the natural resources of the country, and a healthy demand for labourers would arise, which England alone could not satisfy.

Capital, machinery, and skilled labour are the three requisites for developing the natural resources of a country. To endeavour to accumulate these requisites by help of a protective custom-house with its expensive staff of unproductive officials is like going many miles about to procure an object on the opposite side of the street. To levy the tariff for revenue purposes is equally foolish, when less objectionable means are at our command. The mercantile profits derivable from legitimate national establishments, such as the post-office, public railways and telegraphs, State land, and loan banks, Government life assurance offices, and industrial prisons and workhouses, would so far exceed the revenues of a custom-house as to enable a nation unburdened with debt to dispense with all taxation. And the prudent management of public affairs by the public on commercial principles ought to stimulate useful private enterprise, and check the establishment, or growth, of those bubble companies whose collapse produces so much general destitution.

But the question arises, What are legitimate public as distinguished from legitimate private undertakings? On this subject much prejudice and some misconception prevail. It is not uncommon for the Government and the nation to be spoken of as if their interests were separate or opposed to each other; whereas the Government is, or ought to be, the mere armed instrument that executes the national will. Hence, in all cases of well-managed public business, the remedy does not consist in getting private companies or individuals to do the actual work, but in disorganising an incompetent State office. It is wiser to encourage private enterprise by developing rather than by dwarfing it, by stimulating rather than by usurping the flow of public enterprise.

Public undertakings may be di-

vided into two classes—the national, and the municipal or local. Gas-works, water-works, docks, tram-ways, omnibuses, &c., are examples of undertakings which, if prudently managed by the municipality, ought to yield a revenue sufficient to balance ordinary local expenditure; and to permit private companies to extract large dividends from them is not only to inflict a direct injury on the community, but to lessen the force and influence of private enterprise in more legitimate and more productive directions. As a rule, it is not wise to allow a purely dividend-seeking company to undertake the sole management of any business in which the people generally are directly interested, and which, by its nature or extent, must be more or less of a monopoly, requiring more or less of Government aid or interference to establish and keep it going. For example, public railways and telegraphs being arteries and nerves in our Imperial system, it is essential to a high state of social health that they should be in direct connection with the heart and the backbone of the nation. It is equally necessary, in the case of all public establishments where the commercial element could be introduced, that they should be made to yield a fair profit on the capital invested in them; that this profit should be employed in relieving the nation of its tax-gathering machinery and its most objectionable taxes; and that the duration of Parliaments should be shortened so as to give that stimulus to business efficiency and economy, and that check to red-tapeism and mismanagement, which unlimited competition gives to private traders.

Besides the abolition of home and colonial custom-houses, it is essential to the reproductive distribution of the ore from the mine of English humanity that inexpensive labour-removing machinery and 'cheap trains across the ocean' should be established in some kind of connection with Imperial and colonial land and loan banks, whose function would be to assist labour as joint-stock banks assist capital.

JAMES I. AND LORD DIGBY.

A Reply to Mr Spedding.[1]

FROM my experience of the value of Mr Spedding's criticisms, I have long arrived at the conclusion that when we differ upon any point, there is a strong probability that he is in the right and that I am in the wrong. And as far as his strictures upon my recent work [illegible] deals with my own demerits, I am quite ready to acknowledge the justice of many, if not of all his remarks. But the characters of some of the men who took a leading part in an important period of our history are affected to such an extent by the judgment which he has passed upon them, that it will not perhaps be out of place if I give some of the reasons why I believe that judgment cannot be sustained, in the main, I think, because Mr Spedding has sometimes forgotten how one reports the evidence which he had before him.

It would be well for the reader who wishes to form a clear idea of the history of the negotiations carried on by James I. for a marriage between his son Charles and a Spanish Princess to distinguish plainly between three periods before and after Digby's return to Madrid in 1618. During the first period the treaty was urged by Spain with a determined intention of making it the first step towards the reconversion of England. During the second period the Spaniards, when they found that the restoration of the Palatinate was not likely to be granted, regarded it merely as a test to see how far James was afraid of forcing the war to extremity, without the slightest intention of carrying out the marriage. And when the Prince was at Madrid of a wing the marriage a [illegible] to bear; and

I (1614-1618). The earlier communications on the subject having been brought to a close in 1612 without result, a fresh negotiation was opened in 1614 between James and Gondomar. It was coincident in point of time with the King's quarrel with his second House of Commons, and was evidently brought about by James's wish to find in a foreign power the support which he had failed to obtain amongst his own subjects. When Gondomar left England four years later, this negotiation, though not completely broken off, was suspended, because the two Governments could not agree on the measures to be taken for the amelioration of the lot of the English Catholics, the Spaniards aiming at nothing less than a religious revolution in England, whilst James, though he was willing to do much, was not willing to go as far as they desired. Here the question between Mr Spedding and myself is whether we are, as Mr Spedding thinks, entitled to regard James with "unqualified sympathy," or whether, as I think, we are to blame him for entering into the negotiation at all. Mr Spedding, it is true, though he does not altogether approve of the marriage, as I gather, rather vaguely, "we may now contemplate without scruple that it was either a lighthearted or ill-managed business to bring on the face of it that was either wicked or foolish." It does not appear to him, it seems, to be either wicked or foolish for a sovereign to devote [illegible] in a moment of irritation when he is looking about for support in a quarrel with his own subjects. Nor does he allow that a king cannot, without loss of self-respect, treat with a

[1] [illegible] May 1870.

vided into two classes—the national, and the municipal or local. Gas-works, water-works, docks, tram-ways, omnibuses, &c., are examples of undertakings which, if prudently managed by the municipality, ought to yield a revenue sufficient to balance ordinary local expenditure; and to permit private companies to extract large dividends from them is not only to inflict a direct injury on the community, but to lessen the force and influence of private enterprise in more legitimate and more productive directions. As a rule, it is not wise to allow a purely dividend-seeking company to undertake the sole management of any business in which the people generally are directly interested, and which, by its nature or extent, must be more or less of a monopoly, requiring more or less of Government aid or interference to establish and keep it going. For example, public railways and telegraphs being arteries and nerves in our Imperial system, it is essential to a high state of social health that they should be in direct connection with the heart and the backbone of the nation. It is equally necessary, in the case of all public establishments where the commercial element could be introduced, that they should be made to yield a fair profit on the capital invested in them; that this profit should be employed in relieving the nation of its tax-gathering machinery and its most objectionable taxes; and that the duration of Parliaments should be shortened so as to give that stimulus to business efficiency and economy, and that check to red-tapeism and mismanagement, which unlimited competition gives to private traders.

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FROM my experience of the value of Mr Spedding's criticisms, I have long agreed to the conclusion that when we differ upon any point, there is a strong probability that he is in the right and that I am in the wrong. And as far as his article upon my recent work [illegible] deals with my own doubts, I am quite ready to acknowledge the justice of many, if not of all his remarks. But the characters of some of the men who took a leading part in an important period of our history are affected to such an extent by the judgment which he has passed upon them, that it will not perhaps be out of place if I give some of the reasons why I believe that judgment cannot be sustained, on the main, I think, because Mr Spedding has sometimes forgotten how incomplete the evidence is which he had before him.

It will be well for the reader who wishes to form a clear idea of the history of the negotiations carried on by James for a marriage between Prince Charles and a Spanish Princess, to distinguish clearly between their progress before and after Gondomar's return to Madrid in 1618. During the first period the treaty was urged by Spain with a determined intention of making it the first step towards the reconversion of England. During the second period the Spaniards, who had learnt that the restoration of Catholicism was not likely to be granted, regarded it merely as a test to see if James intended to stand aloof from the war on the Continent, whilst the great object of negotiating for a Protestant wife when the Prince was at Madrid, of securing the marriage at once, was to take place

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[1] [illegible] New Series, No. V. New series. May 1870.

foreign power about the administration of those laws which relate solely to matters of domestic concern. And further, he believes that, even if it can be shown that James was in the wrong, he at least laid the matter honestly before a body of impartially chosen commissioners, whose verdict being in favour of proceeding with the treaty, was sufficient to warrant him in continuing the negotiations.

Before entering into my reasons for coming to a different conclusion on these points, let me say a few words on James himself. For some way I am able to go along with Mr. Spedding in his estimate of the King's character. When he says of him: 'We seem to see before us a man with many infirmities both of temper and judgment, but honest in his purposes, simple and direct in his dealings, and a scrupulous respecter of the rights of all parties,' I am quite ready to accept the description as accurate as far as it goes. But then 'many infirmities of temper and judgment' is a very elastic phrase. Does it include James's blindness of vision which prevented him from ever thinking out a subject thoroughly, or giving attention to any facts which might happen at the moment to be disagreeable to him? Does it include his love of pleasure, and his still greater love of ease, his dread of responsibility, and his singular fertility of resource whenever any excuse was wanted to excuse him in doing nothing, however urgent the occasion might be? I do not know certainly whether the story is true that Digby gave as a reason why James should avoid a war, that if war were once declared he must expect during the rest of his life 'to hear, not hawk, nor hunt, but attend at court.' It is surely to a man who could even be supposed to be influenced in such a way by such a motive as this that it is very easy to re-

gard with 'respectful sympathy.' I almost fancy sometimes that in judging historical personages Mr. Spedding contents himself with asking whether they thought wisely, and forgets to enquire whether they possessed the moral energy which is requisite to carry the wisest thought into the world of action. And yet is not it obligatory upon the historian, if he attempts to judge persons at all, to catch something of the tone in which the angels pronounced their final verdict upon the erring Faust?

> Gerettet ist das edle Glied
> Der Geisterwelt vom Bösen
> *Wer immer strebend sich bemüht*
> Den können wir erlösen

One example out of many is enough to show how ready Mr. Spedding is to think too highly of James. In 1615, a year after the opening of the negotiations, the King received a draft of the articles of his son's marriage contract from Sir John Digby, then ambassador at Madrid. Although the King had up to this time expressed himself most favourably to the arrangement, he now hesitated and drew back. The question accordingly arises for those who wish to understand the man, whether he was shocked at the effect which the treaty was likely to have upon England, or at the effect which it was likely to have upon himself. Mr. Spedding, hearing at one of Gondomar's despatches, thinks that I was quite wrong in attributing James's emotion to the latter cause.

But I was struck by the fact that, as soon as Gondomar, hearing his own overtures, began to report what he supposed James said, we find the King talking of the bearing of the marriage upon his own authority, and not of its bearing upon the welfare of the nation. Thus, when Gondomar reports that he had represented to the King, he says,

The King asked me with great astonishment [illegible] the Emperor [illegible] a very fine [illegible] a wonderful [illegible] a man [illegible]

But the truth is that in drawing what Mr Spedding calls an "elaborate [illegible] of a dethroned monarch, which he never must have been otherwise by worse than Gondomar's last statement. I had in my mind another letter written by Gondomar on the same day, which I referred to in a former note, but which Mr. Spedding, much to my regret, could not possibly have seen. The most important paragraph in the following:

[illegible] that the King [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

as he knew it.'[1] It is true that when James found that the Parliament could be dissolved without serious consequences, the desire for this kind of support from Spain dropped out of sight.

2. The second evil was that it was a Roman Catholic marriage which James was contemplating for his son. Such a marriage could not be carried into effect without, on the one hand, endangering the Protestantism of the future heir to the throne, and without, on the other hand, throwing back the cause of toleration by provoking the majority of the nation through the display of special favours ostentatiously granted to an unpopular religion.

3. The third evil was the entering into a solemn treaty engagement to carry out a system of toleration, which could only be brought into action by sanctioning a continual breach of the existing law. No doubt the prevailing theory about the dispensing power was very different from that which obtained recognition in 1688, but still the view that any unprejudiced person would have taken of it even then was that its exercise was a matter for the King's discretion. To say that he was entitled by his prerogative to mitigate or suspend the operation of the penal laws was one thing; to say that he was entitled to bargain with a foreign power that he would so mitigate or suspend them was another. And though, if James thought that what he engaged to do was right, there would be no loss of his independence as an individual, there would be a loss of the independence of his Crown, which consists in the treatment of domestic questions without regard to the demands of foreign potentates. The late Austrian Concordat, for example, was agreed to in accordance with the known wishes of the Emperor; but it has been set aside on the ground that the law of Austria ought not to be made a matter of treaty with a foreign power, nor has anyone seen in the change any diminution of the Emperor's authority to negotiate treaties which bear upon matters of international import. 'The assumption,' says Mr. Spedding, 'that to agree to anything which Gondomar proposed was a sacrifice of the independence of England, appears to underlie Mr. Gardiner's account of their intercourse from beginning to end.' On the contrary, I have no objection to James's agreeing to repress piracy or to encourage trade; but I have a very decided objection to his making the administration of the laws of England a matter of agreement with a foreign sovereign and a foreign ambassador.

Having said thus much, let us see what were the respective parts taken by James and Digby in the matter, in order that we may judge how far Mr. Spedding is right in holding it to be difficult, if not impossible, for one who dislikes the marriage treaty to feel any warm admiration for Digby. In 1614 James, at the suggestion of Digby, who was at the time in England, brought the question of the treaty before a commission selected from the Privy Council, and the report which he got, and which appears to treat it to have gone to the root of the matter at all, was, in Mr Spedding's opinion, sufficient warrant for the King to proceed without hesitation. For Mr Spedding even goes so far as to express astonishment at my not having stated that, upon their reporting that their advice had not been asked upon 'the all-important question of the extent to which the toleration could be safely carried' James

[1] Francesco di Jorio (and Nov.) Apr 284.

at once required them to supply the omission, thereby showing his anxiety to obtain their opinion on the whole matter. If therefore, Mr Spedding argues, the reply of the commissioners is defective, it is merely because their answer to this second request has not come down to us. There is at all events no reason to say that the King had not fully taken them into his confidence.

Now, the commissioners, I admit, went to tell the King that they did not understand that they were authorised to take consideration 'for particulars, either in matter of portion to be demanded, of dower to be observed, or [illegible]'. To which the King replied that 'they were to have further consideration of these particulars.'

But what was meant, I think, was that the commissioners were merely asked to look at the articles relating to the liberty to be accorded to the Infanta's household, [illegible] which James might find it necessary to insist on many things which might not prove satisfactory to Parliament. And this interpretation of the words is borne out by the fact that the part of the treaty which dealt with these articles was constantly spoken of in the course of the negotiations as the Regulating articles in contradistinction to the Civil articles, which dealt with questions of dowry and portion. In the second place, there is a further reason for supposing that the question of toleration was [illegible]. When Digby went to Spain a few months later, he was specially instructed to reserve at first the King of Spain's confirmation, and, in his speech to the council, James expressly said that the Spaniards would not expect 'any liberty or toleration for religion, for there are in matter of conscience, which might lead princes into rebellion of their subjects.'

That which he did ask the advice of the commissioners about was, I fancy, merely the details of the treaty, such as at what age the children should be taken from the care of their mother, what jurisdiction should be allowed to the ecclesiastics of her household, and so on—questions no doubt of a certain importance, but by no means reaching to the root of the evil. The question of questions was, Shall the Prince marry a Roman Catholic wife? If this was settled in the affirmative, all the other articles which the commissioners were to discuss would follow, with some slight modifications, as a matter of course. If the question was not asked, then, as an encouragement to James to proceed, the whole consultation was, what I said it was, a solemn farce. It certainly cannot be said that it was Digby's fault that this question was not raised, because he had only to narrate the course of the negotiations in which it had been taken for granted on one side, and reserved for further consideration by the other. And it is certain that in James's speech it is never put forward at all. He discusses at once, as he dashed in his speech at the opening of the Parliament of 1621, at the question of money. He says that the 'state of his affairs might give him cause to make the best use of the marriage of his son, thereby to get some good portion towards the payment of his debts,' and that the negotiation has been so pursued as to be 'greatly to his honour, and with great hope of large and abundant portion, as that his Majesty could do no less than hearken unto it, and take a more true trial of the success.' Then follows the reference to the question of toleration already quoted, by which real difficulty, namely the question, how much he might do without adopting a course in matter of religion which might be [illegible]

is slurred over, after which Digby is ordered to give further information.

The answer of the commissioners was in accordance with the question put to them. The King, they said, was highly honoured by the overture, and was likely to be successful in obtaining what he wished for. They would do what they could about religion—that is to say, as I believe, about the terms relating to the Infanta's household; and they concluded with a suggestion that a breach would come, if it came at all, 'upon some material point of religion.'

But there was one at least amongst the commissioners who had no idea of not going to the bottom of a question. The letter which Digby wrote shortly afterwards to the Prince has long been in print (*State Trials*, ii. 1431), but as it will perhaps be new to many readers, I shall make no apology for inserting the passages which seem to warrant us in assigning to Digby a very different place in history from that which Mr. Spedding is willing to allow him.

[illegible] to be released with great danger and [illegible] course of greater [illegible] [illegible] State [illegible]

Could Digby have said anything more opposite of he had been [illegible] to foresee [illegible] the next forty years of English history? And if it seems strange that after this he should have been, as Mr. Spedding says, 'the supporter of the match through all varieties of accidents,' it must be remembered that, as I shall hereafter show, he [illegible] 1622, after the dissolution of the Parliament, [illegible] with respect to his opinions in 1617, and that the evidence upon which Mr. Spedding relies with respect to the earlier period cannot be received as a complete account of the matter.

For that evidence [illegible] or almost entirely, drawn from the accounts of the Spanish agent [illegible] in the light of a very important paper (Harleian MSS. 7000, 449), which [illegible] Mr. Spedding [illegible] which, as a [illegible] Digby [illegible] Earl of Bristol, in 1624, after which [illegible] it was [illegible] to be expected to [illegible] Buckingham and the Prince [illegible] at least [illegible] which [illegible] very [illegible] King says, [illegible] give [illegible] [illegible]

how to uphold a good opinion and reputation with Spain.

Reading then what evidence exists in the light of this extract, I gather that Digby disapproved of a Roman Catholic marriage; but that when that point was decided against him by James, he took the matter as settled, and proceeded to negotiate the terms without constantly bringing up objections to them which were nothing to the purpose if the marriage was to take place at all. And when Mr Spedding says that when 'the new demands of Spain,' that is to say the request for a stipulation on the point of toleration made by Gondomar at his return to England in 1620, were presented, he has no doubt that if the commissioners were consulted, they advised the breaking off of the treaty, for which 'James (acting, we imagine, upon Digby's advice) was not yet prepared,' Mr Spedding supposes a discrepancy between Digby and the commissioners for which, as far as their political action is concerned, he has totally no authority, but which is rendered very doubtful by Digby's statement in the paper which I have just quoted.

At the same time the Spanish ambassador arrived first unto his Majesty, and afterwards privately at the house [illegible] where the commissioners were, and [illegible] the Lord Digby had treated [illegible] with them all the articles were read and [illegible] which had passed between [illegible] were there assented, and [illegible] Then [illegible] the matters set to writing [illegible] the Lords [illegible] were [illegible] Majesty were then; and [illegible] [illegible] the [illegible] and [illegible] [illegible] of [illegible] proceeding. And here it is to be remembered that in the interim divers of the commissioners being by his Majesty's special warrant [illegible] the same week to my Lord of Buckingham my Lord of Bath and Sir Thomas Lake, the Earl of Bristol moved his Majesty that he might have some further conference with him and particularly that he might be present to add such as were judged to be least favourable unto the match of Spain. Alleging to his Majesty (which he doubted not but he well remembered) that a match with Spain was [illegible] be stricken by the principality of [illegible] disused, but that it was to endure the strictest and most adverse examination. And that, in case they should propose and require of us any such thing as might not stand with the Majesty of his word or honour to grant any further, to all friendly but they should be hearkened unto and that his Majesty should follow their advice.

The persons selected were Hamilton, Doncaster, and Naunton, all three partisans of a French rather than of a Spanish alliance; Mandeville, Williams, and Weston being subsequent additions, 'without whose advice and mature debating all things that were offered, nothing was done whilst the treating of the business remained in' Digby's hands.

If, therefore, there is no ground for attributing to Digby a policy apart, and the only thing that can be urged against him is that he did not rather throw up his position as a minister of the Crown, or deliberately set himself to frustrate the treaty which he was charged to negotiate, let us ask whether before his last visit to Spain in 1622 there was anything in the treaty which could reasonably be objected to, *of such a treaty as he was [illegible] at all*. And if anyone will take the trouble to cast his eye over the treaty as it went back to Spain in 1623, he will see that though there is much in it that he may find fault with, there is nothing there which would not in these days be demanded by any Roman Catholic sovereign before allowing his daughter to marry a Protestant. Nothing in fact which was not, with very slight modifications, demanded by Louis XIII before he permitted his sister to leave France.

And if this may be said of the articles themselves, the same thing is true of James's decision on the question of toleration. For though an engagement was subsequently

inserted in the treaty, yet in his letter of April 28, 1620, he (it may be by Digby's advice, or it may be of his own accord) does not offer to make any treaty stipulation at all, but simply informs the King of Spain of his intention, out of his own clemency, to treat the Roman Catholics with indulgence, and adds a special promise that he will never again send Roman Catholics to execution on account of their religion, or will entangle them in oaths touching on matters of religion. Now this, though even this was, I think, disputable to an English king, was the least that he could do; and being only the legitimate consequence of the marriage treaty, the blame, whatever that may be, must be thrown, not upon Digby, who had, at the outset, objected to the treaty, but upon the King, who had adopted it in spite of his warnings.

How was it, then, that a few years later Digby became a very warm supporter of the marriage? Something, I think, must be allowed to the natural tendency of a practical man to fall in love with any work that he has undertaken to do, whether he originally approved of it or not. But the real reason, I believe, lies in Digby's position towards the German war, which is a point of far greater importance than Mr. Spedding seems to perceive.

II. (1618-1621) For in 1618 the Bohemian revolt had broken out, and every other question by which Europe was agitated was quickly drawn into the vortex of the great contest which afterwards appalled the world under the name of the Thirty Years' War. If the marriage treaty was set on foot once more, it was simply because Spain hoped to spin out the negotiations till it was too late for England to interfere in Germany, and because James was weak enough to imagine that he might maintain the independence of the Palatinate with Spanish aid.

Mr. Spedding complains that though I approve of James's refusal to identify himself with either of the contending parties, I do not give him sufficient credit for his efforts at mediation. My answer is that the manner in which he attempted to mediate was sufficient to destroy all chances of success. Of his mission of Doncaster to mediate between the Bohemians and their king in 1619, it can only be said that though it does credit to his kingly feeling, it certainly left an impression on the world that he was a man ready enough to give utterance to sound platitudes, but unready to take a decided course, and I submit that such an impression would go far to weaken his influence when a more decided course was demanded by the circumstances of the case. But the real trial of his capacity came in 1620. His son-in-law Frederick, the Elector Palatine, had been elected King of Bohemia, and a Spanish army was preparing to

[illegible]

version by invading the Palatinate. It seems to me that James had it then in his power to localise the contest, and to confine it to the hereditary dominions of the House of Austria. For in such a policy he would certainly have found strong support in Germany. But I don't deny that James may fairly have come to a different conclusion. What I complain of is that he never came to a conclusion at all, that his language varied from day to day, and that while he was ready to allow his subjects to do anything they pleased, to raise money and levy volunteers in Frederick's cause, his chief thought was how he might avoid compromising himself. When, for instance, Rawmckhausen arrived in February, from the Princes of the Protestant Union in Germany, to request James to join in resisting the impending Spanish invasion of the Palatinate, the King first replied by a flat denial, then offered to allow volunteers to be raised in England, and sent to borrow money from the King of Denmark to be used in the war. A few days later, when he was pressed to give some definite answer with which he could meet the demands of the Princes, he gave it in effect to this: that the Princes might levy as many volunteers as they pleased, but, for the present at least, they must expect no money from him. He first declared that they had no offensive designs, but only sought to defend the Palatinate, but afterwards he would not stand at their doing so. If the Princes demanded for a diversion of the Dutch were a legal one, they had better submit to it, if not, he would help them to resist it.

This is the language of simple bewilderment. But whatever else may have been the result of Frederick's defeat at Prague in the following winter, it at least simplified James's task. He was no longer puzzled to know how he could defend the Palatinate without supporting at the same time the Bohemian revolutionists. His mind was now clear that he must induce Frederick to renounce his claim to the Bohemian crown which he had lost, and the Emperor to renounce his claim to deprive Frederick of his lands and dignities. Those who think the task was hopeless must remember that on the ground which he took up, James had the immense advantage of being the mouthpiece of nearly all the Princes and of all the great towns of Germany. But James never knew how to strike when the iron was hot. The battle of Prague was lost in November 1620. It was not till June 1621 that Digby set out to mediate peace at Vienna.

There is something truly refreshing in turning from the fumbling and muddling of James's diplomacy to the despatches of a man who, like Digby, was capable of looking facts in the face, and who was prompt in decision whenever it was necessary to act as well as to talk. But he had need of all his powers.

Probably Ferdinand, and certainly Maximilian of Bavaria, were bent upon pushing to the uttermost the advantage which they had gained by their victory at Prague. Frederick, on the other hand, was eager to retrieve his

[illegible]

failure, and to struggle on in hopes of regaining the Bohemian crown. But that which made the long delay of Digby's journey almost ruinous for the cause which he had in hand was that by this time Mansfeld had in Frederick's name gathered an undisciplined army in the Palatinate, which, being without money or supplies of any kind, was the terror of all neighbouring princes. Frederick was loth to give way, because he held that he was armed against Roman Catholic aggression; whilst Ferdinand was equally eager to put down the brigands who were disturbing the peace of the empire. With his usual good sense, Digby saw that mere talk would not suffice in such a case as this. If peace was to be had at all, Mansfeld's army, the only one which for the moment could be got together on Frederick's side, must be converted into a disciplined force, which an opponent could fairly be expected to treat with. For this, money was absolutely necessary. What Digby could do he did. He sent his plate to the melting pot, and advanced 10,000*l.* to the garrison of Heidelberg. He hurried home to England and persuaded James to summon Parliament in order to obtain a grant of supplies. For a few days all seemed to go well. Then James—displeased, not at any attempt of the House of Commons to dictate to him a foreign policy different from his own, but simply at its assertion of a right to lay their views before him in a humble petition—entered into a quarrel which ended in the sudden dissolution of the Parliament.

At no point in their career was the essential difference between the quality of the two men more clearly seen. It never seems to have occurred to James that the dissolution would make any change in the prospects of his mediation. He went on sowing ambassadors broad-cast as he had done before. By levying certain duties by his own prerogative, and by demanding a fresh benevolence from his subjects, he managed to scrape together just enough money to pay in an insufficient manner the scanty force of the English volunteers which had followed Vere to the Palatinate two years before, and which was now taken into James's own immediate service for the purpose of garrisoning the fortresses; whilst nothing was left for the far larger army with which Mansfeld was expected to keep the field against the Imperialists. Such help gave Frederick no chance of supporting the defenders of his inheritance, except by lawless aggressions upon his neighbours, and he thus alienated those peaceable classes in the empire, the support of which was absolutely essential to the success of James's mediation.

Let us now look at Digby as he appears in a letter written by Gondomar to the King of Spain.

> This resident (he says) to break the Parliament in such a manner and at such a time appears to the [illegible] and well-intentioned [illegible] as one of the most [illegible] actions [illegible] ever known, and for Digby [illegible] his hatred were not [illegible] he however became [illegible] Majesty [illegible] them [illegible] say that after this the King [illegible] the [illegible] was [illegible] it would [illegible] may [illegible] at the last [illegible] that the King [illegible] for almost, declaring the [illegible] upon the failure [illegible] Mansfeld to [illegible] he had said [illegible] but when he first arrived. [illegible] but [illegible] the Palatinate and all the [illegible]

[illegible]

In the extract I first cited the key to [illegible] It has reference to a great work the work of bringing about [illegible] What it was in effect was the ruin of Digby, [illegible] and [illegible] to accept [illegible] and [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

in Spain was carrying on a diplomatic game for the recovery of the Palatinate, I can only say that if so he must have been wonderfully successful in concealing his designs from the eyes of the many intelligent men who were watching his motions, and who all treat the matter as if his great object was to carry the Infanta back with him.[1] Suppose him very much in love, with a strong ingredient of vanity, and the whole evidence becomes intelligible. Nor can I admit that I felt any 'horror' whatever at the breach of the marriage treaty. What I do regret as an Englishman is that it should have been broken off in such a way. No doubt, as Mr. Spedding says, 'before Charles left Madrid a quarrel would have been very dangerous.' But no quarrel was needed. Charles had only to say that he could not sign the additional articles of the treaty without consulting his father, and Philip would have been only too glad to get rid of him and the marriage together. What he did was to sign the treaty and to accompany it with the most devoted phrases of affection, without asking for any stipulation about the Palatinate, and then to turn round as soon as he got home and ask for the postponement of the marriage. 'If Philip broke the marriage off upon that ground,' Mr. Spedding says, 'it was simply because he chose to break it off.' Very likely. But it is none the less true that the insult offered him gave him a good excuse, and enabled him to represent himself as the injured party. For it surely was an insult to Philip to have engaged solemnly to marry his sister in ten days after the Pope's approbation of the marriage had arrived from Rome, and then at the very last moment to postpone the wedding till Philip had granted certain conditions, which Charles, for reasons of his own, had hitherto omitted seriously to ask for. The only excuse for Charles is that with all the 'heroical' virtues for which he allowed himself to be praised to his face in England, he was either too thoughtless or too cowardly to speak out when the contract had to be signed, and that therefore he was in the right in rectifying his blunder after his return, at any expense to his own character.

To enter more fully than I have done into the course which James took with respect to the mediation in Bohemia and Germany would take up too much space for me to attempt here. But I must repeat that, probably through my own fault, Mr. Spedding has not understood what my object as to James's manner of mediation was. I am quite ready to admit that James's interference was well intentioned, and that he saw more clearly than many others that both sides were in the wrong. But excepting in the case where both parties are for some reason or other anxious to have their quarrel settled, mediation is only possible when the mediator has some force, either in action or in reserve, to which he can appeal to enforce his decisions; and in the case of civil war, it is rarely that any force of sufficient strength can be brought to bear unless the mediator can appeal to the support of a great party in the country itself in which the contest is taking place.

That Digby was aware of all this is evident, if only from the last ex-

[1] Some of this was printed. I have found from a paper among the Egerton MSS. Papers that [illegible] a list of items was to be sent to the Infanta [illegible] the Prince [illegible] at Madrid. [illegible] refused [illegible] affair of the Palatinate had been [illegible] forward [illegible] after expiration [illegible]

tract which I have given from Gondomar's despatches. And it is no less evident that James was not aware of it. His mediation in Bohemia, indeed, in 1618, though I still think it 'smoothed the way for the intervention of Spain in the affairs of Germany,' did not do any very great harm as far as the moment was concerned. Mr. Spedding, indeed, says that 'it was this action by which, in my opinion, James turned the Bohemian war into a German war.' But, if he will look at the passage again, he will see that the words referred to the invasion of the Palatinate a year later. The harm that it did was to weaken men's belief of James's sagacity, and to make them fancy that it would be equally easy to hoodwink him on the next occasion. When that occasion came, James was equally unready to act, equally halting between two opinions, and only agreed upon the conclusion that it was his business to talk, and the business of others to act. It is impossible to look upon him as merely, like Othello, a prey to villainy. The honest man who mistakes because he cannot believe in the depth of dishonesty around him commands our respect. The man of generally good intentions who will not take the trouble either to think out a question thoroughly, or to act firmly upon his convictions, and who, as James did when he dissolved the Parliament of 1621, considers a question affecting his personal position as of far greater weight than the needs of Europe, only deserves our contempt.'

I heartily wish I could accept Mr. Spedding's idea of James's character. I have, as he knows, gone with him a long way, much farther than many would care to follow. But, while I am ready to acknowledge that I may sometimes have expressed myself too strongly, I cannot clear the King altogether. After all, may not the final verdict upon him be this?—'He chose Bacon and Digby for his advisers, and he wasted the genius of the one, and the practical sagacity of the other.'

SAMUEL R. GARDINER

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MALTHUSIANISM, TRUE AND FALSE.

FROM the origin of continuous scientific thought, as known to us in Greece, philosophers were exercised by the question of the limits of sciences and their mutual relations. Aristotle conceived a series of subordination in arts and sciences, which culminated in the imperial science, Politics, to which, of course, Economy was a mere handmaid. The moderns, interpreting Political Economy as the science of Wealth, which is to aid the Politician in questions of Public Industry, Commerce, and Finance, yet entirely confess that Wealth does not and cannot cover the whole field of Politics, nay, that as with an individual so with a State, it must often be quite secondary. The immediate successors to Adam Smith were peculiarly anxious to insist on the essential limitation of their science. As it was taught fifty years ago its great lesson was, that the State must *let* [illegible] as regards all questions with which Economy could deal, and the French formula *laissez faire* was recognised alike by friends and by opponents as the cardinal principle of the New Economists. The net result of Adam Smith's discovery was, that by giving free play to [illegible] exchanges, which, because they are voluntary, must bring some great benefit to both parties, the public welfare is necessarily promoted. But the [illegible] of the [illegible] were thoroughly ignored, and Whately, more after Archbishop Whately, proceeded to call it Catallactics, or the Science of Exchanges, exclusively in order to exclude Politics, Morality and Religion from it.

It is [illegible] that the Economists [illegible] at their success, and the Military, Naval and Medical Authorities [illegible] to the statesman, that is [illegible] to be overruled by considerations extrinsic to it, no one could have been reasonably offended by the doctrine of 'letting alone.' But not only did the Economists assume a tone more dictatorial than their theory justified, they also in general either forgot, or did not insist on, two things: *first*, that the doctrine of 'free exchanges' requires that the nature of the trade be intrinsically approvable by the State, and the persons be legally competent; and that the doctrine in no respect touches the question what things the State ought to regard as the property of an individual, which it may either part with or keep at its pleasure. Many trades are such ought to be positively forbidden as vicious. The slave trade in antiquity was as lawful and as respectable as a trade in pigs: we now forbid an Englishman to take part in it as buyer or seller, even in a country where it is lawful. The argument for *laissez faire* was not intended to apply to cases of immoral, mischievous, or dangerous trade, but to cases in which the buyer is a minor and is forbidden to purchase the article—say, gunpowder, or poison, or intoxicating drink. Now can any two persons be correct at all in judgment on the question what laws of Land are just. It belongs to Morals and Politics to consider what rights over land shall be conceded to individuals, the right of exchange legitimately after the right of possession has been conceded. Nevertheless, the economists who wrote in the first forty years of this century practically took for granted that the very peculiar land-laws of England are not only just, but natural to the human race. Of course, therefore, that [illegible] social results are right these results were the [illegible] any population whom I

not choose to retain, and (since they could not be killed off) their consequent flocking into towns. Even without formal clearances the new hands of the country under our land-laws go to the towns to find work, and there compete for wages. Economists justly said they must be allowed to compete, and that capitalist must be free to take the lowest offers, but because their successors did not step back to ask why the rural districts were not able to support the new burthen upon them — which would have involved the whole question of the landed land—their doctrine of Free Exchange met with reprobation, which it did not in itself deserve.

Meanwhile, a new element had been introduced into the science by Malthus, which is wholly inconsistent with the limitation of it to Statistics. In the exchange of labour for wages, the laws of exchange of which alone the economist can take notice, are the same whether labourers are few or many, whether capitalists are rich or poor, whether profits are low or high, whether capital increases fast or slowly. Political Economy, as a science, is not concerned to enquire at what rate either human beings or sheep can be multiplied; that is a question of detail for which perfectly certainly was never required by James Mill and his contemporaries. Why then should it belong to the Economist to enquire at what rate human population increases or is likely to increase? What has this question to do with the Laws of Exchange?

The fact is that Malthus never so much as had Rightly to understand the object and purpose of his great work, which must be borne in mind by the critical Poor Law of England as it existed at the time. His main object, so far as State action was concerned, was to advocate the abolition of the Poor Law, nor did he labour in vain: in one-third of a century the evil was understood and conceded to be intolerable. He ought to be regarded not as an economist, but as a politician who devoted himself to that one subject, the Poor Law, which required also the mind and heart of a philanthropic moralist. That he has been accounted hard-hearted, not philanthropic, is not wonderful, however unjust, but, not to pause on this subject, let us proceed to the Poor Law as it then was, with which the present generation must be little acquainted.

Under it the English peasant had a legal right of support in the shape of a poor rate, doled out to him when his wages were judged insufficient. The wages in fact were nominal, and to him their amount was unimportant, for whenever they were too low, they were made up to the necessary height by an allowance from the poor rate. How much was 'sufficient' or 'necessary,' was determined by the price of corn and by the number of the labourer's family. The farmers for the most part had the management of the rates, and they agreed among themselves what should be the sum counted as wage. Piecework was unknown; the payment was by time. The labourer had no motive to resist their decision, since they paid up to him out of the rates. Nor did a good or bad harvest affect him much as to food, for when corn was dear the allowance from the rates rose, and when corn was cheap the allowance was lessened. Children called for no self-denial on his part; the rate was doled out to him in proportion to their number. If he had aged parents, it was no concern of his to support them, for the parish took the care off his hands. Besides, he was aware that in his infancy his parents had allowed the parish to support him: why should he not leave them on the parish in their old age? No shame was attached

to receiving of relief when the system was universal: nay, as it was paid to each without restriction, and spent at home as a part of wages, the poor counted on it as a revenue, to which they were legally entitled, as the landlord to his rent. A labourer could not, by deferring marriage, earn a little portion to start with, or at least such a course would have required extreme self-denial; for while unmarried or childless, the payment of his service was depressed to the sum just sufficient for his absolute necessity, the nominal wage barely and not always sufficing. Unless a man resolved never to marry at all, he did not better himself by delay; for if he even laid up something for his bride, it could hardly be hidden. If it was afterwards found out that he had saved, the consequence was, that he received less allowance, and was equalised with those who had not saved. It was deposed before a Committee of Parliament (as an extreme illustration, no doubt) that when a labourer had received a legacy of some amount, the farmers refused to employ him, but purposely left him to live upon his money, for until it was consumed, he could not come on the parish for support. They calculated that, by not employing him, they could turn to some service less able workers, whom they else would have had to support in idleness. Thus the legacy was a curse to him, dooming him to idleness and bad habits, most probably to drink, until it was all spent. Such a state of things was a near approach to slavery. The peasant, like a slave, or like a horse, had his food nearly the same at every time, and, work as he might, was unable to reserve a store for his needs. In one respect it produced results worse than slavery, though it is not easy to understand why. Among African slaves the affection of parent to child and child to parent is peculiarly tender and warm: it might seem that in proportion to the oppressiveness of the yoke this affection became more intense. But there was very painful testimony that the English system resulted in frequent dissolution of the ties between father and son. The father felt no responsibility for young children; the son felt no gratitude to the father, and no obligation to support him. No state of things could be morally less satisfactory, but it was an era of war: there was a great demand for men as soldiers and sailors. The aristocracy in England looked with pleasure at the quick increase of families, although 'clearances' early began in Scotland.

The state of things here described was confined to our rural districts not yet touched by the proximity of the steam engine. The manufacturing towns were differently situated. The workmen there in vast majority disdained to receive public alms. Their own work, aided in many cases by that of wife or child, sufficed. Only a small minority fell on the parish, and these being cases of inevitable want, as from accidents or illness or old age, there was a propensity to giving out-door relief. Thus, the unhappy centralisation of England, when the old Poor law was overthrown for the benefit of the rural districts, the new system brought in was far worse for the manufacturing towns than that which had been displaced. But this is said only in parentheses.

The Rev Mr Malthus saw with alarm and concern the state of the rustic poor, and the effects which the law was producing. By means of our immense navy, sweeping all the seas against the widely extended colonial power of France, a monopoly of overseas markets virtually fell to us, and the activity of our manufactures and commerce was ever advancing. What would come with peace? A great and

sudden diminution of our commerce, in face of an increasing population and a greatly lessened demand of men for army and navy. But the immediate excitement of Malthus to write came from the speculators who advocated, under the plea of benevolence and justice, systems of common property and equality; in fact the colouring and tone of his treatise were largely influenced by antagonism to such views, advanced especially by Godwin before him, and by Robert Owen some twenty years later. The idea common to both these communists, and perhaps to the whole class, was, that the evils of civilised society fundamentally depend on artificial institutions, among which they accounted Marriage; and that a remedy is to be had by a return to primitive equality, and by substituting benevolence for self-love as the motive power of society. Malthus does not appear to have been alarmed by the division of great feudal estates in France into small freeholds. Such a division he held to be 'sometimes' not unfavourable to the absolute produce of food in a country, but, while causing an increase of population, to diminish 'the surplus or disposable wealth,' at last, and to be left upon the head of the family the responsibility for its maintenance, and legally upheld private property, he showed no animosity to this measure. But to the schemes of communism he opposed himself with the utmost earnestness, on the ground that they must issue in reproducing with aggravation all the miseries which they are imagined to remove. Even supposing mankind morally perfect, yet the argument they must presently starve, if their numbers increased as fast as naturally possible, and the English Poor Law seemed to press the increase to its maximum. Self-love, or rather family affection, be maintained, was above trustworthy as a stimulus to industry; and that the Creator knew what He was about in making this principle stronger than benevolence, that is, than the kindly feeling which we have towards a mass of persons unknown to us. The wonderful thing may seem, that this should need to be insisted on.

In order to extirpate the fundamental idea of the Poor Law, he sets forth the broad principle (on which he is most earnest and positive, and for which he has peculiarly encountered odium) that 'the poor have no *right* to support,' on which he grounds the justice of gradually abolishing the poor rates. In the appendix to his sixth edition he thus sums up: 'I cannot help believing, that if the poor in this country were convinced that they had no claim of *right* to support, and yet in scarcities and all cases of urgent distress were liberally relieved, *which I think they would be*, the bond which unites the rich and the poor would be drawn much closer than at present; and the lower classes of society, as they would have less real reason for irritation and discontent, would be much less subject to these uneasy sensations.' Whatever judgment may be passed on this, there can be no question that real philanthropy actuated him in forming his opinion. It may be added that Dr. Chalmers, while deprecating the introduction of poor laws into Scotland, thoroughly agreed with Malthus as to their evil, moreover, since they have been introduced, every ten years have made it harder to call them a boon to the country. An able writer, Provost Mackenzie of Inverness, M.D., in a pamphlet published last year (1870) by the Chalmers Association on Pauperism and its Cure, gives a deplorable account of the evil results of the poor laws, industrially and morally. These things go a great way towards justifying Malthus's insight, and may even yet make many

question the wisdom of our existing institutions. But by no reasonable interpretation can the question, 'Have the poor a *right* to relief in distress?' be held to belong to political economy. That science has to assume that men's *rights* are settled by law; and then discusses what happens when they freely use, manufacture and exchange things to which they have a right.

It is remarkable that even in Malthus's sixth edition the title-page runs thus: 'An Essay on the Principle of Population, or, a View of its Past and Present Effects on *Human Happiness*, with an Enquiry into our Prospects respecting the future Removal or Mitigation of the *Evils* which it occasions.' Yet he reverentially believed that the evils were essential to human progress in virtue, in the spirit of that noble passage in the first Georgic of Virgil:

Ante Jovem nulli subigebant arva coloni:

. . . .

Illo malum virus serpentibus addidit atris,

. . . .

Et rapere ut possent silvestres ire per undas
Paulatim

Some one has attributed to Malthus the saying (but I know not whether to refer for it) that 'God intended this world with all its trials to be a [illegible]'. There is no doubt that he took the severely Christian view that to the perfection of the spirit a frequent, indeed a continuous repression, perhaps mortification, of the flesh is needful, and that Divine goodness, equally with Divine wisdom, imposes it. On the opposite side he had adversaries whose doctrine was fatalistically materialistic, and who exalted the gratification of appetite as a paramount happiness and virtual necessity for man.

The reason why Malthus's arguments have effected only a partial, not an abolition of poor laws, is, that such laws, extending to the poor a legal right of support, are introduced as a measure of police, to stave off agrarian crime, when the poor find themselves landless. For this they were originated under Henry VIII. and Elizabeth; for this they were brought into Ireland, and (apparently to forestal the possible results of despair) into Scotland also. They are in fact a buttress of the English landlord-system.

It does not appear to have occurred to Malthus that one who enquires whether citizens have a right to increase, ought also to enquire whether the laws of land are just or unjust.

Dropping out of Malthus's volumes those parts which properly belong to morals or to politics, it may be asked, what was there which he could reasonably regard and did regard to be being strictly to economy? His great economic laws are thus summed up by himself: 'Population (naturally) increases in a geometrical ratio, and food in an arithmetical ratio.' He observes in his appendix (the edition, p. 451, foot note): 'It has been said that I have written a quarto volume to prove these two propositions, but this is not quite true. The first of these propositions I have stated as proved, that is, that the American increase was stated, and I [illegible] . . . . . The second proposition seems [illegible] . . . . every plant . . . . greater [illegible] . . . . a geometrical ratio, [illegible] . . . . plant [illegible] . . . . far as [illegible] . . . . [illegible] . . . . a geometrical ratio, and all of them [illegible] . . . . Now [illegible] . . . . he restricts the statement to be restricted by the assumption: . . . that no [illegible] . . . . In any case, what is to be said of treating as . . . . that the

increase of food from a given piece of land can only be in arithmetical ratio? or of what avail is the admission to the inference which the author would draw from it as to the immediate urgency of want? In fact, not a word is written by Malthus to prove that while the human species increases as the numbers 1, 2, 4, 8, 16, 32, 64, their food would increase as slowly as the ratios 1, 2, 3, 4, 5; nor does the mere ratio decide anything. His whole argument is, that 'the most enthusiastic speculator cannot suppose a greater increase.' If we are willing to remain in abstract, and look to distant futurity, his argument is perfect, undeniable, but superfluous, that is to say, when the whole globe shall be so full of population that no new soil is cultivated, the human race could not long continue to double itself every twenty-five years, nor every fifty years, nor at any fixed number of years at all. At what rate food can be increased on a given area no one can know. It depends much on future developments of agricultural chemistry. But in dealing with the distant future, the question of food is a needless one: we do but invite the Malthusian pessimist to greater temerity by trying to answer it. Leave every well-fed child to its own story or history, after the triumphant demonstration of the abstract possibility that, if mankind were to double every twenty-five years, in a few centuries they would be unable to find standing-room on the earth, much less could they cultivate it for food.

Malthus at first professed to deal with the actual urgent facts, such as the Poor Laws and the checks by emigration. His argument was complete, if it dealt with the present and the next hundred century; and I must think he only damaged it by an attempting to calculate the fertility of the earth. Nor does it seem possible to deny that, in the particular case of England, he undervalued our vast powers, industrial and locomotive; our power of importing food, of raising food, of saving by greater wisdom, of diffusing products, and of emigrating. Since his work appeared, we have more than doubled our home-numbers—to take no account of the vast emigration—and our ability to bear a further growth of population is greater than before. The ability of the country to get food from abroad (if it can but pay for it) is boundless. Its facility of emigration has enormously increased, and the greater the number who emigrate, the easier is it for more to emigrate, and raise supplies of food for us. Yet Malthus convinced himself that 'emigration is perfectly inadequate' with any view to an unrestricted increase of population.' It is but a temporary relief, says he, of which Great Britain (in 1816 and 1817, when suffering from the competition on the ocean so lately opened upon her by the renewal of peace) may rightly avail herself. Of course when he puts his argument in the abstract, the case is changed. If every [illegible] doubles its numbers every twenty-five years, our facilities of emigration will be certainly lessened, no doubt: but such abstract cases are no concern to our Government, nor yet to our private citizens. If we value English institutions, English property and religion, English sentiment, literature and science, if we have any pride in the English race, it is reasonable to desire, and even to plan, that the fertile wilderness of the earth shall be peopled, if possible, rather by our own race than by one inferior or more barbarous. Indeed, so entirely free was Malthus from fanatical heat, so moderate and open to conviction does he show himself, so graciously was his understanding

tempered by goodness, that we may make sure, if he could have beheld the development of steam-navigation, it would have modified his conclusions. He would have seen the vast advantage of the alternative given—to keep population at home, if we need it, or to colonise other great regions, if it find no adequate place here. Nevertheless, this is of very doubtful benefit to *us* as a *nation*, if the colonists feel themselves to be expatriated, in fact banished, by an iniquitous state of law, when they would rather have stayed at home. The Irish exodus, instead of being a strength to England, plants in the United States a compact body of our bitter and dangerous enemies; and if great emigration from England take place under similar circumstances, the advantage of momentary relief may be dearly bought by encountering a permanent foreign enmity. Unless our own domestic institutions, in regard to those gifts of God which are a common property of a nation—land, air, and water—be put on a footing of strict justice that commends itself to the public conscience, we virtually enforce emigration, and make numbers of emigrants disaffected.

Malthus undoubtedly had a desponding view, difficult to justify or account for, as to the power of the soil to increase its produce. His knowledge of the old and new continents, of ancient and modern nations, was very extensive; he almost buries his great argument under the mass of facts. It may seem that his learning embarrassed the simplicity of his view. We cannot blame him for not knowing what the experimental farming of the last forty years has established, but we shall be very blamable if we shut our eyes to it. Alderman Mechi estimates, by the experience of his own farm, that the produce of England, if similarly cultivated, would at once be three and a half times as great as it is. He also gives details concerning the farm of Mr. Hope at Hornchurch, which, by a due application of sewage from the neighbouring town of Romford (Essex), quickly increased the value of its produce from 3*l.* 7*s.* an acre to 20*l.* an acre, or sixfold. Town sewage is mentioned as the cardinal matter; but it should be added, that sixteen horses are now employed on the farm, as well as thirty-five to forty persons, where previously only three men and two boys got employment, and no mention is made of horses. Malthus was aware that land cultivated diligently gave a large increase, but (he says) there is less *surplus*. This, if true, is another way of saying that it does not pay so much *rent*, and could only be a condemnation of the English landlord system, which, to increase rent, drives population off the soil.

Of course there may be a limit, at which so much is demanded of the earth, and the effort to get it is so great, that the cultivators are barely fed by their toil, and no surplus whatever remains for the market or for the landlord. But the question is, are we already approaching to that limit? We certainly are not. We have proof of it from the Channel Islands. Guernsey and Jersey feed from their narrow area a much larger number of labourers, acre by acre, than the highest cultivated farm treated on the English system, and after feeding them, send more to market, acre by acre, than do our farms. It is not only in America and our colonies, where land is plentiful, that the cultivator is better off than in England, but the same is true in Belgium, and even in the Channel Islands. The fact appears to leave nothing whatever to be said in defence of the claims over land, which, by their undisputed possession of the legislature

for six centuries, English landlords have established. How soon we shall reach the natural and inevitable limit to the power of the soil to yield crops, no one can say; but hitherto the formula suggested to cultivators by experience is, *The yield of the soil just as much as you put into it.* Manure is the food of plants; they are greedy of it, their power of appropriating food and developing their organisms prodigiously exceeds that of man; and the refuse at our disposal, which is their food, is just in proportion to the crop which we take out of the land, and the men or horses nourished by it.

That by living on vegetable food a larger population might be supported, Malthus was aware. It does not seem to have occurred to him to remark, that only by consenting to become chiefly vegetarian has any nation become populous; that where the population is sparse, butcher-meat eaters have been comparatively barbarous, and that the more vegetarian diet has been one condition of civilisation and power. It is now calculated by vegetarians, that to produce the same quantity of human food (on a low average) as a cultivated acre will yield, three to four acres of grazing land are needed for butcher-meat, and if the most productive crops be selected, six or seven acres is nearer the truth. It does not appear to transgress the severest limit of certainty to say, that if all our grass lands capable of cultivation were cultivated, the quantity of human food produced would at once suffice for a double population. If not cultivated only, but duly manured with the ends of an increased population, the produce would soon mount up far higher.

The economists contemporaneous with Malthus habitually talked of good and bad land, as if the division were fixed and eternal. Since Mr. Thornton and Mr. J. Stuart Mill have written upon Peasant Freeholds, it has become more generally known, that what we call good land was once bad, and that it is impossible to say how much of what we now call bad may be made good not by expensive appliances, but by the ordinary routine of economic cultivation, if there be but enough of human inhabitants. For all these reasons, we have no right to lay down for others that we have approached the limit of profitable cultivation. But there are other topics. Human wealth depends, not only on having abundance, but on not wasting. *Waste not, want not*—the stern old formula of the private home—has been deplorably overlooked in State economy.

We are told that England is over-peopled: we ask, what is the proof? It is replied, 'there is constant pressing distress.' It is wonderful that this seems to anyone a satisfactory reply. If the population were at once cut down to what it was when Malthus's first edition appeared, is it certain that there would be no such distress? Nay, there was then such poverty, that he esteemed it over-peopled. Mere want and suffering, however constant, can never prove that there is *too many people*. It is to assume that it does, is a perpetual fallacy of our economists. *Too much vice*, or *too much folly*, causing waste and disease, will infallibly produce suffering and pauperism, whatever the natural abundance, and natural advantages for crops. At this very time it is computed that the yearly destruction of grain to produce beer and spirits is such as would produce 1,050 million four-pound loaves also 61,792 acres of the best land are used for growing hops. Thus by ceasing to drink beer and spirits there would be a great increase to the available human food; to say nothing of the vast over-eating and waste almost universal in our rich towns. What is more important

still:—if this one vice of drunkenness were cut off, a prodigious mass of orphanhood would be removed, out of which spring pauperism and new vice; the greater part of violent crime would vanish, and the vast waste of labour occasioned by having to watch against and punish crime would be saved. No doubt, when the people are kept from the land, they cannot get food out of it, even if at entire leisure; but for that very reason, the question 'Is the land over-peopled?' has never been put to any real test at all.

Yet there is one partial test, which may throw some light on the subject. It will be admitted by all, that if this island were the whole world, and if to get food for the inhabitants the labour of every man, woman, and child were necessary, so that no energy remained to build houses or to make clothes, the race would be about to perish from its own too great fecundity. It would have reached its fatal Malthusian limit. On the contrary, if two-thirds of the population sufficed to raise the food necessary for all, it would be farther off from this limit, and would be able to increase somewhat without actual starvation; for by putting on more work, an increase of produce would be possible. If a third part of the population sufficed, it would be still farther from the limit; and this whatever the cause which made the cultivation more profitable—as, good agricultural tools. A people so devoid of tools as to have to scratch the ground with their nails, and knock it about with pieces of stone or stick, might be tough to starvation, where men with good tools would find abundance. If so, it seems that by knowing what fraction of the people suffices to raise food for all, we can form a rough idea how near it is to the limit of over-population. Let it further be remembered, that in the application of this problem, we have to think, not only of raising the food, but of conveying it to the mouths of the consumers. Without undertaking to say what is the fraction now, and what it was four centuries ago, it seems not rash to assert that we are (according to this test) farther from the limit of over-population now than then.

While undoubtedly Malthus contended, in strong language, that over-population was no mere spectre confronting us in the far distance, but was an enemy already grappling us by the throat, who can blame this judgment, when we know what was the state of the rustic poor as seen by him? Their state is not yet at all cheering, but the present Poor Law, harsh as it may be judged, does not now visibly depress them and increase their evils. After the death of Mr. Malthus, his friend[1] Bishop Otter, who 'had known him intimately for more than fifty years,' published a Memoir of him in 1816, in which, with much just remark and honourable praise, he complains that 'his reputation has in many instances suffered more from the bewildering zeal of his followers than from the mistakes and malice of his enemies. By the former, his propositions have been not only affirmed more generally than he himself intended, but they have been published, contrary to his own precept, to extremes, and applied indifferently without [illegible]. Hence it has happened that the author has been made responsible for consequences which he never contemplated, and for [illegible] which we know [illegible] and [illegible].'

It is impossible to help feeling a degree of [illegible] when reading these words. Malthus's doctrines [illegible] it is certain that the true Malthus actually abhorred [illegible] decency

[1] Friend and marriage-contract [illegible] Bobus; 'mine speaks with authority.

does not allow a plain statement of the practices taught as virtuous by those who unjustly (one might almost say blasphemously) assume his name as their epithet. Every careful reader of his work will see that the moral restraint on which he insisted was that of the strictest Christian purity. He saw the rustic population encouraged by law to take no forethought, and systematically to neglect the duty of providing for their offspring: as a remedy, he insists that family affection or self-love must give the impetus to industry, not benevolence. The doctrine now put forward as Malthusian belongs in fact to the opposite school—that which he was writing to oppose. They tell us that a man ought only to have three children, that it is [illegible] for him to have more, and that it is to be hoped that the time will come when society will punish persons as 'incontinent' who have too many children. This is fundamentally different from Malthus's doctrine. While parents support their children, he never expresses any wish to see their number restricted, although he desires each man to delay marriage until he can prudently enter it, yet he deprecates all punishment by society. He asks pointedly (6th ed., vol. i., p. 47)

[illegible]

children, that is, that he should be subjected to the *natural* inconveniences and ills arising from the indulgence of his passions, and to no other whatever.'

We learn that Mr Malthus again and again explained to enquirers, that he wished to put no further restraint on the marriage of the poor than such as every prudent parent in the middle classes would place on that of his children. He never laid down any rule as to the age at which marriage should take place, never at all any rule as to the number of children to be born from each marriage. He desired a young rustic to do what is expected from every townsman to make some provision for his future bride in the years which precede marriage, so as to secure to her some prospect of matrimonial comfort; in short, he insisted that human marriage is a widely different thing from the unions of brutes, and is not to be rushed into as a mere gratification of appetite or transitory passion. While advising a delay of marriage he sometimes explains himself, that men ought not 'to follow the first impulse of nature and marry at the age of puberty,' which was very common with the rural population under the old Poor Law. 'There is no period of human life,' says he, 'at which nature more strongly prompts to a union of the sexes than from seventeen or eighteen to twenty.' But he argues that without strong and lasting attachments the married state is generally more productive of misery than of happiness; and that for the formation of such attachments time must be given to the most kindred dispositions, love must be repressed for a while that it may afterwards burn with a brighter, purer, and steadier flame. If society were as strict among young men and women as it is with ladies, it would give great facility for social intercourse between the sexes, and reduce above all things both to happy marriage and to

happiness before marriage. The notion that men cannot be chaste, he treats as utterly against even Pagan moralists, and of course inadmissible by Christians.

There is a passage (vol ii. p. 280) in which the author might be understood to mean that a man ought to be prudent not only for himself, but for the sake of his neighbours; where he says that a man who marries without the means of supporting children offends against the will of God, and *becomes* a burden to society, and made virtue difficult to himself and family, appears to have violated duty to his neighbours. But this presumes that the man actually throws a burden on society. If a young man wholly destitute marry a woman as poor as himself, and have twelve or twenty children, but succeed in rearing them all without public alms, no reason appears for thinking that Malthus would censure him: nay, if he reared the children to industry and virtue, it is certain that Malthus would regard him as a far better citizen than the man who reared one child to indolence and vice. To one who has any discernment of the ascendency of the moral principle in Mr. Malthus's mind, it is impossible to imagine that he could for a moment admit Mr. J. Stuart Mill's doctrine that to have more children than *the fit* is always an offence. This counting of the cost, and taking no notice of the gain, is a procedure quite astonishing in a man whose faculties are well balanced, who is no wild and reckless genius. The doctrine thus wonderfully imported into Political Economy carries the science back into principles of which it had been cleared, as we thought, by Adam Smith. In the previous era, princes and statesmen thought their business was to dictate to individuals what they should buy and sell, how much, and at what prices. Turgot and Adam Smith taught that individuals must follow their own preference, and that this would produce the best collective result, the public benefit being composed of many private benefits. Economists accordingly renounced the ambition of dictating to individuals. Malthus carried the same principle into his doctrine of Population. Let each father support his own family, and all families will be supported, however different the number of children in them, and the public interest will be secured whether the number be a score or a unit, that is, looking solely to the danger of redundance. No dictation whatever was imagined by him from the State, much less from philosophers all he asked of the State was, not to stimulate rapid increase by taking on itself what is the natural responsibility of parents. But now, marvellous to tell, it is gravely expected that in the most delicate and personal of all matters — a question really of morality and religion — the millions of mankind are to direct their conduct according to the command of a clique of Economists, who take on themselves to decide how many children to a marriage are a fit number. Great indignation is sometimes expressed in this school at the interference of the French clergy with the practices of the French peasantry in matrimonial affairs, but if we must be interfered with, it is a matter in which a clerical adviser or censor can be better endured than an Economist, especially one who entertains as plainly unveil things to which the modesty of Mr Malthus can but darkly allude. 'M. Comte decreet,' says he, 'prince is to remove the difficulty over-great on a redundant population in a manner which I presume is universal. Having observed that the ridiculous prejudices of superstition (*i.e.* of Christian purity) would by that time have ceased to throw

over morals a corrupt and degrading austerity, he alludes either to a promiscuous concubinage which would prevent breeding, *or to some other practice as unnatural*. To remove the difficulty in this way will surely, in the opinion of most men, be to destroy that virtue and purity of manners which the advocates of equality and of the perfectibility of man profess to be the end and object of their views. And now, the advocates of what (apparently) should be entitled Condorcet's doctrine dare to call themselves Malthusians, and bring a foul stain on a man of most delicate purity.

It is simply impossible to receive the doctrines of these Economists without admitting a principle which, in coarse and unscrupulous minds, boldly following out its logic, will gravitate, first into the justifying of abortion, and next into infanticide. To these practices, as common among Greeks and Romans, Mr Mallock does not fail to allude, referring us to Juvenal. See *Sat.* vi. for the prevalent use of contraceptives. What sort of justification is there that men who have been freed from our traditional moral ideas by reasons from anything which Plato approved for bettering populations? Malthus only Plato's expurgated 'excrescence.' He is usually restrained in his expressions, but it is impossible to doubt that he saw clearly to what doctrines and principles would lead.

While I feel it wholesome to speak vigorously against Plato, it seems wrong to suppress the reasons, that if the Greeks had certain depravities rather equably diffused among them, our populace to-day have a terrific element of brutality, and our law has great cruelties in its enactments and in its consequences alike. We need legal forms of adoption and shortage, and that the duty of taking destitute children into families be enforced on our consciences; yet such laws cannot be made, because of prevalent atrocities. The drink traffic, in the first place, must be removed before we can discover how far our wickedness is tractable.

We are told by the Pseudo-Malthusians, that morality requires us to lay down and act upon general principles. Good: but what is easier than to caricature the maxim? It is a general principle, that *if* every one will be honest and gentle, there will be no evil-doers who must be resisted and arrested by violence: hence the precept, 'Use no violence to any man.' *If* all obey this, all will go right, *therefore* it is the only moral procedure. Of course we reply, that, considering the passions and temptations of men, if the inferior natures become aware that their violences will never be resisted by the better part of mankind, a premium is held out to crime, and crime will certainly be stimulated. Such a mode of arriving at a general law of duty is quite ridiculous. Of the very same kind is that which is here propounded to us. 'If all married people confine the number of their children to three, human happiness will be promoted; hence it is a law of morality so to limit one's family.' But what probability, or what shadow of a chance, is there that this precept of the Economists will be obeyed by the less scrupulous and less intelligent part of any nation, to say nothing of foreign and half-barbarous people? There is no more probability than that they will leave off theft and violence merely because a Quaker bids them. For the more educated and richer, those who are healthier in body and better developed in brain, to obey this precept would not only be not conducive to public benefit, but (if the matter is indeed not personal and private, but one in which the public is to have a voice) decidedly a public injury. If any portion of a field be left unsown with a

good crop, it is instantly covered with weeds. When we cannot pluck weeds up, the only way of keeping their numbers down is by preoccupying the soil with better plants. It is to be wished that the population called proletarian, and the whole criminal class, should as little as possible set its stamp on the nation. But if the morally and physically superior portion ever become infatuate enough to obey this Economic teaching, the sure result must be, that the criminals and rogues, the mean-minded and small-brained, the dwarfed and degenerate, will outbreed all the nobler forms and nobler minds, and the nation must go down, like old Rome and Greece. The Rev. Bonner Feast, of Birmingham, is so impressed by the rapid multiplication of the feeblest and most wretched part of the population in our towns, that he has put forth a physical or teleological theory, that the less the bodily energy, the greater is the force of propagation; as though from an effort of nature to save the race from extinction! In Ireland it has been boasted by Economists that the prudent Protestants do not increase so fast as the reckless Catholics: and what is the political effect? An Orangeman on a certain occasion, while inveighing against the priests, expressed it thus: 'Sir, when they found they could not out-argue us, they took to out-breeding us.' The result certainly has been found by Protestants to be very untoward. Massachusetts also, which has been called the brain and soul of the United States, suffers present inconvenience and some alarm for the future from the quick multiplication of her Irish citizens, who are by far the least estimable in the State. Such things surely ought to make us consider whether what we call prudence is always the same thing as wisdom. If men could realise in prospect all the cares and sorrows of a family, and balance the anxieties and griefs against the pleasures, it appears certain that great numbers would come to the conclusion of the Chorus in the *Medea*, and of Admetus in the *Alcestis*, that it is better not to marry. When, from whatever cause, this is a prevalent sentiment, a nation inevitably decays. All other losses may rapidly be retrieved; but if population be lost from this cause, it perpetuates feebleness. Malthus himself distinctly declares that the sexual passion could not be made sensibly weaker without public mischief.

According to his principles, there is no reason why the thriving classes among us should not marry earlier and more universally than they do, if only they exercised a corresponding self-denial and frugality. Suppose a young man, who has been accustomed to home luxuries and all the exterior of a gentleman, to adopt the deliberate conviction that the moral advantage to him of a virtuous marriage outweighs a conventional luxury that it is well to marry on an insufficient income. To carry out his theory, he needs a bride after his own mind, untrammelled by reluctant kinsfolk. If they choose to cut down their personal expenses in food and dress to a minimum, to be satisfied with a humble dwelling, and by steadfast economy succeed in rearing children in health and strength and trained to habits of industry, Malthus will not be the man to find fault. The deepest reason why a family in the class of society is so apt to become a curse to it from the great expense of education and the difficulty of getting remunerative employment [illegible] The difficulty arises from the competitive system and the arbitrary laws of land. A growing child is of course for some years a burden—yet not great. Moreover even children may be, and ought to be, of service to their parents, but at

any rate adult men and women are naturally worth far more than their keep, as we see by the very high price of young and sound-bodied slaves. Slaves in the United States, in recent history, sold too at a higher price when they had a religious character. Only, if people are too proud to look for work except in spheres where they are not really wanted, this makes it, of course, that there is 'too much population.' May it not rather be too much luxury, too much pride, too much folly?

It certainly appears very unfortunate that Malthus's Essay instantly gave excuse, and was used as justification, for landlords clearing the peasantry off their estates. It could not be justly deduced from his doctrine, for, except by causing them to perish by misery, it did not diminish the total number in the country. But one powerful impression was made by him on men's minds, and all he wrote went for nothing. Instead of regarding the multitude of men as the wealth and strength of a land, they were accounted a weakness and a nuisance. The odious phrase 'a pauper warren' arose, to describe a people's multiplying fast; and powerful interests claimed and used the right of treating men as rabbits are vermin to the farmer's harvest. Our laws and practices are more on the same grooves. How much happier it might well have been and from J. Stuart Mill have learned new lessons of reverence and right to all human creatures, the distribution of wealth, which will, it is to be hoped, in time bear fruit, but they have scarcely begun a reaction against the misanthropy which followed the publication of Malthus's Essay. In the mean time, many of the dawning ideas of the rising generation have learnt to call by the name of Malthusianism old fact, and superstitious sentiments which are as deeply seated with Christians as aversion to cruelty or love of truth. At all times worldly wisdom has censured an imprudent marriage more severely than immoral connections, or even than seduction, but such worldly wisdom never mistook itself for sacred wisdom, never affected airs of high and commanding morality. Now we find a pretentious medical science fortifying itself with utilitarian argument and political economy in the recommendation of immoral practices as moral, if cleverly and discreetly pursued; as tending to the greatest happiness of the greatest number, and of course to philosophic perfection. Among the peculiar maxims of this school, it is taught that a man who has 'too many' children is to be ashamed, and such odious monstrosity passes itself off as Malthusianism.

To sum up: it has been intended here to insist, (1) that Malthus erred in thinking it equitable to deny the right of the poor to a maintenance and to marriage, while not denying the rightfulness of the legal powers exercised by landlords to keep them from the soil; (2) that he greatly underrated the ability of so powerful a country as England to support an increase of population—by further cultivation, —by economy—by interesting food and by emigration—which last expedient more and more adds to the importation of food. But it remains to do homage to his positive merit and take to our hearts the lesson he undeniably taught. Men of rude nature, or occupants of a narrow area, have been actually at the point at which, with their limited means, increase of numbers was very difficult, and continuous, natural, or any equable multiplication was quite impossible; and that hence arose either wars to seize new land, or infanticide and vice, except so

far as moral restraint was practised.

The same kind of pressure must come in time, first upon one, then on another country, finally on all; that is, that the population either will not be able to increase at all, or certainly not continuously, nor at a rate approaching to what is natural. When we are sensible of the pressure, how are we to deal with it? Are we to proceed thoughtlessly or thoughtfully? Are we to deny the difficulty and think thereby to evade it? Or are we to acquiesce in unnatural vice or infanticide as a remedy?

Of course human population would long since have perished off the earth, unless the power of the race to multiply itself on occasion far exceeded the ordinary necessity. This belongs to all living creatures. Hence to imagine it a hardship that the power must be ordinarily kept in restraint is at once a grave and a puerile mistake. The male sex here is put to shame by the superior virtue of the other sex. How severely do we exact chastity of them! how shameless is our own licentiousness! A solitary life is any thing but pleasant to a woman; yet how cheerfully and actively do they live unmarried, or widowed! Malthus demands of men, under the name of 'moral restraint,' precisely the same purity as men exact of women. Inasmuch as, after marriage, the number of children can in no way be a priori limited without far greater evils than the evils of a large family, he leaves this matter undecided by any rule, and is satisfied with deprecating reckless haste, juvenile thoughtlessness, and unprovision in forming the matrimonial relation. When circumstances press so hard that a nation actually cannot increase, his principles clearly would lead him to advise rather that half the nation die unmarried, than that any restraint be placed on the number of children to a marriage, except what arises from the ability and inclination of the married pair. Here Malthus clashes abruptly with his pretended followers, whose opposite principles make marriage itself unholy. To press this argument in detail is too painful, and, it is hoped, needless. Celibacy, which tens of thousands of Englishwomen endure cheerfully, ought not to be thought miserable by Englishmen, much less ought it to be thought an excuse for vice. Here lies the difficulty of censuring improvident marriage: vicious celibacy is so common, that, in comparison, improvident marriage becomes a virtue. The economist, who urges celibacy, either becomes or seems to become an adviser of immoral life. We men are in general corrupted from boyhood: here is the fountain of evil. We perhaps attain middle manhood before we can learn that the moral restraint which Malthus and Christianity preach is no hardship, but is an ordinary duty nine times out of ten to a man. No real desirable improvement, which may be called natural, can be hoped until women insist on exacting from men the chastity which we claim of them. Under this wholesome pressure we shall learn new lessons: the distance of sexual purity will not seem to us 'harsh and crabbed, as dull fools suppose,' but an obvious necessity for virtue, manliness, honour, and self-respect.

F. W. Newman.

AUSTRALIAN TENDENCIES.

By an Old Colonist.

THE following remarks are merely speculative, and do not profess to be prophetical. Indicating only general tendencies, and out of many of these selecting such only as seem to have the most direct and obvious political bearing, they must of necessity be sketchy and incomplete. Ultimate political results depend upon many tendencies, of which the keenest observer can trace but a few.

Of the six Australian colonies, Queensland, Victoria, and Tasmania are selected, not as the most influential or important in themselves, but as the most typical. New South Wales and South Australia are politically most like Victoria, and where they do not resemble it (speaking, of course, generally, for each colony has certain characteristics of its own), they may be said to resemble either Queensland or Tasmania. Western Australia, though by no means the youngest of the colonies, is still in a comparatively undeveloped state. Owing to the poverty of its soil it attracts but few new colonists from England. It may be compared, politically, to Victoria, with Tasmania about thirty years ago.

Speaking, then, generally, the tendencies of these three colonies would seem to be

In Queensland to an aristocracy of wealth, and that the upper

In Victoria to a progressive or democratic democracy, many classes actively competing and evenly balanced

In Tasmania to a conservative democracy, the great majority of the population of one class, that class, therefore, all powerful.

In Queensland the industrial exhibits no point both in pastoral and in agricultural pursuits to the employment of large capital in few hands.

It is perhaps necessary to remind English readers that in Australia pastoral and agricultural pursuits do not go together, and are not carried on by the same class. On the contrary, the pastoral and the agricultural classes are more often in direct antagonism than any other two classes that could be named.

The pastoral tenant, or Squatter, requires a large extent of land, because it takes very little more labour, and costs very little more, to keep many sheep or cattle than it does to keep a few. It is considered that about sixty thousand acres is generally the most convenient and profitable area for a sheep-station, and that a station of less than ten thousand acres cannot as a rule be made profitable at all. Cattle-stations are usually larger. In Queensland there are some of as much as seven or eight hundred thousand acres, as much as an English county. The amount of labour employed on a station is very small, and as a rule the Squatter rather fears and dislikes having much population on and near his Run, because it obliges him to incur additional expense in fencing and in guarding his flock from depredations. On cattle-stations this is particularly the case, because, for some odd reason, it is held less wrong to steal cattle than to steal sheep. It is notorious that in some districts cattle stations have had to be given up on account of the depredations of the small settlers, who made cattle-stealing one of their means of subsistence.

On the other hand, the ordinary agriculturist, or grower of corn, unable to obtain any labour but his own and that of his family, needs but little land on which to settle. Nor is he likely to increase his farm, for however prosperous he may be, it is seldom profitable for him, with labour so dear and corn

so cheap, to employ hired labourers, except at harvest time when he runs the risk of not being able to get them on any terms. But a certain amount of population is in the absence of good road or water carriage almost a necessity for him; otherwise he has no market for his produce, which cannot like sheep and cattle be easily transported to a distance.

Now Queensland, owing to its position, climate, and other natural circumstances, is likely for a long time to come to have a population small in proportion to its vast extent. The greater part of the inland country is more or less well adapted for pasture; but except in the few localities where gold has been found there would seem to be few inducements to any but those engaged in pastoral pursuits to settle at any considerable distance from the coast. The heat is excessive. Droughts are frequent and severe. Large and costly dams are necessary, and the runs must cover a large extent of ground to insure the certainty of water in some part of them—all which increases the tendency to large proprietorship.

Moreover, in agriculture, the tropical, or semi-tropical, climate of Queensland makes the cultivation of cotton, coffee, tobacco, and other products of a hot country more profitable and successful than growing wheat. These crops require large capital, and labour organised and subject to authority. White labour, too, will not be employed where other can be got. Chinese and South Sea Islanders are being introduced, and will probably largely increase in numbers. Here, there will be a wide gap between a superior and inferior race, the superior being divided into an upper and lower class, of which the upper will be numerous, rich, and powerful, maintaining more or less distinct lines of demarcation between class and class, and retaining the preponderance of political power in its own hands.

2. *Victoria* was in its early days, even more than Queensland is now, peculiarly the colony of Squatters. Its capabilities had remained undiscovered up to a comparatively late period in Australian colonisation, and its rich pastures were taken up principally by settlers from the three neighbouring and older colonies, without any considerable town population being formed within its limits. Owing to this want of population, there was scarcely any market for agricultural produce. Hence very little land was taken up for agriculture; there were very few small proprietors, and almost all the country within a practicable distance of the sea was occupied by sheep or cattle Runs.

But with the discovery of gold came a sudden and enormous influx of population. Large towns sprang up in the midst of the Bush. Land within reach of them acquired value for the supply of the wants of the inhabitants. Throughout a great part of the colony the demand for land became so great as to make it impossible for the squatters to be permitted to retain their Runs on the easy terms they had hitherto done, and though a few profited by the new order of things, many were ruined by it.

By the side of the gold-diggers a class of merchants and tradesmen sprang into existence. Fortunes are made faster by trade than by land, and the new class soon began to enter politics, and, from its wealth, numbers, and intelligence, to gain political power.

There grew up the agricultural class. At first they were met with on every side by the high prices of provisions, and by the ease with which possessing land it is to take to wheat-growing, in numbers far too numerous to enable them as a rule to succeed. For prices, of course, soon came

down. Many, unable to make a living from their land, and disinclined to work as labourers, levied a sort of black mail on the unfortunate squatters by setting on their Runs, where, if they could not do themselves much good, they could do the squatter much harm, and oblige him in self-defence to buy them off at an extravagant sum. But though not at first a very thriving or reputable class, they are finding their level, in the neighbourhood of large towns they succeed well enough, and from their numbers they constitute an important and powerful element of the population.

Lastly, as manufactures have been introduced, the artizan class has increased. Possessing all the power, for good or evil, which trade-unionism gives them, they are not factory-workers living in an hereditary class, but physically a picked body of men (for women's work does not enter here), earning high wages, certain of constant employment, and generally speaking frugal and provident.

Victoria has every advantage of soil, climate, harbours, and fairly central position among the other colonies. It is hard to say what its exports, wine, wool, meat, or manufactured articles will hereafter consist of, but of coal it is certainly destined to be a very great industry. There are large and rich deposits of Melbourne, already by far the most populous city in Australia, which give a profit also to the country. In time of peace the lower classes, being the most numerous, will possess political power enough to do most of what they like. In time of war or peril the upper classes may have their natural weight.

Where in a State all classes have equal power, there is necessarily a democracy, that is, a Government of the people; and of the mob which is merely a part of the people.

Where also, the balance being equal, now one party, now another getting a temporary ascendancy, there we may expect fluctuations of policy, keenness of controversy, bitterness of hostility, and a general excitement of politics, drawing all classes more and more into its vortex, and intensifying the Democracy.

Where again there are vast and varied resources facilitating progress, and few vested interests hindering it, a mixture of many races meeting on equal terms, and exhibiting every variety of opinions, manners, and industrial methods, accustoming people to see things from numerous and novel points of view; with conditions of industry still new and comparatively untried, yet highly favourable; there will be rapid development with constant change, little distrust of novelty, therefore little conservatism, the Democracy will be an unstable and changing one. We may expect sudden, perhaps violent changes of sentiment, perhaps dangerous experiments.

Victoria started under intensely aristocratic conditions: a large Government Staff, military officers, a thinly-scattered and tightly-held population, a steady influx of educated men as visitors and often as settlers, Indian officers induced to come by the peculiar regulations then in force in the East India Service, then large grants of land to encourage the influx of capital, with an almost unlimited supply of cheap convict labour and almost unlimited authority over it—hence a body of large landed proprietors. Add to this the distinction between bond and free, and you have marked separation of classes and strong feelings of caste—two classes only, an upper and a lower, and power exclusively in the upper.

A large Government expenditure

in the colony of capital drawn from abroad, the plentiful and cheap convict labour, and the absence of all external competition, favoured the landed proprietors, who rapidly waxed rich and powerful.

But all this was the result of political, and therefore temporary, arrangements; it was essentially artificial, and at the first breath of change it crumbled away.

Two great events for Tasmania occurred at nearly the same time — the cessation of transportation, and with it of Government expenditure; and the discovery of gold in Victoria.

The first was not felt at the moment, for the additional market opened in Victoria far more than counterbalanced the loss of Government expenditure. For a little while Tasmania made great profits, and a splendid future seemed opening before her; but this prosperity was illusory and shortlived.

Victoria soon began to supply her own wants; and as she could do this, with her great natural resources, much more advantageously than Tasmania could, the Tasmanians' market was rapidly narrowed.

The rest followed quickly: Tasmania was soon undersold in her own markets.

The great State-machinery connected with the convict system being now stopped or greatly reduced, the Government class diminished in importance: the influx of fresh criminals ceasing, and an exodus of many of the old ones setting in to the goldfields, there was a disturbance of the balance between labour and capital in favour of labour: the tone as well as the condition of the lower classes underwent an improvement, and they increased in importance: thus the upper class sank a little, the lower class rose.

The great landholders lost their supply of cheap labour at the same time that they lost the best part of their market: from that moment they began to decline. On the other hand the free lower population increasing in numbers, and many having saved a little money either through the rise in wages or from a trip to the diggings, a class of small farmers sprang into existence, and commenced to compete on favourable terms with the great landholders: again the upper class sank a little, and the lower class rose.

About this stage all the arable land which had been cleared and brought under the plough had had the cream taken off it. What remained was either second-rate, or densely timbered, or inaccessible in the existing state of the roads.

The competition of Victoria had both raised the value of labour and diminished the value of produce. Tasmanian industry had received a severe blow, and the country was in no condition to open up fresh roads or clear fresh forests. Nothing remained but to go on cultivating the land already occupied and deteriorated. But how was this to be done?

It could not be done (except in a few isolated cases) by rotation of crops and heavy manuring, because this implies the profitable fattening of stock, and stock in the neighbouring colonies could be fed on their rich natural pastures for next to nothing, and imported at a price that defied home competition. All that could well be done was that was done generally, which was to go on cultivating each farm in succession, leaving the fields to rest and recruit for an interval. But this permanent arrangement required for even a moderate success that labour, extensive as it was, should be economised to the utmost, in other words, that the farmer should do the most of it himself, and it afforded very little opening for the investment of capital,

which readily found more profitable employment in the adjacent, more highly favoured colonies.

But it might be supposed that the system of farming might have been improved in many ways to meet the altered state of things, and that labour and capital might have been skilfully concentrated on a small surface, since it was no longer possible to spread them cheaply over a large surface.

In a few cases they could be, and were concentrated; but generally speaking, they could not; certainly they were not; the few attempts made were not encouraging in their results, and the reasons, it would seem, were these.

Concentration in farming, to be profitable, requires before all things a clear field: either the soil must be free of natural obstructions, or those obstructions must be removable at a small cost. Stones and stumps (or heavy timber of any kind) are alike fatal to it: the first preclude depth of tillage and destroy the tools, and so prevent the improvement of instruments; and the second not only destroy the tools, but forbid cultivation in straight lines, without which you can make little progress in the improvement of processes.

Now stones and timber are two of the most strongly marked features of [illegible] hence instruments and processes alike were here compelled to remain in great measure [illegible] primitive simplicity. In a [illegible] the it is of course impossible to assign all the reasons; [illegible] flee to illustrate the most [illegible] most improvements, especially mechanical ones, require a wide field of operation to repay their cost: each can generally perform but one operation, and requires therefore but only a clear field in each spot, but many such spots in one neighbourhood. In other words, the arable land must be massed in considerable tracts, and the farmers must either farm on a large scale, or be packed sufficiently close to co-operate easily.

But Tasmania is a broken country, the land lies in small patches here and there, separated by steep hills, rugged roads, and thick forests; transit is difficult, and co-operation on any efficient scale impossible. Hence farming, being reduced to the employment of rude instruments and simple processes, is fast falling into the hands of an uneducated and impecunious class; and almost the whole population are farmers, or, as smiths, carriers, storemen, &c., are closely connected with farming.

Every year this process advances with increasing rapidity; the labourer's labour is worth less to the capitalist and more to himself; the large landholders are disappearing fast; the small are rising into power; they are the councillors in all the municipalities; they form an increasing proportion of the members of Parliament; they rule the elections. They are rising like a tide, and will soon not only overpower but swallow up all the other classes. There is a certain rude comfort, but no material advance of prosperity, and a decline of refinement.

The moral and political development coincides with the industrial.

The different centres of production are isolated from each other by the broken character of the country. Farm lies apart from farm, and district from district; there are no great navigable rivers, the coast along the coasts is generally barren, and the growing poverty of the people hinders the improvement of the roads, rates are unpopular and difficult to levy.

Isolation breeds petty ideas and narrow views, local interests overpower national interests, neighbours intermarry all round, and family clanship is added to provincial localism; there is a rapid assimi-

gamation of all classes; for in each district all classes are forced for society's sake to mingle freely; the sons of gentlemen are thus inferior to their parents, the sons of artisans and petty tradesmen superior to theirs; and as each district is but a type of all the rest, the amalgamation of classes becomes national.

There is a gradual growth of local good feeling and of a quiet, jog-trot morality, not high-toned, but decent.

Even the old political animosities, relics of a bygone state of things, are dying out fast; only one or two of the old bitter partisans survive. Judging by present tendencies, not many years will elapse before the Tasmanian settler becomes one of the most marked natural types existing. With little opportunity for progress, he will become averse to change, and will be strongly conservative.

Secure of moderate comfort, undisturbed by excitement, and living under the eye of his whole petty neighbourhood, he will be quiet and orderly.

Consisting of but one class, and being therefore on an equality with all his neighbours, he will be democratic.

Nations are like water; when they cease to flow onward they stagnate: the river bed changes to a marsh—a waste of scattered pools.

Two causes have contributed to bring this about in Tasmania. Its head waters have been partially dried up, and other channels have drained its waters away. This is not its fault, but its misfortune.

Tasmania has made a gallant struggle against adversity; all honour to her children for it. And yet, for all that, the old taunt of 'Sleepy Hollow' applied to her is coming true, for destiny is stronger than man.

As the old landed proprietors disappear, and capital migrates to more favourable fields; as farming retrogrades and roads wear out, not from excessive traffic, but from the winter rains and the inefficient repairs; as competition narrows her market more and more, enterprise will die out, and political stagnation will follow industrial.

At present as a last resource the Tasmanian has pinned his faith to legislative action; he looks to Government for his regeneration, and is ready to plunge into any mad scheme for his country's development; but this will pass away.

When he finds that no legislative dodge will avail to entice immigrants to a country where the inhabitants themselves cannot find sufficient employment, but have to migrate yearly; nor capital to a rugged, broken country where the returns to industry must necessarily be less than in the fair, fat, level lands close by, nor even that a railway run through the eminently pastoral part of the country will succeed in welding together the scattered agricultural centres, and further that they are too small, too poor, and too scattered to be worth the cost of welding; when he has tried all these and other plans on which he is now intent, and finds that they lead but to disappointment and impoverishment, then will come the reaction, then will you not easily get him to put his hand in his pocket for any national undertaking, then will his exclusivism shine forth in strong light, trust to his Victorian neighbour and he will be as intensely [illegible] of State enterprises as he now intensely credulous.

Few would dispute that the physical conditions of a country mainly determine the industrial, and the industrial to a great extent the political other influences contribute, but this is the main order. The process is governed by a fixed law, the law of natural selection.

by which every organism, whether it be an animal or a plant, an individual or a community, tends to take its form and structure, its habits and character, from surrounding circumstances, and to fit itself to the conditions of its existence, whether these be favourable or unfavourable.

The political conditions and tendencies the deciphering and description of which have been attempted, are as it were the clay in which our countrymen in Australia are planted, the breezes that blow about them. Their effect or resultant is what in slang phrase is called the Spirit of the Age. But unless man is a vegetable, unless communities are crops, unless history is the bare description of the combined effect upon him of certain meteorological and geological conditions, the spirit of the age is not the master of the spirit of man. Rather is history the record of the struggle of man, successfully or unsuccessfully, *against* the spirit of the age, against the force of circumstances restricting, confining, dragging down. To imagine some of the drawbacks, pitfalls, impediments of a new community, separated by thousands of miles from the Old World, is surely not very difficult. No local history and associations, no historic painting, architecture, or memorials of the past the proportion of the upper class so small as to indicate retrogression rather than advance in refinement — scarcely anything for the mind to occupy itself with, except to labour for the most that presents.

Has the Queen's sovereignty, the close union with the home country, no power for good on communities in this stage of development? Is the English Government, instead of making itself intimately acquainted with the characteristics and wants of the colonies, to disclaim all responsibility for them? It does not indeed openly express its desire to be separated from them, but practically it has been showing its real opinion, and bringing about this result by acts the significance and effects of which cannot be mistaken, by the absence of any cordial expressions of pride or satisfaction in the possession of colonies; worse than this, in the case of New Zealand by charges and recriminations against the colonists which were demonstrably inaccurate and unjust. The little bands of English soldiers, too small to be any material expense (and that expense, such as it was, being in almost every instance borne by the colony), but important as a nucleus for the training and leading of the colonial forces in case of emergency, and much more important as being to the colonies what the flag is to the regiment, the sign and symbol of loyalty and union, have been withdrawn amid regret generally expressed, and felt much more deeply than it was expressed, for there was a certain proud fear lest such expression should be misconstrued.

The link is not quite broken yet. Evidence of the strong attachment to the mother country is abundant. In the remotest hut, far up in the bush, of the old convict shepherd you may generally see the wooden slab walls papered, not with colonial prints and illustrations (common enough now), but with the home views and incidents and ceremonials and portraits which make the *Illustrated London News* the most popular newspaper in every quarter of the globe where Englishmen are to be found. Surely the old country can still do something for its colonies—can at any rate leave off doing what has been too much done already.

EDUCATION IN THE NAVY.

SINCE the year 1857, in which the Council of Military Education was appointed, there has been a continual development of the educational system for officers of the English Army. Military education has been carefully watched over, both by the country and also by superior officers of the Army, from that date; and, in the very lucid, liberal, and practical 'First Report' of the Royal Commission appointed to enquire into the state of that education, published in 1869, we have a solemn approval of the aims and endeavours of the last twelve years for the culture of military officers. We may surely ask them, what has the country required in naval officers, and what machinery have the officers of the Navy demanded, for the education of their own service in the same period? and what has been done to fit naval officers for the scientific warfare which will hereafter win the day, no less in sea fights than in a battle on shore? This question may be answered in a few words. No list of educational establishments exists for the Navy, like that which appears on the first page as the Report of the Military Commission. There, two colleges, and eight establishments for special instruction, attest the desire of the sister service to possess a thoroughly instructed body of officers, as well as the approval of the country of the appropriation of large sums to that object.

We have for the Navy a floating college—the *Britannia*, where boys are taught from the age of twelve to fourteen, a school of gunnery, where lieutenants of ages varying generally from twenty-two to twenty-seven may, if they deserve it, study an additional year's training, and a college at Portsmouth, where officers of the ranks of Captain and Commander, of ages varying generally from twenty-six to forty, may amuse themselves by mumbling mathematics for a year or so, when on half-pay. Besides these regular establishments, some instruction is given by naval instructors, who are borne in sea-going ships, and who, during three to four years of each midshipman's career, between fourteen and eighteen years of age, snatch such moments as they can from the duties of the ship, to prevent the mathematics and navigation which were acquired in the *Britannia*, from being entirely forgotten. Quite recently, the first of these four years has been passed in a ship set apart, where the ordinary duties and routine have been more adapted to continuation of study, and where more masters are engaged than in regular sea-going ships.

Those who know the superiority of highly instructed officers, and have understood, in the war lately raging, that cultivated intelligence has been the master and not the slave of system, will agree with me in deploring the want of interest now among officers in our Navy, and the poor prospects which the very thoughtful have as to what I have referred above of producing an efficient body of officers hereafter.

To those who do not appreciate our needs, I must offer an assurance, founded on some experience and thought, that the existing instruction of naval officers is small, and that the arrangements for the future are inadequate, and I trust that the proper value may in no degree be assigned to my assertions. I have hesitated to appear to claim for this paper on its publication. I intend to appeal to my brother officers, and to present the views developed to them, in another publication, as I am now addressing myself

who have a more genuine love for our naval service than acquaintance with its details, I shall merely indicate briefly the present state of naval education, and point out how it affects the interests and safety of our forces in this country, and of our many possessions abroad.

May I say, as one who feels deeply the affectionate indulgence with which a sailor's life is regarded, that, in time of peace, our countrymen have treated our Navy too much as their own especial toy; that they have lavished upon its officers, at all times during late years, all the honours and gratifications which have ever been asked of them without a question, and that even the most hard-headed among them have, when on the deck of a man of war, yielded to the sentiment which, since the victories of the last great war, has enervated our Navy? Have we not trusted too much upon this noble prestige? Have we, as a body, presumed ourselves and our younger officers to merit again, in small gifts of the future, the gratitude of our countrymen, and to win once more for our service a sympathy which it had spent last for over half a century? The habits of to-day are not those of seventy years ago—in this respect that mind plays a much greater part than it then did, in working the weapons of war, and that these weapons are of so intricate and delicate a character that they can be more readily handled by untrained officers than an old swords can be wielded by gentlemen. Chief of these weapons is the force of steam with which our naval officers are required to be conversant, and it is lately, it cannot be instructed as it ought to be, with a view to discipline and loss of efficiency, be put into the hands of officers who have had a degree of education as to be fit to inspire respect for their position and character.

I think, then, that the country is interested in a subject, which so nearly concerns its safety and honour, as the fitness of its naval officers to carry on successful operations in a future war.

We believe that in the naval service we possess a body of officers of high spirit, of much devotion to duty, and of love for their profession. At the same time those in which we recognise these qualities in the highest degree, are unanimous in their desire for a more complete and liberal education, and for a more methodical and regular training for their successors, than they themselves enjoyed in youth; and they live on, in the hope which is inspired by the yearly annihilation of many a time-honoured prejudice; recollecting, as some of the oldest of their number do recollect, that the prejudice against education of the people, which used to exist among no few squires and parsons, has at last given way on shore, under the pressure of Continental example and competition; and expecting that the example of foreign navies, of both northern and southern nations, all of which give a lengthened course of education to their officers, will at last prevail over the prejudices of many a worthy captain and ultra Tory admiral expecting also, that, some day the interest of the country will take a more decisive shape than that of general goodwill.

The course adopted in foreign navies, as may be even stated at length, in a pamphlet by Captain Colomb, R.N., on the Report of a Committee which sat last year on what was called the 'higher education of naval officers,' is, to give a lengthened training of from three to four years, from the age of fifteen or sixteen; and it is remarkable that this course should be followed as well by Swedes and Norwegians, by Danes and Dutch, by

Americans and North-Germans, who are all sailors of our own sort, than by Russians and French, Spaniards, Italians, and Portuguese.

The training of officers of those countries finishes at from eighteen to twenty years of age, and every part of their profession is methodically taught, with as little waste or loss of time or means as in training for any other business of life. All officers are thus well grounded in their profession, and there is no necessity in their case for that higher training, or, as I should call it, that attempted redemption of a mis-spent past, which formed the subject of the enquiries of the above-named Committee.

In the English Navy, on the other hand, boys are taken on board the *Britannia* at from twelve to thirteen years of age, and remain there for two years, under a training chiefly educational, part professional. At the age of fourteen to fifteen they are sent to a frigate or line of battle ship, which takes them to sea for the best part of a year, during which, a training, part educational and chiefly professional, is continued. Thus at the age of fifteen to sixteen, after three years of a mixed educational and professional training, the young midshipmen are discharged to the service afloat. Our plan is therefore totally different from that of all other countries. It is true that a grave authority, viz. Dr. Woolley, the Director of Naval Education, has said of the French system that 'it is the same as ours, except as to age and examination for entry;' also that the Committee, of which he was a member, have actually said in their Report that 'the total period of training in the French service, like our own at present, amounts to three years.' And though Dr. Woolley accompanied his statement with words which partially explained it to those who know anything of the Imperial system, the Committee seem to take no note of the difference of age at entry (the French beginning their three years at fifteen to eighteen, and the English at twelve to thirteen), any more than they do of the connection between the French Government and all their public schools, which has enabled them to adapt the curriculum to the needs of the public services. The comparison is a ridiculous one, and tends to mislead the readers of the Report. It would, in point of fact, be less inaccurate to say that the French system was 'like our own at present,' if our own course were of six years instead of three.

The English midshipman, then, at the age of fifteen to sixteen, is sent, after three years of this mixed training, to a squadron, cruising at home or abroad, for three years. In practice there is nothing definite about his career, his instructions, or his duties during this time, but he is expected to emerge at the age of nineteen a complete officer, and to pass those examinations which shall qualify him for the rank of Lieutenant. Does he so emerge? The records of a past system, differing but very slightly from that of to-day, say 'No' in a most unmistakable way. Professor Main, the most trustworthy witness whom we can produce, says 'No!' the Board of Admiralty, in a Report to the House of Commons, also say 'No.'

And here the compulsory education and training cease, while we should remember that any *self* culture is extremely difficult on board ship; with few books, without any of the helps which are found on shore, and with no necessity for that strife in the race which, now and then, in other walks of life, brings the uneducated man to the surface. I have said that all attainable evidence proves the non-completeness of the training of young officers, at

the end of their term of probation. Wherein does the cause of so great a failure lie? The education given on board the *Britannia* seems to be good of its kind, though too much has been crammed into the limited time which is passed on board her, and those who have had experience of the youngsters, who have passed through her can speak favourably of their spirit and of their discipline.

The course of the frigate, in which they pass the year between the ages of fourteen and fifteen and fifteen and a half, though deficient in many practical points, is still an attempt which has done some little good, and has met with partial success, inasmuch as an economy of time and means has resulted from its adoption. But, of the three years remaining before the period of the final examination of an officer is reached, nothing can be said but that it is a time of confusion, during which the conflicting claims of duties on board and in lecture-rooms, duties of detail which should be given to petty officers, because in the practice of seamanship are so in gunnery, because in mathematics, from at present, masters and teachers, are clashing and hurry each other in disorderly and harassing succession, so that, although instructors are provided, and regulations prescribe that they shall be employed, a faithfully kept record shows that not more than twelve hours per week are passed in actual instruction of any sort, in any ship of the fleet.

As a first consequence of this, it is found to be absolutely necessary to employ Government instructors to grind or cram every single midshipman for the final examination at the age of sixteen for the rank of Lieutenant, and for the first time, and, as I trust, for the last, recognising cramming as a necessity, and as a Government institution.

In order to be strictly accurate, I must say that whereas the scheme of to-day includes two years passed on board the *Britannia*, beginning at the age of twelve to thirteen, that of the year before last included a little more than one year in the *Britannia*, beginning at thirteen to fourteen, the difference being that an additional year is now to be passed in the *Britannia* instead of being spent at school.

In the brief review above, I have only considered the preparation of midshipmen in the subjects of their final examination for Lieutenant, in which neither history, political geography, physics, nor drawing find a place. All these subjects are therefore deliberately abandoned at the early age of fifteen to sixteen, while, as I have shown above, there is no hope of anything else being acquired in the three years' confused struggle in sea-going ships; and, in point of fact, while of the three great heads of the final examination, practical gunnery is learned only at the last moment, and navigation and nautical astronomy are crammed for about six weeks after the gunnery has been passed through, the practice of seamanship, and the ability to exercise command, are not acquired till after all examinations are passed, and the rank of Sub-lieutenant is reached.

What is the cause of all this confusion, and who or what stands in the way of its removal? Patronage on the one hand and prejudice on the other. The former has hung like a millstone round the neck of patriotic reformers for years, though it is fair to say that by no one have its foundations been so rudely shaken as by Mr Childers since he took office as First Lord of the Admiralty.

The prejudice is a more formidable obstacle to progress, and it has been so fully shared by the Committee before named, whose duty it was to point out to the Board of

Admiralty what was required to improve the higher education of naval officers, that I will quote their words. In comparing the systems of English and foreign navies, they say that 'The system of entry at an earlier age (than in foreign navies) which, as a rule, has always been the practice in the English service, ensures the obtaining a supply of young officers at a time when, their minds being docile and plastic, and their habits and modes of thought yet unformed, they can be more easily inured to the peculiar habits of a sea life, be more accustomed to its unavoidable privations and occasional hardships, be trained up in attachment to their profession, and be induced to adopt it heartily as their vocation in life. Early entry into the service is therefore associated with all the traditions of the Navy, is in accordance with its historical recollections, and is in unison with the general tone of professional feeling on the subject.'

Whether committees should report according to the evidence which they have taken or not, is better known to the authority who nominates them than to the outside public; but the latter can only accept the Report by the light of the evidence. No evidence in confirmation of the last paragraph which I have quoted appears in the Appendix, and many officers altogether deny that early entry is in unison with the general tone of intelligent professional feeling on the subject, although they admit that the historical recollections and traditions of a very conservative service might afford a mere majority of voices against them. To the minds of many of those who love their service, and who wish to see it not only the shield, but also the right hand of our country in peace as well as in war to 'those who take Rule as to "Tam Marti quam Mercurio" for their own, there seems to be danger lurking in that part of the Report which I have quoted. They think they hear a plea for 'yet a little sleep, a little slumber, a little folding of the hands to sleep;' together with a voice in which they are strangely reminded of the recruiting sergeant and his ribbons, his shilling, and his glass of beer, all of which they fancied had long ago been consigned to the tomb. The Appendix throws no light on this part of the Report, and we are constrained to believe that the Committee accepted the prejudice in favour of early entry into the Navy, to which I have referred, and which alone stands in the way of the proper education of young naval officers, without examining into its origin or ascertaining its foundation.

The whole question turns upon this early entry, whose theoretical advantages are here stated in such well-satisfied terms. I say *theoretical* advantages, because no one can *prove* that our boys of fifteen to sixteen years of age, brought up at the ordinary schools of this country, corresponding to their rank in life, are less docile and plastic, less capable of encountering hardships and privations, less capable of attachment to a noble profession, which requires intelligent study and confers posts of command and honour, than boys of twelve to thirteen. The latter age is that at which boys generally go to a public school; and if our English public schools are not greatly changed and fallen into discredit of late years, they are still the very home and cradle of those qualities, which early entry into the Navy is supposed by the Committee to secure. The highest praise which can be given to the boys in the *Britannia* is, that they are like public schoolboys in spirit and discipline. Do they enter the Navy early in the sense spoken of by the Committee? No. Their entry into the *Britannia* is early, but their

service afloat only begins at fourteen to fifteen. Why then put the *Britannia* in competition with our admirable public schools? Why shorten the term of liberal education? Why make a boy vain with his uniform and his pretended command before he is fifteen years of age? Again, if this early entry be requisite for the young officer, it should be equally necessary for the young seamen of our fleet, whose education and training are the most successful of any body of men in the service of the Crown. Yet, what happens with them? Why, the early entry is so thoroughly ignored, that they only appear on board a harbour ship at the average age of fifteen years and six months, coming straight from their village school, in their brown jacket and corduroy trousers; and they are not transferred to the ships of the Fleet and to the life which has 'peculiar habits, unavoidable privations, and occasional hardships,' till they are nearer seventeen than sixteen years of age.

British naval officers are therefore held to be so peculiar a body that they are to be treated differently in this respect, not only from all others, north and south, east and west, but also from the very men they have to command; and, at what cost is to be seen when tracing up the number of rising public men of the naval profession. Professor Main, looking back over an intimate acquaintance with the Navy of more than thirty years, says that 'in his opinion, in the higher branches of the service, we have more educated, thoughtful, and intelligent men than we shall have among those who are coming on now,' although he is also of opinion that 'no men in the world work harder than naval officers when they have an object in view.'

I cannot conclude without giving an opinion as to what course should be pursued to improve the state of things which I have been lamenting. I have explained that the *Britannia* usurps the place of a public school, and, that his service afloat as midshipman wastes the time and pains of a young officer, and passes like an uneasy dream, while it secures no definite instruction. But, if the special training of the naval officer were quite separated from his early education, then that education could be continued at the ordinary schools of the country, till the average of fifteen years of age. He would then enter the Naval College with some of the self-reliance of the public schoolboy, with some of the liberal feelings towards other professions which we naval officers are said to lack, and with a stronger individuality than can be the rule with those who, from twelve or thirteen, have lived a life of close companionship, with but one set of boys or men.

Let him then begin his special training for the Navy at fifteen. He will take it up with greater zest than if he had already been three years at a special [illegible]. He should now begin to [illegible] cally all those parts [illegible] work, and of an [illegible] which [illegible] be att[illegible] certai[illegible] which[illegible] the [illegible] the [illegible] of [illegible] giv[illegible] ter[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [

correction of experienced captains and commanders. Will he now want docility? will he fail in being able to encounter the privations of a sea life, or will he feel no vocation for the profession whose period of tutelage is past, for which he has been intelligently trained, and which opens for him a career full of interest, and not without adventure? I am convinced that it will not be so; and I believe that such a training will prepare him, not only to master the difficulties and dangers of a sea life, but also to appreciate the beauties of nature, to comprehend the laws which rule the phenomena which he daily witnesses, and which are now too often a sealed book to our young officers, to profit by the visits to foreign countries, and opportunities for the acquisition of foreign languages, and turn to account the incidents of daily life which now pass unnoticed and are little understood by him.

Sir James Graham once expressed his admiration for the naval character. He described it as the noblest this country could produce, and said that he could scarcely speak of it in terms too strong. The charge of maintaining such a character is committed, no less to the naval service, than to the country of which it forms a part; and, whether in peace or war, we are bound to hand down to our successors an unimpaired reputation for skill in the conduct of our fleets, as well as for the maintenance of intelligent discipline in their personnel.

The Navy of England is her first and second line of defence, the guardian of her commerce, and her only means of carrying war into an enemy's country. I therefore conclude with questions which concern every British householder, and which the country would do well to examine. Has the training of our naval officers progressed, in proportion to the advance which has been made in the art of war, or to the increased spread of general knowledge, or even to the great stride which is perceptible in the intelligence of our seamen? And is the present training of our officers calculated to produce commanders of fleets and vessels, who shall carry future naval operations to a triumphant issue? The answer must be in the negative.

James G. Goodenough,
Captain Royal Navy

CHINESE STATESMEN AND STATE PAPERS.

III

IN our last article we were led by the papers analysed to a consideration of some of the leading facts connected with the labours of missionaries in China. Of the bad impression made upon the minds of the Chinese—the educated and the ignorant alike—we had abundant evidence. How has this come to pass? and what is the true explanation of a result so opposed to all our ideas of what should be the natural influence of the creed and the doctrines of Christianity? Is it in the people worked upon—or their rulers more especially—the form in which the creed is presented—or the mode in which the teachers prosecute their labours under foreign protection for the conversion of the heathen—that we are to seek for an explanation of effects so contrary to our best hopes and their desires? We think it is scarcely possible to have read the various utterances of statesmen, high functionaries, literati, and gentry, plainly reflected in the placards of the populace and the deeds of violence lately enacted at Tientsin and elsewhere, without such query arising. They are for so far without a satisfactory answer, nothing proceeding either from missionary or politician having hitherto thrown much light upon this 'religious difficulty'—quite as disturbing in its effects in the far East as in the West.

It has lately been suggested by a portion of the newspaper press on this side of the globe that 'the missionary question is less important than it seems.' We believe the exact reverse of this is nearer the truth, and that neither writers nor the public in England have fully understood its significance. The ever widening and deepening influence it exercises on all our relations with China, is certainly not appreciated. It has proved a stumbling block to all who have sought to advance the work of progress in other directions, and a rock of offence to all the Chinese Mandarins who have struck their foot against it. Tseng-Kwo-fan, one of the most influential of the Viceroys of China, if he has not wrecked his fortunes in the affair of Tientsin, came out of it with grievous damage;—and the latest event in this series, the assassination of Ma, his successor in the government at Nanking, which was popularly attributed to his action in the matter of missionary troubles there, has introduced a new element of evil augury into Chinese history. The Chinese mob have from old time been accustomed to rise in insurrection upon their rulers, and slay or rend them in pieces; but the dagger or sword in the hand of an individual assassin was hitherto unheard of. A fan, a pencil, and a tobacco-pipe are as a rule the most dangerous weapons ever carried by Chinese when not actually in the field. Ma, the victim in this case, in the plenitude of his authority as Governor-General of the two provinces, may have anticipated insurrection or disgrace as among the contingencies attaching to his high position; but we will venture to affirm that, among all the possible chances and dangers of his career as a Chinese functionary on the highest rung of the official ladder, it never entered into his imagination that he might be stabbed in open day by a single assailant. Yet so it was. While passing in state through the gateway leading to his yamên after presiding over the military exercises, and in the midst of his attendants, he was struck down by an assassin. Whatever may have been the motive of his assailant, it

is certain that the popular mind attributed his immolation to a righteous anger on the part of the literati and people for his repressive action when they threatened another missionary outbreak, in sequence to the massacre at Tientsin and of like kind.

The State papers we have to deal with in this concluding series refer chiefly to other matters more directly connected with political relations, and giving the views of the leading provincial authorities on the projected revision of the Treaty of Tientsin, and the changes it was incumbent on the Chinese Government to demand on their own side or to resist if proposed on ours. In these the missionary question forms only one of several subjects held to deserve serious consideration, in relation to the interests of China and the exigencies of Foreign Powers. These papers are the more interesting as the writers travel over the whole ground of their foreign relations, and we thus get the opinion of some of the higher functionaries as to the policy it behoves China to adopt under existing circumstances, and some insight into that which they would adopt, if left to themselves.

When the question of a revision of the Treaty of Tientsin first arose, some three years ago, the Foreign Board at Peking, it appears, sent a circular of a confidential character to all the Governors-General of Provinces, directing them to communicate, for the information of the Emperor, their views on the modifications, if any, which they deemed necessary or expedient in the foreign relations of China, and more especially in the Treaty between China and Great Britain. This elicited from the high officers in the several provinces confidential reports in reply, which, so far as we know, have never been published by the Chinese Government, even in abstract, either in the *Peking Gazette* or by any other channels. One of these reports—that from Tseng-Kwo-fan, at the time Governor-General of the two Kiang—was apparently obtained in some indirect way from Nanking, and a translation appeared in the columns of the local press at Shanghai. The very fact that such a document had got into foreign hands, was supposed to throw a doubt on its authenticity, but there appears sufficient internal evidence to justify reliance upon the genuine character of the document. Most of the high officials, it is true, succeeded better in keeping their reports secret—but much, nevertheless, leaked out through their enemies, and the contents were pretty well known in the course of a few months, though received in a more or less fragmentary form. Judging from what we now know on this subject (after it has been sifted and studied by those who are in the best position to form an opinion), it may be doubted whether the Chinese Government had anything to fear from the publication of the papers in question. It might, on the contrary, have been the best, as well as a bolder policy, to have allowed Merchants and Missionaries, no less than Foreign Governments, to see what the highest placed officials of the Empire really thought of the situation and the sweeping changes urged by foreign communities. A good deal of misapprehension on this head might, by such a course, have been removed and many dangerous illusions effectually dispersed. We quite agree with a local print, that "We really do want authentic details regarding the feelings and opinions of our opponents. . . . There are weapons used against us secretly, and we want to know exactly what they are, before we presume to meet them." So also, we think, while we are entertaining the action of the Chinese Govern-

ment, it would be well to bear in mind the attitude taken by men like Shun-chun-Wang, commonly called the Seventh Prince (a younger brother of the Prince of Kung), Wo, and others of the same party. They are of the old anti-foreign school of politicians, who believe with Yeh, of Canton memory, that to admit foreigners into the ports was 'like keeping a tiger in one's verandah,' and that every patriot or true Chinese was bound to bring back, if possible, the past days of exclusiveness and isolation. Nor can it be denied, we fear, that if foreigners are not anxious to play the tiger themselves wherever they obtain a footing, the foreign communities in China are very reckless in opening the doors to other wild beasts, in the shape of rebels and revolutionists.

When people talk of 'doing good to China,' it is obvious that the phrase is open to very diverse interpretations. Foreign residents at Hong Kong and the Ports mostly mean doing good for the native produce they may believe that the development of the country, which they seek to hasten, will also be good to the natives. But between the measures desired and the end in view stand a network of China with railroads, telegraphs, post lines, and reformed administration, with foreign agencies everywhere in full operation, developing the resources of the country, working their mines, introducing machinery wherever it can be profitably employed, and superseding native means of transport and navigation in the interior, there lies a revolution. A yawning gulf, that is, of untried depth and width, to be bridged over by a transformation scene, of the nature of which neither Chinese or foreigner can speak with either confidence or authority. There may be enterprising Americans, 'capable British merchants,' or Communistic Frenchmen, who see no difficulties in the way of a complete transformation of both soil and people in a few years by means of foreign skill and capital. But Chinese statesmen can hardly be blamed if they have not the same robust faith and, doubtful of the end, are profoundly averse to any joint-stock company proposals for revolutionising their country and enriching the projectors.

What missionaries mean by 'doing good to China,' bears, of course, a very different signification. With them no doubt it means 'the pure desire to benefit the Chinese, morally and physically, by giving them a new faith and better religious authorities.' But it is quite clear that the two designs, however philanthropic both may be at bottom, do not work well together, and by no means go hand in hand. The material changes brought about more or less rapidly by Commerce must precede and lead the way. The missionary work, if pushed on in advance, will speedily block up the road and render progress impossible for either. All past experience demonstrates this policy. The latter course has been taken, chiefly under Roman Catholic guidance. The Romish missions have preceded Commerce in the interior. They have been put in the van under the flag of France, and perpetual conflict with both authorities and people has been the result. Political complications have followed religious difficulties, and the whole question of progress hangs now upon the possibility of removing the latter out of the field of contention. On the coast and at the Treaty Ports, on the contrary, trade opened the way, and keeps it free from all serious obstruction. The Tientsin massacre, and other scarce less grievous incidents of like character at a few points in the vicinity of the Ports, are but the reflex action

of disturbances originating with missionary work in the interior. It might have better served the interests of the Chinese Government and our own alike, if these and other State papers bearing more directly on the subject had been allowed freely to see the light, and been published *in extenso*. From as much as is now known of their contents and the results of the revision which followed, this conclusion seems fully borne out. As it was—in total ignorance of the prevailing feeling among the educated and official classes throughout China—British merchants were vehemently pressing their Government to insist upon sweeping changes in the laws, customs, and internal administration of the Chinese Empire—and Protestant missionaries claimed the right to follow their Roman Catholic predecessors into the field, domicile themselves throughout the interior, and, uncontrolled, form separate communities—while every official and high functionary in China was demonstrating to the Cabinet in Peking, not only the impolicy of yielding to such demands, but the imperative necessity of claiming the abolition of various rights and privileges subversive of the established order, and which had only been extorted from the Government by force, and after a disastrous war, by Foreign Powers. It is little wonder that nothing like agreement should have been arrived at after protracted negotiations. Each party desiring what the other was resolutely bent on refusing as a matter of vital interest, there was little to be done. And this appears to be, in brief, the history of the Revision negotiations and the Convention, which, although both Governments were disposed to accede to it as a fair compromise for a time of conflicting and to a great degree irreconcilable demands, the merchants opposed with all their weight, and in the end succeeded in nullifying. So the matter rests for the present, any more satisfactory solution being deferred to happier days—or until merchants, missionaries, and governments can all agree as to what may be wisely asked on the one side and safely granted on the other in the interest of both—to all appearance a very remote period.

All these State papers on the Revision are lengthy—much too long to be reproduced verbatim in these columns;—but a brief analysis of some of their more prominent sections, and a few quotations of the more salient opinions, may give a fair idea of the general spirit and aim of the writers. The first we shall deal with is Tseng-Kwo-fan's, the Governor-General of the two Kiang at Nanking. He has lately fallen into discredit with the people because of his want of firmness in the Tientsin affair, and what they affirmed to be his truckling to foreign Powers. But until this occasion he had been very popular, and looked up to as one of the leaders of the National or Anti-Foreign party. Ting-jih-Chang and Tseng-Kwo-fan, together with Chung-how, now in France on his propitiatory mission, are all indeed in disgrace with the people, who ridicule them, we are told, by calling them 'San-tsze' (grandsons), and the English and French are called 'Ying-tse-tsung' and 'Fa-tse-tsung' (our English and French ancestors), while Prince Kung himself is commonly called 'Kwei-tse Liu-urh' (the Sixth of the Foreign Devils), his usual title being that of Sixth Prince. Ever since the Tientsin affair native servants in foreign employment have been beaten and robbed in the city by 'braves' who called them 'slaves of rebels,'—*Mai-su*. When the servants said they were not in the employ of Frenchmen, the braves replied, 'They did not care for that, as all foreigners were devils.'

Whatever may have been Tseng-Kwo-fan's shortcomings or want of nerve in the recent inquisition into the murderous outbreak at Tientsin and its causes, he must be classed, as he has always hitherto been considered, both by his own countrymen and by foreigners, as among the foremost statesmen of the empire. Nor is there anything in the tone or matter of his memorial to detract from this estimate. It is plain spoken, and from a Chinese point of view reasonable and moderate, both in language and purport. The writer is an elderly man (looks about sixty), not strong, with gray, and as is usual with his race, very sparse beard and moustache. He speaks in a mild and low tone with great deliberation, and the Nanking, not the Peking (or Court) dialect, between which in pronunciation, and sometimes in idiom or phraseology, there is a wide difference. He has often been in contact with foreigners, and probably knows as much about them as any man of his rank in China. The Report concludes with a recapitulation of its tenor:

[illegible]

He then goes on to observe:

[illegible]

The allusion at the close of this paragraph to the great interest at stake—to the continued thought for wiping out their shame (of defeat and subsequent dictation), and the necessity of dissembling until the proper time shall come for reasserting their independence, is full of significance. It should suffice to prove the mistake of those who believe that the want of patriotism among the inhabitants of the several provinces, inferred from their willingness to trade with foreigners at the same time that these are making war upon their Government, precludes any general feeling of humiliation or dissatisfaction on the part of the educated and governing classes of the nation. Such a feeling on the contrary does certainly exist, and is very widely spread. It must result in a constant source of obstruction and difficulty, if not of immediate danger, and it will be a present danger wherever the ruling class or the literati and gentry conceive that with the aid of foreign-constructed arsenals, arms, and European drilled troops and disciplined native forces, they are strong enough to try conclusions with a Western Power and expel all foreigners from their coasts. This is a hope they never relinquish, and it should not be lost sight of by foreign Powers.

Yet nothing can be more sensible and true than the sentiments conveyed in the following first principles of a foreign policy:

He conceives that in intercourse with foreign nations the great requisites are good faith and integrity, and still more decision.

What we cannot accede to must be refused from the first, and this refusal must not be departed from; what we can accede to should be announced in the plainest and shortest terms.

There should not be alternate concession and refusal, but now shutting out and now swallowing, nor the slightest appearance of indecision, which would give the other party an opening for their sophistical arguments.

Although, as he proceeds to analyse the aims and the policy of foreign states, he falls into some errors,—very natural in a Chinese statesman educated exclusively in his own country,—he is not always, nor altogether wrong, in many of his comments on the past history and present ways of foreign nations and foreigners when located in China. Take for example the following paragraphs:

[illegible]

(This was before Germany and France by the recent war had afforded the most striking illustration of modern times.)

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

chinery. An exception is made as to the working of coal mines alone, and an engagement to allow them to be worked by foreign machinery and under foreign engineering direction for the benefit of the Government was in effect comprised in the Convention.

The concluding paragraphs, which seem to warn the Emperor himself not to presume too much on the obedience and support of his own authorities and the people in the provinces if he should weakly yield too much to the demands of the foreigners, would be more remarkable but for the suspicion that the opinion was given as a weapon to be used by the Tsung-li-Yamen, and an argument to be quoted at need against the British negotiator in resisting his demands for further concessions. Still, even in this supposition, it seems bold language to use in a State paper intended for the Emperor's perusal, and at the present time Tsung-Kwo-fan is not altogether regarded as a person, like his former colleague and rival, Li-hung-Chang, of small mind and dangerous views to the existing dynasty. It seems to reveal a heaven of democratic sympathy beneath such a thick atmosphere, such as we are accustomed to consider most autocratic and absolutely destructive of that freedom of thought in the people of which there is a great deal of democratic sympathy in the theory of the government and the habits of the people in China is certain. The Emperor thus claiming to rule by right divine, also reserves to himself the right of the people to be well governed, and for their benefit, rather than his own, approaching very near to the [illegible] of the opponents of the *Jus Divinum*.

And if the Chinese people have no free press, in our sense, they make a very free use of placards, often of the most audacious and inflammatory character. The placard often becomes a very dangerous weapon even in autocratic China. We often complain that by such instruments mobs are stirred up to attack foreign communities, as recently at Tientsin, but the Government itself exposed to the same danger, and seems very little able to adopt any effective measures of prevention in its own defence.

The remainder of the memorial is chiefly taken up with opinions on the audience of foreign ambassadors, the despatch of diplomatic missions to Europe, and the influence of missionaries. On these the opinions and advice are far more rational and moderate than might have been anticipated from a Chinese high officer who has been placed by many at the head of the Anti-Foreign party. He advises that the audience question should be deferred until his Majesty takes the reins of government—being now in his minority—and then yielded without any unreasonable demands for homage. As foreign Powers and their envoys on the footing of equal States, and the sitting should be with reference to the [illegible]. And he considers this would be but the [illegible] of the state of equality and [illegible] in regard to the question of an embassy, he says 'the terms of amity between us and foreign states will necessarily bring about constant intercourse,' and to him the duty of an envoy is to represent the dignity of the Government at the court where [illegible] to reside, [illegible]. On the whole, therefore, the despatch of envoys may be conceded.'

Speaking of the missionary question and 'the opening of the interior for the spread of religion,' there is more of contempt than anxiety expressed as to the progress or influence of Christianity and its missionaries. This view, coming from such a quarter, is a surprise. Possibly, had he written after, instead of before the Yang-chow and

Tientsin affairs, he would have modified his opinions. Be that as it may, this is what he said, and most likely what he thought, in the autumn of 1867:—

As to the opening of the interior for the spread of [illegible], your Majesty would observe that [illegible] by attracting [illegible] but [illegible] the [illegible] missionaries, [illegible] held out [illegible] and their arguments accordingly [illegible]

The [illegible] doctrine was [illegible] observed after [illegible] and Hankow [illegible] while [illegible] [illegible] has had [illegible] supplanted [illegible] Mohammedanism [illegible] in the [illegible] has opened [illegible] opposite [illegible] power

It is very [illegible] the [illegible] religious [illegible] from time to time [illegible] their [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] it being [illegible] [illegible]

Whatever [illegible] take [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

Kiangsu. He evidently writes with considerable knowledge of the actual position which China holds in relation to Foreign Powers, and gives a well-considered and independent opinion as to what the Chinese policy should be. He was once Taotai at Shanghai, and during his term of office there, showed great desire to inform himself on every thing concerning foreign nations. Mr Alabaster, at that time our interpreter at the port, was often appealed to for information. He assumes that the great Western States are combining to bring pressure to bear on China, and points out that although there is a certain 'Entente' among them, there are nevertheless not more than five which would venture to give trouble, and Prussia, the youth of these, has only lately risen into any importance. America, he correctly points out, has fewer objects to be gained, and might easily be detached from the rest with an offer of friendly help. 'It would be well,' he continues, 'to engage their friendship so as to separate the alliance of England and France.' He considers it necessary to show to the Chinese the importance of Prussia in Europe—the policy at home, and the alliances and connexions abroad. He says the interests of Prussia and the United States [illegible] are not conflicting, and that the latter power [illegible] at present [illegible] with great power [illegible] and [illegible] the West. There are not many Europeans who [illegible] a better grasp of the true state of affairs. It ought to be proved that there are Chinese officials who keep their eyes upon the changes going on in Europe, and apply the knowledge they thus acquire to regulate the policy of their own Government. The recent collapse of France cannot fail therefore to be carefully noted in China; and unless the future French Government should modify its policy and habits of interference and dictation in missionary and other matters which have been the cause of much bitterness and disturbance, the Chinese will be likely to take a very different tone to any hitherto ventured on, in the assertion of sovereign rights within their own territory. The same idea of dividing the Western Powers and profiting by their dissensions is again insisted upon while still speaking of Prussia. 'She has no immediate wish to interfere with China,' he continues. 'We might depend upon her aggressive policy to make her a barrier against the enmity of England and France; and also is the country whereon China may well derive the power to sow, or an opportunity of sowing, dissensions (between Foreign States).'

Prussia and America he thus regards as possible allies against England and France, and would try by [illegible] to unite again to coerce China, and hence he concludes: 'If this appears that the five great Western Powers may for a purpose be induced to move.' He then proceeds to consider the position in regard to Russia, and the [illegible] from that [illegible] which, however absurd, is never absent from the Chinese official mind. 'Almost bordering China, Russia, the territory of Russia, a great and powerful [illegible] and independent of the [illegible] State and [illegible] with great emphasis. 'Of any danger which may have arisen from that country, the most formidable are to be apprehended from the side of Russia. Her places of trade are not on the coast, and

her plan of aggression is first to pull down our outer wall and then seize upon the very heart of our dwelling. Other nations have penetrated into the interior with commercial gain for their object; Russia alone has found her advantage in appropriating the frontier. She has the same designs as England and France, but the conditions of her case are different;' or perhaps it might better be rendered 'she uses the same means as England and France (i.e. superior force) in the pursuit of her object, but the object itself is different.' His appreciation of the English character and policy is not without interest. He says: 'The English assume a conciliatory manner, but are of a determined character, deep in their plans and far seeing in their calculations, and fearless of toil or difficulty in extending territory. Once India was their source of wealth; now even Japan is their supply ground. The English vessels are well built, and their artillery powerful, but their soldiers are more formidable on board ship than on shore, for which reason they engage the aid of the French land troops. They are ever jealous of the French, though outwardly on good terms.'

These are all very natural conclusions for the Chinese to draw from what they know of our past history and present efforts to extend our commerce. His estimate of the French is, upon the whole, less complimentary, and betrays the profound sense of wrong, and the rankling irritation created by the perpetual missionary feuds and imperious pretensions of the Legation and French authorities,—as well as the Roman Catholic missionaries who are domiciled in every province of the empire, to the great disturbance of the local power everywhere. He sums up his appreciation of them in the following bitter terms:

> The French are crafty and extravagant [illegible] They have very little [illegible] and [illegible] from [illegible] England in [illegible] military strength [illegible] these two powers [illegible] They are [illegible] men of [illegible] settlement with [illegible]

seek for opportunities of annexation. Once Africa was their source of wealth—now even Annam is their dependency. Their vessels are well built, and their artillery powerful, but not equal to the English. In military tactics, however, they are the most skilful of all the great Western Powers, their soldiers being more powerful on the land.

Tsing and his colleagues will most likely, in common with European statesmen, materially modify their opinion in this respect after the last six months' experience of German strategy and military power, but when this report was written, there is no doubt he only expressed the popular opinion of Europe. He goes on to say:

> They have very little [illegible] and [illegible] from [illegible] England in [illegible] military strength [illegible] these two powers [illegible] They are [illegible] men of [illegible] settlement with [illegible]

Having thus expressed his views of the principal Western Powers, and shown what was to be hoped or feared from each, he proceeds to consider the question of Russia, and takes it for granted, in reference to the important questions of the importation of arms, railways, telegraphs, mutual steam navigation, and the opening of coal and iron mines, that these have been already decided, and therefore he need only speak of the policy to be adopted with regard to the appointment of envoys to foreign courts, the granting Imperial audience to foreign representatives at Peking,—and the extension of missionary labours in the interior. In the opinion of the writer there is no necessity to make any hostility about despatching an envoy; it is a mere question of [illegible] In the

first place a knowledge of foreign affairs would be obtained which would be of great advantage in transacting business. In the second place, their treacherous schemes could be discovered and frustrated. And again, the envoy being on familiar terms with one of them might engage its alliance for China and separate it from other Powers.' Perhaps we are not entitled to consider this a purely Oriental mode of viewing the uses of diplomacy, and it would seem that something like 'secret service money,' not unknown to Western Governments, has had its counterpart in China from very old date. He tells us that 'In ancient times Kuan-Chung sent intelligent persons to make explorations in all directions, when plotting Kaou, of the Han dynasty, wishing to obtain the kingdom of Chu, gave Chen King 10,000 ounces of gold and made no enquiries as to how he spent it: these are cases in point.' He is clearly in favour of missions therefore to some of the leading Powers, 'the others,' he says, 'can wait until some future time.'

About the audience question Tung-ge evidently troubled his mind, and did not very clearly see his way. He says, 'The right of an Imperial audience, on the other hand, is one which cannot be granted, and yet one which it is next to impossible to refuse. To grant them an audience with barbarian ceremonies would be for the monarch to descend from the throne and greet the guests.' 'If this were granted, it might gain the good will of foreigners, but would be a great shock to the dignity of the Imperial throne.'

In this dilemma the commissioner has resolved to act as he thinks best, but he says it would be granted. It might be argued, 'When our envoys have proceeded to foreign countries they will be forced to perform the ceremonies of those countries, and reciprocally, the foreign ministers who come to China should follow the customs of that country.' But the consideration of this knotty question seems to rouse the anger of the writer to an unusual degree, in anticipation probably of the failure of his notable scheme for making foreign ministers kotow to the Emperor of China, for he concludes by something very like an execration of all the foreign race. He says: 'The small State of Kouchien served the kingdom of Wu and ultimately became its ruin. I would that the central and provincial authorities should "sleep on faggots and feed on gall," and never for a day forget their heaven-reaching hatred of foreigners.' Or perhaps he was merely warming in the anticipation of what has proved to be a *question brûlante* to them, and which yet remained to be discussed—the missionary question.

As for the question of allowing an extension of [illegible] we do not know whether pretexts to effect such extension [illegible] assume the ascendancy over the Chinese people, then the [illegible] can certainly not be allowed. Loyalty and uprightness [illegible] to rule over the subjects of the [illegible] great Western nations. The various Powers should be informed of this, that the malignant hypocrisy of the French may be [illegible] exposed. Let them also understand that China will govern her own people, and the permission they have obtained [illegible] to trade [illegible] and friendly relations.

This has something of the indignant ring of King John's answer to the Pope's Legate, when he was charged to tell his master—

> That he [illegible]
> [illegible] as we under Heaven are supreme head,
> [illegible] so under Him that great supremacy
> We will not give up, or will lose our life and

'If,' he proceeds, 'they still go on approaching [illegible], it can only be with the object of perverting the people of China, and reducing that country to a state of disorder.

Weak she may be,' he observes; 'but shall she quietly and meekly allow her people and underlings to see with shame her sovereign power and independence weakened and failing? The Law of Nations,' he then adds, 'should be adduced, and they should be indicted upon it in plain terms. In this way there would be no danger of causing a misunderstanding. These doctrines of Jesus,' he continues, 'and the Lord of Heaven, are preached in rude and vulgar language, and knaves trust to them for immunity from the laws, and fools hope to get a livelihood therefrom; but no one with a grain of sense allows himself to be deluded. It all arises from the inability of the local officials to compose and influence the popular mind, thus "driving the birds into the thicket, and the fish into the pool"' He goes on to propose various measures for arresting the evil, and among others, 'Explanatory Instructions,' where the Sacred Edict should be expounded, and thus 'the true influence would be propagated, while the perverse would decline.' The 'Man whose heart is most distressed' seems to have given [illegible] to India in the [illegible] last article [illegible] by a reprint of [illegible]

[illegible]

by counter demands to the memorials of the foreign communities, are all thoroughly Chinese.

The document is of exceeding length, and was followed by a second, or supplementary report, still longer. Of the latter we can only say that the writer gives a great deal of very good advice as to the correction of abuses in the civil and military administration. As the first step towards greater strength he advises improving the salaries of officials as the sole means of putting down bribery and corruption; creating arsenals, making arms, and building war ships and steamers, that they may be strong as a nation. And lastly, by dividing the Western Powers, creating dissensions, and profiting by the millions of Chinese colonising all the isles of the Eastern Archipelago he would seek to weaken the British and other Powers. He hopes in the end that China will recover her ancient supremacy, and there will [illegible]

...ive shame, and act in earnest. If the matter be put on a proper footing, I will ... assert ... shall be made, ... strength of ... creating ... as ... as the walls of a shallow

The Secret Report of Li-hung-Chang, Governor-General of the *Hu-kwang* province, and former Commander-in-Chief of the army in which Colonel Gordon served, is written, upon the whole, in a fair and manly spirit. It is not deficient in liberality, and is much more favourable to foreigners—their general character and aims—than the opinions usually attributed to him would have led us to expect. He regards the time for revision 'as a juncture beset with innumerable difficulties,' and goes on to say that henceforth it should be a primary object for China to make herself respected by foreigners, for otherwise they will be treated with contempt, and the armed power to call ... [illegible] ... He argues with great ... [illegible] ... and ... [illegible] ... at the ... [illegible] ... of ... [illegible] ... for ... [illegible] ... 'the ... [illegible] ... and ... [illegible] ... [illegible] ... [illegible]

native cultivation as to render it no longer profitable to the foreigner to import the Indian produce. That they have the power to do this there is very little room for doubt. Native opium now produced in large quantities—equal, probably, in amount to the Indian importation—is already sold at half the price in the open market. It is possible that the Indian ryot could work as cheaply as the Chinese coolie, and that the actual cost of production might be pretty nearly equalised, while the superior quality of the Indian drug, or its greater potency, might still give it a preference at a higher price. But this equalisation of cost could only be secured in India by foregoing all the profit, and taxation which now constitutes the 7,000,000*l.* of net revenue derived from it by our Indian administration. And even if the trade were maintained, after sacrificing all that makes its continuance an object of interest to the Indian Government, the Chinese have the power by treaty to surcharge the Indian produce with any amount of excise or inland duties they may see fit; so that it rests with them completely to turn the scales, and to any extent they please, in favour of the native growth. At least the only limit to their power of taxation—to the point beyond which the duty levied would afford so high a premium to smuggling that no preventive service can prove an efficient check.

The writer then proceeds to discuss the question of coal mines, and traces very clearly the need we feel for cheap and abundant supplies in the Chinese Seas. He no less succinctly states the objection of the official mind to the extensive working of mines. 'The opening of a mine,' he says, 'necessitates the assemblage of hundreds and thousands of people, and though they are easily collected, may be difficult to disperse. All crowds, rebels, and bad characters would harbour in their midst and be beyond the reach of the law. For this reason mining has been considered a breach of the laws prohibiting it, while the enactments of former Emperors, even the State, cannot lightly sanction mining operations. An assemblage of nations called together by the merchants of their own country would serve to collect refugees of a doubtful character; and to allow the foreigner to open mines at his good pleasure is the very way to bring about rebellion. Eventually they would not only collect bad characters, but, supposing them to harbour mischievous designs, they could make their mining operations a pretext for gatherings that is to say, they would have in occupation the vital points of the Empire with the mass of desperadoes under their absolute control.'

The writer proposes if nothing better may be done, 'if the worst comes to the worst'—that the Government should work some coal mines under an organised system, selling the coals to foreigners at the ports at one-half or one-third less than they now pay, the foreign merchants raising the two or three millions of taels necessary to set the working operations on foot.

To the Anglo-Chinese communities and their local press such objections are of course entirely futile, and they are satisfied at so vain pretexts—mere poor impediments, which a bold and vigorous policy on the part of Great Britain should at once and without hesitation sweep aside as unworthy of consideration. Our Government has evidently not taken this view of their sovereign or international rights, to the great displeasure of their subjects. No doubt coal mines can be worked by force, and worked by intimidation or other coercive means; but might a whole province, if it were the right thing, reasonable or politic

Space fails us, but we trust that in the papers already analysed and described, enough has been produced to awaken some interest in the people, and abundantly to prove that among their leading men, and some of those the highest placed, there are many capable of forming very rational views of their relations with Foreign States, and advising a reasonable, if not a very rapidly progressive, policy for the country.—if only they could make their counsels prevail, and were not overborne by numbers, and the weight of a strong national party too much disposed to identify love of their own country with hatred of the foreigner, we might have some hope. Unfortunately nothing tends more to the triumph of this party than clamour and violence on the part of those foreigners with whom officials are brought more immediately in contact, and imperious demands for sweeping changes and Western innovations. Whether these proceed from the small mercantile communities located in China, or their diplomatic agents, and whether commerce, progress, or civilization be the plea for such exigence, the result must be the same. None of these we are interested can be promoted by such a course. The further we penetrate into the social and home life of the people and the more extended to the Chinese as a nation, the deeper the conviction becomes that such objects are not to be attained by any action of foreign powers or any rapid international intercourse with the official administration of the country.

How far it may be possible to induce the Chinese to advance more rapidly than they have hitherto of their own motion to other points of progress, as that is of less interest to the American and English public, the best interests of both countries are more or less involved in it, and although rapid and sweeping changes are not generally the safest or the most permanent in their effects, we have seen in Japan an example from which many will draw favourable conclusions. It may in any case contribute to a knowledge of the conditions under which great innovations and reforms must be undertaken, if they are really to take place in this generation, to read these, so far unguarded opinions of leading statesmen in China that they were certainly not given with any thought of communication to foreigners. Nor can it be in other respects time lost to regard such questions as arise from our relations with China, for a brief space, from a purely Chinese point of view. If European statesmen and others who take interest in international affairs cannot put themselves in the place of those whose destinies they seek to influence or control, and to some extent understand their modes of appreciating foreign diplomacy and its objects, it is quite certain no progress will ever be secured by peaceable means. It has been truly said that a nation does not for a slight cause allow the deepest and oldest of its traditions to be set aside, and still less can it be expected to do so at the dictation of foreigners, who, as a rule, show little knowledge of the wants of the people, and less sympathy. If we would exercise any great or lasting influence over the Chinese mind, we must first begin by understanding it, and without some spirit of sympathy with the objects of our study, little progress can be made even in that. This alone can ensure the study of the character, tendencies, and aspirations of a people for that true knowledge, or the advice we may draw from it trustworthy as guides to a national policy. It is an English failing to persist in regarding everything from our own standpoint, resolutely refusing to put ourselves even

momentarily—in another's place, so as to look at any subject which concerns us from any other stand-point. But it is not thus that we can ever obtain either comprehensive views or wide influence. Truth is many-sided, and not to be grasped by men with one idea, or who maintain the habit of regarding the various objects presented to their view only from one side.

Whatever may be our conviction as to the undoubted advantage it would be to China if all modern appliances of railroads, telegraphs, and steam machinery were suddenly naturalised or transferred to their soil under foreign direction, we may well make some allowance for hesitation—or even downright opposition—on the part of Chinese officials when, casting their eyes across the wide space which separates them from Europe in the map of the world, they get a vision of what is now going on in the most advanced and civilised States of Europe. Some thought may not unnaturally arise in their minds how little all this boasted Civilisation and Christianity which France and other Powers have been so eager to press upon them have done for the humanising of mankind. The sanguinary war, scarce yet concluded, between Germany and France, provoked in the first instance by a mere contention for supremacy and the irrepressible tendency of France to dominate and intervene in the affairs of other countries (of which China has had some painful experience), must have sorely shaken the faith of the best disposed Chinese in the humanising or peace-inspiring influences of either of these two great agencies of progress. And if they look a little farther, and see what is now passing in and around Paris—how Frenchmen are butchering each other in deadly conflict about forms of government and theories of social and national life—shall we utterly condemn them if they inwardly thank the 'spirits of their ancestors' that they have hitherto been preserved from Western progress, and think they may still dispense with any more advanced theories of life, social, religious, or political, than those which they derived from [illegible] who lived [illegible] years before the Christian era?

THE ORIGINAL MERRY ANDREW[1]

THE great grandfather of all Murrays is surely the author of the *Introduction of Knowledge*, 'the whych dothe teache a man to speake all maner of languages, and to know the usage and fashion of all maner of countreys. And for to know the moste parte of all maner of coynes of money the whych is currant in every region. Made by Andrew Borde, of Physycke Doctor.' Here in thirty-nine chapters are the Doctor's notes on 'Barbary and the blacke Mores and their speche;' on 'Jeene (Genoa) and the Jeneoys,' 'of the kingdom of Poll, and of the dispasicion of the people;' 'of Gulik and Lewke' (Juliers and Liege), and base and high Almayne, and so forth. The said notes were from personal observation, for Borde had travelled through and round about all the countries of Christendom, and were published at Montpellier in 1542.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

a cure, and was 'allowed to wait on' the King. He was, too, not at all the man to make a good Carthusian. He, the original 'Merry Andrew,' must have been horrified by their silence, their solitariness, their no-meat, no fun, all stay at home life. It made him ill; and his distaste for it doubtless strengthened his inclination for travel.

When he got free from the Charterhouse, Cromwell took him up, had him to stay with him at Bishop's Waltham, and got him appointed to an office which Tudor statecraft taught necessary—of observing, viz. and reporting on the state of feeling abroad about Henry VIII.'s doings. He travelled far, starting suddenly from Orleans to Catalonia, in order to show nine Scotch and English pilgrims the way to St. James's shrine at Compostella. He warned the poor fellows that it was a very hard journey, saying he would rather go six times from England to Rome than once from Orleans to Catalonia. However they went; and, Spain being then as now a country where the traveller's constant difficulty is how to avoid being starved, they all suffered a good deal: and in coming back 'thorow Spayn, for all the crafte of Physycke that I coulde do, they dyed, all by eatynge of frutes and drynkynge of water, the whych I did ever refrayne myself.' How he rejoiced when he got into Aquitaine, the land of plenty, where 'a peny worth of whyte bread may serue an honest man a hole weke.' He 'dyd kis the ground for ioy,' he says, 'bordeaus and byon (Bordeaux and Bayonne) being so much better than the barayn countrey of Byskay for Aquitayn hath no fallow for good wyne and bred. Whan I was ther I had in bakyn for a peny, and a bake mete for a dyne, and a pynt of wyne any thyng, except he be a ryotter.'

But, well as he delighted Spain, we find him again in Catalonia at the time when Charles V. is embarking for his expedition against the pirate Barbarossa. Having found that 'the vnyuersytes off orlyance, pyctauensis (Poitiers), Tolosa, mountpyller, and the reuerend father off the hed charterhouse, a famose clark, and partt (presidente off the vnyuersyte off parys dothe hold with our soveryne lord the kyng in his actes,' he was glad to be able to add to this the more important news that 'the emprow (Emperor), with all other kynges in the courtes of whom I haue byn be our redoubtyd kynges frendes and louers.' Curiously mixed up with this account how 'the emprowe tok shoppyng in to barbary' is a notice that 'I have sentt to your mestershepp the seedes off *reuberbe*, the which come owtt of barbary, in thes partes ytt ys had for a grett treasure.' Then follow directions for sowing, which Cromwell could not have attended to, for it was not till 1542 that Collinson first raised 'true Rhubarb from seed sent me out of Tartary by Professor Segisbeck of Petersburgh.' The letter, important enough to be endorsed 'Andrewe bord, preest how king h. 8 is well esteemed in ffraunce and other natyons,' is followed by one to the prior of the London Charterhouse, explaining how he has been dispensed from religion at the Grand Chartreuse his fear lest he might be claimed as a runaway monk urging to take this precaution. He then comes home and goes to practise and study medicine in Southwark: probably that he may perhaps [illegible] for we can scarcely suppose that he thought had as yet attained any eminence as a scholar of medicine. He got two, as was to be expected. 'It is natural,' he says, 'for a man of a choleryk dysposicion to be a surgyon: that not to be for an vnpacyent man. And I, tayng there, and

dwellyng among them, was hated; but my sciences and other polices did kepe in favour that I did know theyr secretes.' Boorde repays their hatred with dislike—a dislike which he extends beyond Scotland: 'Wold to Iesu (he writes to Cromwell) that you hade neuer an alyon in your realme, specyally skottes, for I neuer knew alyon goode to yngelonde excepte thei knew profytt and lucre shold com to them.' It is likely, however, that he is, in writing thus, rather falling in with Cromwell's views than giving his own; for the man who liked Aquitaine so much, and who enjoyed life so thoroughly, in such dissimilar places as Holland and Montpelier, can hardly have been so narrow and insular as he there makes himself out. But the Scotch he certainly was not fond of: 'Shortly to conclude (he says), trust yow no Skott, for they wyll yowse flatteryng wordes and all ye falsehode.' That the English in those days were not very popular abroad we may gather from the Doctor's experience that 'in all the partes off crystendom that I have trauyled in, I know nott whych is moste abhominable, except only swetzers for lernyng.' Nevertheless an exception is always made in favour of the place where bread and wine are so cheap as Lubin—'but Aftyr I had ben fayth with nearly all Europe, from Calys to Calays and ageyn,' Boorde says, 'I can not gyue to greate a prayse to Aquitany and Langwadok, to Tolows and Mountpyllyer . . . in Tolows regneth trew justyce and equite off all the places that euer I dyd com in.'

In Scotland he condescended to hide his name and nationality: 'I reserue the to a Cromwell, to the skotysh kynges howse, and to many lordes and ladyes, and truly I know more myrthes, for then takyth me for a skotysh manes sone, for I name my self Karre, and so the Karres ankyth me cosyn, therow the which I am in the more fauer.'

After some stay in Yorkshire he is in London (1537) worrying Cromwell about two horses stolen, he knows very well by whom, as he was travelling southward. Then he goes abroad again. It is such a pity that his 'Itinerary' is lost, except the English part of it (printed by Hearne); but Mr. Halliwell is sure, from internal evidence, that he really visited all the countries mentioned in his *First Book of the Introduction of Knowledge*. He visited his old friends at Montpelier on this fourth journey, and there got drunk, as his opponent Barnes, in his *Defence of Bearde* against Boorde's attack upon them, takes care to tell us: 'Your frend Marttyn the surgyen brought you to dyner upon a daye to one Hans Smormowthes howse, a Dache man, in which howse you were cupshote, or therwyse called drockyn, at whiche tyme your berde was beraye.' And Barnes goes on, with the most personality of the time, to explain why 'ye shore berde.' Men in those days lived in glass houses, and yet were not at all afraid of throwing stones, aye and dirt too of the most offensive kind.

Boorde was a staunch Romanist, though he had struggled against the 'rygorosyte' of the Carthusian rules, he is therefore the object of attack of men like foul-mouthed Bishop Bale, one of those creatures whom an evil fate mixed up with the beginnings of the Irish Protestant Church, and who eliminates Boorde at Winchester, where he settled on property left him in that city by his brother, in a way that makes old Anthony a Wood protest. Ponet, Bishop of Winchester, in his *Short Treatise of Politike Power and of True Obedience* (1556), makes the same charge. Of the truth or falsehood of the charge Mr. Halliwell expects some proof when the Winchester records come to be published. Anyhow, it seem certain that Boorde at Winchester

came to grief. Whether the women spoken of were really what Ponet and Bale call them, or were, as Wood says, 'only patients that occasionally recurred to his house,' it is certain that our Doctor, who had displayed his sanctity by drinking only water (a great piece of self-denial for him) three days a week, and wearing a hair shirt, and every night hanging his shroud at his bed's foot, died in the Fleet Prison in 1548–9. It is very probable that his being there was a case of religious persecution; for he was very bitter against monks and priests who had broken their vows by marriage, so that a strong party must have been eager to punish him. Here is Bale's account of his end (*Scriptorum Illustrium Catal.* etc.) 'quum sanctus hic pater, Vuintoniæ in sua domo, pro suis concubinibus Papæ sacrificulis prostibulum nutriret, in eo charitatis officio deprehensus, venenato pharmaco sibipsi mortem accelerauit, ne in publicum spectandus veniret.'

So much for Boorde's life. Of his books all are worth reading, his *Breuiary of Health*, no less than his 'Itinerary.' He is the first father of all 'domestic medicine' books, just as we said he is of all Murray's Handbooks. 'I do nat wryte,' he says, 'for lerned men, but for symple and unlerned men.'

His *Introduction of Knowledge* is lost: he says, 'the whyche boke at Byshop-Westam, one Thomas Cromwell had it of me.' And by-and-by he had many matters of state to dyspache for all England my boke was lost.' So the book of Sermons, recently regretted by Mr. Hazlewell, who says we should have had in it a perfect picture of his times. Remarkable though he was, he testified that, 'in Rome I dyd never se no vertue nor goodnes but in Byshop Ad[illegible] a Syria,' who was soon jailed for his attempts at reformation.

Besides what are known to be his, a good many have been fathered upon him, chiefly jest books, in which he is entitled 'Merry Andrew,'—as he was always recommending people to 'laugh and grow fat.' Among things attributed to him is a Latin poem on the Friars, beginning—

> Sic vagabundus,
> Late per mundum,
> Tara tantara tara.
> Et nusquam latens,
> Cantando lætus,
> Tara tantara tara.

And so on.

Of the 'Introduction of Knowledge,' Dibdin says, 'it is the most curious and generally interesting volume ever put forth from the press of the Coplands.'

Of course he begins with the Englishman, who is in the rude woodcut represented naked, holding a huge pair of shears, and having over his right arm a piece of cloth. This is a hit at the national love of new fashions:

I am an Englysshman and walk . I was...
Mayster a my[illegible] what[illegible] I do
were.
For wel I wyl were this and wel I
were that
And wel wyl were [illegible]
English freedom is [illegible]
[illegible]
And Englysh swearyng [illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[

with the German lasses, for instance, whose 'Ach du lieber Gott' 'drawn out so sweetly from a rosebud mouth, is much more startling than the 'Mon Dieu" of a Frenchwoman. The Italian verdict on England, Boorde tells us, was 'bona terra, mala gente.' This he combats: the English are as good as any people; 'yea, much more better in many thynges, especially in maners and manhode.' The superior fertility of England (so well brought out in Laing's *Notes of a Traveller*) struck the Doctor, he also thinks London the finest city in the world, 'wherein is suche a brydge of pulchritudines that in all the worlde there is none lyke.' Stonehenge he notices, and Bath, where 'in wynter the poore people doth go into the water to kepe them warme, and to get them a heate.' England too has 'more nobler partes and haunes than any other regyon.' But the strangest thing is that he puts Cornwall by itself in an 'appendex,' in order to give samples of that still Celtic speech which Mr. Max Müller has found in Dorsetshire. Of Ireland, and how to live there, he has much to say, and of the Irish language, which he says is 'moche used in the North parte of Irelande.' Like [illegible] the Doctor evidently [illegible] though he was [illegible] [illegible] having been [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

Friese, hobby-hawks (such as Strafford in later days sent over to his friends), 'aqua-vite,' dice, are Irish exports. There are no magpies (now they are almost as plentiful as in France) nor snakes, &c.; and English merchants carry away Irish earth 'to caste in their gardens, to kepe out and to kyll venimous wormes.' The Irish are slothful, not caring for riches but for meat and drink; 'flesh sufficient they haue, but little bread or wine, and none ale.' It is their 'melancoly complexion' (Mr. Disraeli says it is the nearness of the melancholy sea) which causes them to be testy without a cause. Nevertheless Boorde adds: 'I did neuer find more amyte and loue than I haue found of Iryshe men the whyche was borne within the English pale; yea, even among the wylde Iryshe there be vertuous creatures whom grace worketh aboue nature.' So Stanihurst (1577): 'These Irishe liuyng vertuously bred up or reformed are such myrrors of holynes and austeritie, that other nations retaine but a shadow of deuotion in comparison of them.'

Scotland is on the whole fairly treated, considering.

I am a Scotysshe man and [illegible]
Fresse
[illegible]
[illegible]

Ireland was not yet a field for enterprising young Britons, but as soon as our factories at Veere began to be worth going to, 'the Scotch party' grew, and grew till men from this side of the border were almost looked on as interlopers. And not in India, but (much to their credit) in all of every part of the known world, Scotch merchants and Scotch in every capacity have gone abroad, just as Boorde describes them doing in his time, as James's English courtiers and subjects cried out against them for doing some seventy years later. Is this 'pushing' a proof of their being pure-blood Teutons? It certainly is not Celtic: the French have it not, nor the Welsh and Irish; but the Prussians, so their London and Liverpool fellow-clerks say, possess it in a most unpleasant degree. This would settle the question about Lowlanders, but how is it that the Highlanders have on the whole, done as well—in some walks of life better—than their Lowland rivals? Anyhow, though the Scots are in this as Boorde knew them, let us remove that no longer are his next verses true in any sense.

I am a Scotysshe man and [illegible]
[illegible]
And in my [illegible]
[illegible]
An Englysshe man I [illegible]
[illegible]

Boorde notices the great poverty and wretchedness of the Highland; he remarks on the [illegible] of the Scots, and [illegible] the Northern Scotch are of the same race with the Irish.

Why he treats of Scotland as France and Ireland together, except, as he says, ab initio, I cannot tell. The French he praises as being good, and [illegible] Ireland he is angry at fact the men, who certainly were [illegible] turned out to the European [illegible] in intelligence, be of [illegible] 'brutysh creatures, vnmannered and vntaught, lyuyng in cauys and [illegible] like swyne. They wyll [illegible] and [illegible]. They be like the [illegible] of the newe founde land [illegible] Cayen [illegible]' But in Ireland there are no wild beasts at all.

Boorde accurately corrects one [illegible] in his desire to give as [illegible] examples of Irish life, for, says he,

'I can not make it, but here and there a worde or two.' Poor old man! he could fairly assert:

All [illegible] I do wryte truly.

Nor does he claim a high rank for his poetry:

I [illegible] as I am lest not as I was,
A [illegible]
I [illegible] why he so wyse man wyll [illegible]

'Drunk as a rat' is the proverb of the 'Netherunder Flemynge;' but the Dutch are worse, drinking till it runs out of them. Brabant is rich and pleasant, and 'Han Iwarp' has a curious spire and a 'Bourse' for the merchants. Cleves and Guelders are poor, because so fond of war. In Juliers the geese are plucked naked every year. So much for the 'base Dochemen.' In 'bogge Dochland' we are astonished to find the 'Junker' already known by name, wearing a feather in his cap.

[illegible]

The High Dutch custom which disgusted Boorde has made its way everywhere, probably along with the fashion they will taste maggotts and fleas as well as cheese. They have a way to make them in cheese. 'The next way Alpes impressed our nation,' 'a man may see them [illegible] myself, at a cyte called [illegible].'

[illegible] not on the Rhine as in a very poor country, so poor that 'they have never a new thyng but they dyed it in the [illegible].' So again [illegible] the country has scarcely [illegible] conquered England, 'for I [illegible] all the world were set against England it might never be conquered, they having [illegible] with them.' Next Boorde speaks of those other heretics the Bohemians whose speech, he says

[illegible]

For the Pope's curse I do lytle care.
Ever sens Wyclif did dwel wyth me
I dyd never set by the Pope's auctorite.

Bohemia is the land of wonderful beasts—'bughs and bovies,' much like those which Cæsar describes as inhabiting the great Hyrcanian forest. What Boorde says of them may be all true; but he is certainly wrong when he says of the Bohemians, 'their speche is Dech.' Not even the Thirty Years' War and the Germanising of their nobles ever for a moment drove the Czech speech from its position as the language of the country. And now when the German traveller crosses the old frontier, he feels much as an Englishman does in a third class carriage on a South Wales railway—among aliens.

Mr. Freeman is quite right: we are Teutons; the 'at home' like feeling which most of us have all the way from the Rhine to the Oder proves it to my mind. Even if we don't understand the speech, we feel as if we ought to. Nay, far west of the Rhine, about Ostend, where the Fleming asserts himself so stoutly against his 'Welsh' neighbours, how home-like is the look of the people, and how you 'stand corrected' if at some little inn you have asked for 'viande' and the hostess with a grave shake of the head drawls out 'Nit fleisch.' You never feel at home in Bohemia; the hedgehog is still as 'indifferent' as it was in Boorde's day; but it is something about the people which suggests Germanism.

In Polish Lithuania the author was chiefly struck with its poverty; he makes here too a mistake about language—'theyr speche is corrupt Dochc.' Boorde would have had an effort made to drive the Turks out of Hungary. His Hungarian says:

If we [illegible] we might have any [illegible]
We [illegible] the Turk to fle like a dog or a wyld [illegible]

He grows quite poetical about the 'regall flod of Danuby;' but he does not appear to have passed beyond it; for about Constantinople he romances, talking of Saint Sophia as not a mosque, but 'the fairist cathedral churche in the worlde. . . they say that there is a thowsande prestes that doth belong to the church: before the funt is a pycture of copper and gylt of Justinian, that sytteth upon a horse of copper.' All which smacks rather of Mandeville than of personal observation. The kindliness of the man comes out in his way of noticing the Great Schism: 'The Grecions do erre in many articles concerning our fayth, the whyche I do thinke better to obmyt, and to leue vnwryten than to wryte it.' Bravo Boorde! How well you contrast with some of our moderns. I took up *A Diocese Tour in Brittany* not long ago, and was vexed to find all that was new in it made up of tirades against 'Popish darkness and superstition.'

We are wrong. Boorde must have been in Greece, for he gives an unusually long Greek and English dialogue, ending with the pious [illegible] with which the modern host dismisses his guests.

Harking back from Greece towards Calais, Boorde takes Southern Europe, beginning with Sicily and Italy; the thing which chiefly struck him in every part of which was the prevalence of old fashions in dress and behaviour.

[illegible]

says the Neapolitan,

[illegible]

says the Roman, and so on.

Boorde's [illegible] interested, [illegible] at the [illegible] 'I [illegible] to [illegible] It [illegible] by the way of [illegible] vnto xxiii a cloke, and than it is mydnyght.'

What he says of Venice reads like Childe Harold's lines put into old prose: 'Whosoeuer that hath not seene the noble cite of Venice he hath not sene the bewtye and ryches of thys worlde.' The Doge may not leave the city so long as he doth live; there is not a pype person to be seen in Venice; 'the Venycions hath great prouision of warre, for they haue euer in a redynes tymber to make a hondred gates or more.' They are not superstitious 'When they do heare masse they doth clap theyr hand on their mouth, and do not knock themselues on the brest.' In fact the Venetians were a satisfactory people. The laxness which Byron found among them, and which made the city in his eyes an Italian Seville, belonged in Boorde's day to Genoa. Thomas, in his *History* (1561) says: 'One thyng I am sure of, that if Ouide were now aliue, there be in Genoa that can teache him a dosen pointes [illegible]' Boorde as a doctor of course noticed Genoa treacle, whose virtues are witnessed to in Chaucer's line,

'One that of all men made of treacle.'

Of it he says: 'When they do make theyr triacle, a man may take a cute payson, and than he wyll surely be hote and to dye, and as soone as he hath tasted triacle he is hole ageine.'

After the [illegible] it is a change to come to France, where they 'weare dyuerse and many fashyons.' Boorde notices and [illegible] and [illegible] 'good Artillery,' and [illegible] that 'Frenche men [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

dereyd for his mony, and shal haue good chere and good lodging.' Very different this from Aragon, where nothing is to be had but measly beacon and sardines—so bad that, when Englishmen have been there,

Rather neuer after they will come agene.

The rest of Spain is as bad, except by the sea-side, where, like Portugal, it is enriched by trade. Elsewhere 'the countrey is baryn of wine and corne, and skarse of vitels; a man shal not get mete in many places for no mony; other whyle you shal get kyd, and meacll bakyn, and salt sardyns, which is a lytle fysh as byg as a pylcherd, and they be rosty. al your wyne shal be kepte and caryed in gote skyns. . . . whan you go to dyner and to supper you must fetch your bread in one place, and your wyne in a nother place, and your meate in a nother place; and hoggers in many places shal be vnder your feete at the table, and lice in your bed . . . the best fare is in prentes houses, for they do kepe typplynge houses.'

When he comes to Navarre Boorde tells at full length the story of the white cock and hen which were kept at St Iherge in memory of the sad fate of the Joseph-like young pilgrim who was on his way to Compostella. At which Compostella, by the way, an old blear eyed doctor of divinity tells Boorde that 'our lady doth vnder make and shorte the people to do Idolatry, making the smart people to worship the image that is not here;' all the lives of St James and others having been pitifully 'corrupte by Cardynal Mayrone in St Seuerus in Ierusalem.' I am sorry to say that Brettany and the Bretons' have not a good character in Boorde

[illegible]

[illegible] what the Breton says, but [illegible] Boorde [illegible]

presented as regards his dislikes as well as his language.

So having got back to Calais again, Boorde goes on to treat of Moors, and of Turks, whose 'Macomyt, a false felow,' deceived the people by teaching tricks to his dove and his camel; much as many Irish believe Henry VIII. taught a donkey to 'discover' the Book of Common Prayer, which the apostate King had secretly buried. With which notice of 'Macomyt' let us leave the travel-book and turn to 'Dyetary,' written in Montpelier, and dedicated to Thomas Duke of Norfolk. And here the striking feature is Boorde's compendiousness: he treats of everything, from where you are to 'cytuat' your house, and how you should build it, 'for to lengthen your lyfe,' down to 'how a sycke man shuld be vsed that is lykly to dye.'

On house-building he is not only before his age, but far in advance of our own practice, he has a true notion of sanitary laws: 'The ayre cannot be to clere and pure . . . for we lyue by it as the fyssbe lyueth by the water . . . for yf the ayre be fryske, pure, and clere, it doth conserue the lyfe of man, it doth comfort the brayne.' Bad air putrifies the brain; and among things which corrupt the air are 'standing waters, stynkyng myres and marshes, caryn lyinge longe aboue the grounde, muche people in a smal rome lying vncleuly and beynge fylthe and slattysbe.' Above all, buttery, cellar, larder, and kitchen are to be kept clean and free from accumulations of filth, if there is a moat, it must be often scoured and kept free from mud, as must the fish-ponds. Stables, bee-house, and bake-house are to be kept well away from the dwelling-house. Such a house must have plenty of land about it, 'for be the wyfe neuer wyll dwell at pleasure, and for pure ayre and helth of the body, be must dwell at [illegible]. The

prospect too must be good; 'for, and the eye be not satysfyed, the mynde can not be contented. And the mynde not contented, the herte cannot be pleased; yf the herte and mynde be not pleased, nature doth abhorre. And yf nature do abhorre, mortyfycacion of the vytall and anymall and spyrytuall powers do consequently folowe.' Of aspects the south is the worst, 'for the south winde doth corrupt and make euyl vapours:' the best is the east, 'for that wynde is temperate, fryske, and fraugrant'—testimony, as Mr. Halliwell writes, to the same effect as that of Mr. Kingsley in his well-known Ode. Never set up house till you have three years' 'rent' (i.e. money for all outgoings) in cellar. Divide your income into three parts one for food; another for dress, wages, liveries, alms; the third for urgent calls, such as sickness and the 'charges of a man's last ende.'

Keep your household well in hand, and put down swearing; 'for in all the worlde ther is not suche odyble swearyng as is vsed in Englonde, specyally amonge youth and children, and no man doth go about to punnysshe it.'

Sleep according to your temperament, but not too long, have a fire in your room to consume evil vapours, 'for the breath of man may putryfye the ayre within the chambre.' Wear a scarlet nightcap and plenty of bedclothes. And, if you must sleep in the day-time, sleep leaning against a cupboard or sitting upright in a chair.

Eat and drink moderately, 'for else the lyuer, which is the fyre vnder the potte, is subpressed that he can not naturally nor truely decocte ne dygest.' Food as Boorde was of good beer, he did not like even to see meat 'the malt-worme playe the deuyll in theyr heade.' He also cries out against our English plan of eating the 'grose meate' first, leaving those which are wholesome and light of digestion for servants. 'Water,' he confesses, 'is not holsome, sole by it selfe, for an Englysshe man;' above all, avoid well-water and standing water. Claret or 'Raynysshe' is best with meat. Of 'hote wynes' he gives a long list; but would have none of them taken but very sparingly and after dinner. The distinction between ale and beer will be new to some readers: ale is only malt and water, 'and they which do put any other thynge to ale except yest, barme, or godes good doth sofysticat theyr ale.' It is the Englishman's natural drink, as beer (of malt, water, and hops) is the Dutchman's. 'Iere nowe of late dayes is muche vsed in Englande to the detrymente of many Englysshe men, whom it kylleth.' Boorde insists strongly, as all men of sense do, on the importance of good bread; 'sophysticating' bakers he would set standing up to their chin in the Thames. He is also great on pottage, which he says 'is not so much vsed in al crystendom as it is vsed in Englande.' Fish, too, sea and river both, we have more of than any other country.

Our Doctor's verdict is (contrary to that of modern physicists) that 'fysshe doth lytle nourysshe,' and also that fish and flesh should not be eaten together at one meal. He then gives a curious classification of birds according to their digestibility, giving the chief place to the partridge, 'whiche is a restorative meate, and doth comforte the brayne and the stomache.' A woodcock, on the contrary, is 'a meate of good temperature.' But of wild fowl in general he makes a remark which is of much wider application. 'All these be wyld, except they be well ordered and dressyd,' as he says elsewhere, 'the cooke is more than half a phyesycian.'

Mixed with the dicta are all

sorts of queer jottings from his experiences abroad. Thus he had seen in 'High Almain' what anyone who travels there or in Hungary may see now-a-days, 'swyne kept clene.' The Germans, he says, make them swim once or twice a day in their great rivers. The English let theirs lie about in filth and feed on 'stercorous matter;' and the Spaniards he found worse in this respect than the English.

I am happy to find that brawn and all such strange meats Boorde pronounces bad. Of two of them he says: 'Yf a man eate nether of them both, it shall neuer do hym harme.'

Hares he would have hunted. 'It maketh a gentylman good pastyme,' but he would leave it to the dogs to eat. 'Conys flesshe (on the contrary) is good, but rabettes flesshe is best of all wylde beestes, for all thynges the whiche dothe sucke is nutrytyue.' Here Boorde helps us to distinguish synonyms—a rabbit in his day was a sucking coney. Hares, soon, as we saw, he marks off from the rest with which it is so often confounded.

Further on he treats of vegetables, and proves that either the story of Queen Elizabeth sending to Holland for a salad is apocryphal, or else gardening must have died out in the troublous days of the reign of Edward VI; for here we have radish, lettuce, endive, borage, market, alexanders, and other plants which our modern English cuisine supervises very negligently.

Boorde next arranges a diet for 'the sanguine, melancholy, phlegmatyke, and cholerycke man,' and also for patients suffering from mental diseases, recommending fresh air, exercise, care against infection, and a reference to 'my Breuyary,' as if he was a more than ordinary physician. Better advice than it would not be given. 'No one can be a better physician for you than your own self can be, if you will consider what does you good and refrain from what harms you. . . . . Let euery one beware of sorrow, care, thought, and inward anger. Sleep well and go to bed with a mery heart. . . Wherefore let euery man be mery, and yf he can not, let hym resorte to mery company to breke of his perplexatyues.' Further, wash your hands often, and comb your head, and keep chest and stomach warm and head cool; and if you are seriously ill, make your will, and have two or three good nurses, 'not sleepysshe, sloudgysshe, sluttysshe,' and have sweet flowers kept in your room, and no babbling women about.

Of human nature Boorde was at least as good a judge as he was of the diagnosis of diseases. His estimate of the female character, for instance, is that of the Arthurian Romance. 'Women desire souereignty.' The man, he says, who would be at peace must 'please his wyfe, *and let her rule*, but let her haue her owne wyl, for that she wyll haue, who so euer say nay.' As a prison reformer he was centuries before his day. But after speaking, as Howard might, about the filth and bad air in prisons, he quietly adds: 'The chefe remedy is for man to sobryne and so to do that he deserue not to be brought into no prison.' Before his time, too, are his views on democratical government. Monarchies and aristocracies, he says, are of 'a vaporous humour or fume . . . that ryse out and frome the stomake to the brayne.'

Parents get bad then as they do now at the littleness of the rising generation. 'The fourth burden,' Boorde calls it, and recommends as the remedy . . . . Care, too, must be taken that they 'put no babberworte into their potage.'

In fact, there is a world of quaintness and good sense in Boorde, and

Mr. Furnivall has only tantalised us by giving us extracts from books which make us anxious for more. How such a man could be taken as the type of what we mean by Merry Andrew it is hard to say: he is always recommending mirth, and he owns to his love of good cheer; but it is not at all merry-andrewish to sum up advice in this honest, earnest way: 'Fyrste lyue out of syn, and folowe Christes doctrine, and then vse honest myrth and honest company, and vse to eate good meate and to drynk moderatly.'

Enough about Boorde: this is one of the most interesting books to people in general that the Early English Text Society has yet given us.

THE AGRICULTURAL LABOURER OF SCOTLAND[1]

IN a previous number of this Magazine we called attention to the Report of the Commissioners on the Employment of Women and Children engaged in Agriculture in England. We have now before us the Report of the same Commissioners relating to Scotland; and as the result of their enquiries has a most important bearing on the question of elementary education in that country, we gladly avail ourselves of this opportunity, when the House of Commons is engaged in remodelling the existing system, of referring to the information they have collected, and of considering the recommendations they offer. The subject has certainly been treated by them in a most extensive and exhaustive manner. They divided the whole country into five districts, which were assigned to as many Assistant-Commissioners, who not only visited each county in their respective districts, but every parish of each county that presented any feature of especial interest, or of marked peculiarity. Circulars of enquiry, with forms to be filled up, were sent to all persons in each district who were deemed best qualified to give information, and these circulars were generally dealt with in a most elaborate and intelligent manner. Everywhere the Assistant-Commissioners personally examined the farms and cottages, and in fact spared no pains to make themselves thoroughly acquainted with the condition of the people, so that their view of the whole question, what were the advantages they must prized, the evils or hardships they most complained of, and the measures of improvement they most desired. One Assistant-Commissioner print the evidence of more than three hundred witnesses, landowners, farmers, labourers, clergymen, schoolmasters, and others. We have thus laid before us such a mass of information, such a variety of opinions and suggestions, relating to every subject that concerns the actual condition of the Scottish peasantry, that if we fail to come to a right conclusion as to the measures most calculated to promote their welfare, it will not arise from want of materials for forming a judgment.

The system of housing agricultural labourers in Scotland differs materially from that of England, the village system of the latter is almost unknown in the former, with few exceptions, all the agricultural labourers in Scotland are housed on the farm. Formerly the unmarried persons of each sex used to get their food in the farm kitchen, and sleep on the premises; this is known as the 'kitchen system,' but as farms have increased in size, this habit has very much fallen into disuse. It has always been the custom for the married labourers to live in cottages adjoining the farm-yard, which are built by the farmer direct from the landlord, as a part of the farm. These labourers, usually termed 'hinds,' are engaged for the year, and are paid chiefly in kind, one of the cottages attached to the farm, with a garden and the keep of a cow, forming part of the remuneration. There is some difference of opinion as to the advantage, to the labourer, of this system, but Mr Culley, who saw it in operation, where it prevails to the greatest extent, in the south-eastern counties

[1] Fourth Report of the Commissioners on the Employment of Children, Young Persons and Women in Agriculture. Presented to both Houses of Parliament by command of Her Majesty. 1870.

of Scotland, has no hesitation in preferring it to the system of weekly wages. The most important benefit it yields to the labourer is the certainty of constant payment for the whole year, in health and in sickness; this insures an unfailing supply of good, wholesome food, including abundance of meal and milk for the children; there is also to be considered the freedom from anxiety which a man must feel, who has nothing to apprehend from 'want of work' for the whole year, when once his engagement is made; and the absence of temptation to spend his earnings, on a Saturday night, in the public house. The hirings, we must observe, are made at one period of the year, over the whole country; and thus when the hind wishes to leave one place, he usually finds little difficulty in getting a fresh engagement, at least if he be a good workman, and of good character.

Mr. Henley, who had carefully observed the working of this system in North Northumberland, said in his Report upon that county, 'From my own observation in many cottages, and much conversation with the wives of labourers, I am convinced that those who are paid in kind are best off.' Mr. Culley quotes this statement with approbation, and adds, 'Such certainly has been my experience in Scotland: the most comfortable homes, the most contented labourers, are to be found in that part of my district in which the kind payment is most developed, no small part of these advantages I would assign to the cow.' This is fully borne out by the evidence of the labourers themselves: some of them declared that but for the cow, they could never give their children the education they should have. A hind's wife in Selkirk parish said in her broad Scotch, 'We a' like cows here, and the master's rule gude to the kye: when a master's gude to the kye, he's gude to his servants. . . . Some farmers gives 7*l*., and some as high as 9*l*., instead of the cow; but it is no a gude job for a family to want the cow; they're just the mainstay o' us poor folk; and it's easy to see the difference when the children get their milk, they look kind of robust-like, beside them that doesn't.'

An objection has been made to this system of yearly hiring and payment in kind, that the labourer and his family are compelled to occupy the house that is given to them, however miserable a tenement it may be, and however distant from any school; but it is a sufficient answer to this objection that cottages are on the whole in the best condition, and education best attended to, in that very district where this system most prevails.

Equally beneficial is the effect of the Scotch system on the economy of the farm: it tends to a very much better management of horse labour, and to greater care being taken of all the animals on the farm. Each ploughman has two horses specially assigned to him, which he works in the day, and takes charge of himself after the day's field work is done, this could not be unless the men lived close at hand: hence they usually take great pride in the good condition and working power of their horses. 'In case of any kind of emergency,' says Mr. Culley, 'the farmer has always at hand a little regiment of men and women all interested in the success of his operations, the general result is an amount of discipline which you may look for in vain upon an English farm.'

The rate of wages is very equal through the whole of the district of which we are now particularly speaking, which extends on the east side of the island, from the Tweed and the Cheviots to the foot of the Grampians. It only varies

from 15*s.* 8*d.* in the border counties to 14*s.* 6*d.* in the Carse of Gowrie, in Perthshire. This is considerably lower than the rate of wages in English agricultural counties. The present Bishop of Manchester, in his Report to the Commissioners, estimated the wages in Sussex at 13*s.* 6*d.*, or 13*s.* a week, in Norfolk 12*s.*, in Dorset 11*s.*, on the Cotswolds in Gloucestershire 10*s.* (in Dorsetshire and some other counties we know they are still lower), while the Bishop makes the remark 'It must be remembered that these contemplate only the case of the first class labourer, who can turn his hand to any kind of farm work, and enjoy constant employment throughout the year.' The difference, therefore, in the money value of the remuneration of the northern and southern labourer is far from showing the real difference; not only is there constant payment to be set against loss of payment through scarcity and want of work, but there is the difference between the estimated value of the cottage, garden, and the cow's keep, and their real worth to the labourer. The cottage and garden are put down as only equivalent to 1*l.*, much less than what a labourer in these districts usually pays for a cottage and garden; the cow's keep is estimated at from 4*l.* to 6*l.*, possibly more than it costs the farmer, but certainly little more than equivalent to the family of the labourer, one of whom, Mr Hallett says, 'will have eaten, after supplying his own wants, the produce of half an acre of potatoes, and from a cow will feed a family.' Mr Caird estimated her produce of keep at 12*l.*

There is another circumstance which tends largely to account for the admitted inferiority of the condition of the farm-servant of the northern over that of the southern agricultural labourer. We shall give it in Mr Caird's own words: 'An English couple usually begin with no provision to set up a house, and therefore begin the battle of life in debt. A Scotch couple (save when the marriage has been hastened by a "misfortune" on the part of the woman) seldom marry without a provision of something like 40*l.*, equally divided between the man and woman. As soon as the elder children have reached what the landowners call "remunerative" ages, the position of the family is one of comparative ease. Under the family system of the Lothians and Border district, with its accompanying family purse, incomes of from 70*l.* to 80*l.* coming into a hind's cottage are by no means uncommon.'

What then is the cause of this remarkable difference in the condition of the population of two parts of the same island, engaged in the same occupation and placed for centuries under the same government? We answer, mainly to be attributed to the superior training which, since the Reformation, the people of Scotland have received in their parochial schools and to the value which they themselves have for the last three centuries attached to the good education, and right bringing up, of their children. Much also is due to the absence, until recently, of a poor law; but it was the school law that fitted them to do without the poor law.

There is one point, however, in which, taken as a whole, the agricultural poor of Scotland can lay claim to no superiority over those of the same class in Ireland, that is, the condition of their cottages. Although much has been done by many landed proprietors in the Lowlands to remedy this defect, there is still crying need for more cottages, and for improvement in many of the present ones. In some of the west counties, and in the Highlands generally, with only partial exceptions, the state of the habitations of the labourers is a

scandal and a disgrace to any civilised community. In some places they remain very much as they are represented by Macaulay to have been in the seventeenth century; many of them are still mere turf huts thatched with heather, a hole in the roof, for the smoke to go through, supplying the want of a chimney. In the Lowlands the cottages originally were not much better, though generally built of the rough loose stones which the country so abundantly supplies; the customary one-roofed cottage of the border counties was frequently divided into two compartments, by a couple of box beds placed across the room; behind these the cow stood, with her tail to the door. Latterly the cow's compartment, somewhat enlarged, was divided from that of the family by a stone partition, and, save that the cow has been banished, some of these cottages, built to afford a common shelter for man and beast, remain to this day. During the last twenty years a great change for the better has taken place in the south-eastern counties, becoming everywhere more marked as one travels from Perthshire to the Border. So that Mr. Culley is able to say, 'As a whole, farm labourers are now better housed in the Lowland part of my district than in any of the south midland counties of England, and I know no county in England where the average cottage accommodation is so good as in Berwickshire—a remark which would also apply to part of Roxburgh and East Lothian.'

Even in Berwickshire there are still to be found some of the old-fashioned one-roomed cottages, described above; and at the last census it was found that forty per cent. of the houses in Berwickshire and Roxburghshire had only one, or no window.

In the west there has been far less improvement. Mr. Tremenheere, speaking of Ayrshire, says, 'The inadequate supply of cottages for the labouring class, and their deplorable condition, present a marked contrast to the high cultivation, and general prosperity which are everywhere conspicuous in Ayrshire. . . . . The cottages have seldom more than one room, in which a man, his wife, as seven or eight children are herded together; the younger children, with the father and mother, occupying one bed, and the elder children sleeping promiscuously in the other. . . . . Between Ayr and Girvan is the extensive property of the Marquis of Ailsa, which is laid out in large farms, generally within a short distance of, or contiguous to the sea. The ploughmen's cottages on this noble domain are lamentably defective. Stables, byres, cart-sheds, dilapidated farm-houses, and disused dog-kennels have been converted into abodes for the people who live on the estates. In some of these wretched places, consisting of one room, as many as ten or eleven persons are living. The damp broken clay floors are covered with beds; the decayed thatch roof is pervious to rain which in some cottages is kept out by guano bags, stretched across the rafters. A considerable farmer who rents one of the largest estates on this property, assured me that it was always with a feeling of shame and humiliation that he introduced a newly hired ploughman to one of these wretched habitations.' Another observer of the agricultural county of Dumfries, Mr. Tremenheere says, 'Some of the worst cottages I have met with in the course of this inquiry, either in England, Wales, or Scotland, are those on the estates of the Marquis of Queensberry. I counted more than a dozen in the parish of Tynwald, a few miles from the town of Dumfries, with only one room, and that room crammed with bad

beds, in which families of eight or nine persons live and sleep. The thatched roofs were in a state of mouldering decay, the mud floors were worn into holes, and the walls, even in the month of June, were saturated with moisture.'

The value of landed property in Scotland has increased tenfold in the last two centuries, and the whole of this vast increase in the value of the estates of the proprietors, so far as they are connected, is unearned increase. It is the labour of the hands who dwell in such miserable, such shameful huts and hovels as above described, that has turned moor and bog into fertile cornland and rich pasture, the produce of which is consumed by the owners, in the luxury of our own and of foreign capitals. With truth may it be said of these labourers,

> Per vos nos vobis fertis aratra, boves.

Throughout the Lowlands the complaints of want of cottages were much more frequent than complaints of the mouldy, leaky, or otherwise defective state of those that exist. Long habit had familiarised the cottagers to the practice of the whole family sleeping in one room. This was to a great extent occasioned by the scarcity of the cottages, which made it desirable that in winter the warmth of the one fire should, as far as possible, be enjoyed by all. The want of cottages, and not the defects of cottages, is probably the greater evil, and has been twenty times more frequently mentioned in the course of the agricultural reports I have had to read, and the 'hiring system,' from the want of cottages, it frequently happens that a married man is himself forced to live in the farm-house, and to take a room for his wife and children in some neighbouring town or village, perhaps six or eight miles distant, and at hardly ever sees his family once a week. It is needless to comment upon the evil consequences of such an unnatural mode of life. But the mischief extends wider than to the particular families thus separated, and exerts a most detrimental influence on the general morality of a district where cottages cannot be obtained by young couples. They cannot marry, unless they settle in some town at a distance from their employer's farm, and, from the paucity of towns and villages in Scotland, even this is often impossible. 'The result is,' says Mr Trevelyan, 'an amount of immorality and degradation which, under different circumstances, might probably be altogether avoided.'

The want of cottages, combined with the giving up of the bothy system, has been the chief cause of the introduction of the lad's bothy. The bothy is a building on the farm, in which the unmarried labourers live by themselves. Some are occupied entirely by men, and some entirely by women. In Cromarty, it frequently happens that both men and women occupy the same bothy, and perhaps there are instances of this to be found elsewhere. It is scarcely necessary to say that, wherever this is the case, most serious evils arise. Some of the witnesses spoke of the system as an 'iniquity,' 'an abomination,' and 'a degradation;' and though these remarks particularly apply to the mixed bothy, there can be no doubt that a system which causes a large number of young persons of either sex to live entirely by themselves, released from control, and separated from all the wholesome influences arising from family life, must be most pernicious. Mr Culley expresses his condemnation of the system in the following strong language: 'The result is to my mind an unmitigated evil. Instead of the fine healthy race of young women you find employed in farm work in the south of my district, in the bothy counties all the lighter farm work is passing into the hands of Irish immigrants;

and if this process goes on at the rate it has been doing of late, a great change will come over the character of the rural population in the centre of Scotland.'

It is impossible by means of direct legislation to increase the number or improve the condition of cottages; but when it is proved that laws now in existence, which are otherwise unjust in their social relation, and impolitic in their economic effect, are the chief cause of that want of proper dwellings from which our agricultural population suffers so much, both in the north and south of our island, we are entitled to expect that our Government should seriously apply itself to procure, as soon as possible, the abrogation of those laws. All the Assistant-Commissioners concur in holding that our land laws are mainly responsible for the want of cottage accommodation. What Mr. Norman reports of the north-east district is in entire conformity with the observations of all the others. 'One of the chief causes of the want of cottage accommodation is the poverty of the landlords. . . . . It is in a great measure caused by the law of entail in Scotland, which compels landlords to continue the nominal owners of entailed estates after the substance has departed from them.' Many of them, however, are not poor in the ordinary acceptation of the word; they have rent rolls of many thousands a year. They are poor because they live up to, or beyond, their incomes, consequently they have nothing left to provide decent habitations for the labourers on their estates. If it should be found necessary, in the case of heavily burdened estates, Parliament should not shrink from applying to Scotland, and to England also, the principle of the Encumbered Estates Act, which proved so efficacious in Ireland. Whatever the rights of property may mean, they never can be deemed to comprehend the right of remaining nominal owner of an estate, and of replying to every complaint of the neglect of the plainest duties of the position, *Non possumus*. That property has its duties as well as its rights has long been a truism; it is now time that it should become a fact.

There is another point on which legislation might be beneficial. Unhappily, it is not only for sins of omission, with respect to the housing of their labourers, that the Scotch landlords are deserving of censure. Like too many of the same class in England before the passing of the Union Chargeability Act, they have endeavoured to escape the burden of the poor rate by ridding themselves, as far as possible, of the men who create the wealth which they enjoy. Mr. Tremenheere says in one place, 'Not only are cottages not built, but the old ones are permitted to fall into decay and ruin, and no disposition is shown to replace them. . . . In some extensive parishes, the cottages are not sufficient for a tenth of the labouring population, and in many there are no cottages at all.' In another place he says, 'Vast numbers of cottages have been pulled down simply to prevent families gaining a settlement, who might become chargeable to the poor rates.' He then makes the suggestion, which we hope may meet with the attention it deserves, that the plan which has checked the progress of the depopulating system in England, should be applied likewise to Scotland.

Women are much employed in agriculture in Scotland, and those who are acquainted with their condition agree that there is nothing in that occupation injurious to the health or morality of those engaged in it. The proportion, however, of married women is much smaller than in England. Mr. Culley found that out of 280 women above the age of eighteen, engaged in agriculture in the counties of Berwick and

Roxburgh, only 5 were married; while in his previous enquiries in Buckinghamshire and the adjoining counties he had found that, out of 485 females above eighteen, 436 were married; that is to say, of the adult female labourers engaged in agriculture in the south of Scotland only 2 per cent. is composed of married women, while in the south midland counties of England 90 per cent is composed of married women. It is manifest how great a difference it must make in the general welfare and comfort of a labourer and his family, when his wife is engaged during the day in the care of the cottage, the children, and the cow, instead of toiling from morning to night in the wet and mire of the field.

This large supply of female labour is to a great extent furnished in the border counties by the 'bondage system,' that is, the practice of requiring each hind to provide a woman for the farmer. When the hind has not a member of his own family who can work the bondage, he is compelled to hire one. He pays her a yearly wage, and she boards and lodges in his cottage, from the farmer he receives, for the labourer's work, only so much a day, for every day she works; and this depends on the requirements of the farm, and the will of the farmer. The hinds complain that they are losers by this system, as the wages and keep of the bondager cost them more than they receive for her work from the farmer, and some say they have been formed for the purpose of getting it put an end to. It is less common than it was, and were there any adequate supply of cottages, it would soon cease to exist, for it was mainly from want of house accommodation that the farmers were induced to make it a condition upon the hinds to provide additional workers for them, beyond what their families naturally furnished.

Equally remarkable is the small amount of juvenile labour engaged in farm work, compared with what is commonly the case in England. Mr. Culley took for comparison a number of farms, fairly selected from the south midland counties of England, and three south-eastern counties of Scotland; the farms in each list comprised about 60,000 acres, and were worked respectively by about 3,200 and 2,350 hands. On the former there were 39 children under ten, and 230 between ten and thirteen, employed; while on the latter there was only one child under ten, and only 51 between ten and thirteen. On the Scotch farms, more than half of the children, thus employed in the spring, leave off work in the winter, and go to school.

The extreme value which the Scotch peasantry attach to the education of their children is too well known to require any length the need notice here. Yet we can not forbear from quoting some of the evidence given in this Report to show the pains they take, the self-denial they impose upon themselves, to obtain good education for their children, and the interest they manifest in the progress of their schooling. What Mr. Norman affirms as to his district—the north eastern—may be taken as true of the whole of Scotland. 'I may here mention, at the outset, that on no subject is the contrast between the Scotch and the English more clearly marked than on this. In the rural districts of England, as I have explained in my former reports, the farmers are too often opposed to education, the labourers, and sometimes the labourers themselves, are indifferent about it; and it happens not unfrequently that the clergyman is the only person in the parish who takes an interest in it, and struggles in vain, with scanty means, against an unyielding mass of opposition or indifference. In Scotland the feelings of the people

on this subject are totally different: there all classes, farmers and servants, ministers and laymen, are unanimous in their conviction of the importance of education, and are willing to co-operate for the purpose of securing it.'

This is fully borne out, at least as far as the labourers are concerned, by the following extracts from the evidence taken by the Assistant-Commissioners. Mrs Lyall, wife of a ploughman in Inchture parish (Perthshire), says, 'I have five children, the eldest 9. The two eldest are at school. The eldest will be 13 or 14, may be 14, before he goes to work.' To Mr. Culley's suggestion that she must then do without help from her children till her eldest boy was 13 or 14, she replied 'We ma'n do, he must have his education like the lave. Of course they ma'n be educated.' The wife of a hind in Cockpen parish, Mid Lothian, says, 'We just keep our children at school till they are educated. It is all we can give them, poor things, and we do what we can to make them scholars.' The wife of a hind in Kerchester, Roxburghshire, says, 'My children have all been at school, at least in the winter, till they were been 15. I worked the hardest I ever did myself to send the eldest to school, when they might have got work.' It is the common practice in Scotland for the schoolmaster to give 'tasks' to the children to prepare at home; and in the preparation of these tasks they are very frequently helped by their parents. A ploughman's wife in Perthshire says, 'When they are at school, my husband hears them their lessons every night, to see that they have them. I think they would be [illegible] if we were not to assist them at home. I wish I had time myself to learn them.' A hind at Corbridge, in Northumberland, says, 'They always get their lessons every night, if they don't get them over right, they get not much time in the morning, and they must have them before they go to school. I help them a little when they need it, and I should think all the mothers here help their children with their lessons.' Mr. Norman assures us that it requires a very severe storm of rain or snow to keep the children at home. He visited several schools on very snowy days, and never failed to find a good attendance, he heard of women who carried their children above a mile every day, when no one was on the ground, as they were otherwise have been prevented from attending.

This regard for the education of the young, accompanied by a love of reading in after life, is a marked characteristic of the hill shepherds, of whom all the Assistant-Commissioners speak in terms of the highest admiration. They are usually paid in stock; that is they are allowed to keep a flock called the 'shepherd's pack,' numbering from forty to fifty, which are fed along with those of the master: this they have a strong interest in the success of the farm, as it is unfrequently take a greater interest in the flock than the master himself. On the northern part of the Cheviot Hills almost one-sixth of the sheep belong to the shepherds. Mr Culley, after speaking of their general intelligence and trustworthiness says 'For myself I would say they are the finest set of men I was ever brought into contact with.' The following is the statement of one of these shepherds, Hugh Hetherington by name, who had himself written several essays on agricultural subjects. 'Very few of the shepherds here have been to school. In Yarrow and Ettrick the shepherds have a custom of keeping a young lad or two, who is good for nothing else but to herd sheep, and teaches them to read, write, and cast accounts. The master shepherd, who may be here called the [illegible] for [illegible], and teaches the

children. They choose as much as they can a central house; and as the elder children can stay longer at school than other labourers, they get on pretty well. Of the Dumfriesshire single people Mr. Trumenheere gives an equally favourable account. In addition, the schools of these mountainous districts are often in the most desolate and dreary situations that can be conceived. For weeks together, they do not see their employer's face, or hear anything of the outer world; generally well educated themselves, they devote their evenings to reading and to the education of their children. This was the class of men Wordsworth was thinking of when he wrote his description of the old Scotchman, the Wanderer, in the beginning of the *Excursion*:

[illegible]

Scotland in the past has held a high position in the rank of education; the general intelligence of its people has been conspicuous, and their present education, despite the poverty of many and ruggedness of the country, attests how much they owe to their parish schools. But there is no ground for fearing that the parochial system of the country generally is not as satisfactory as it was formerly; and there is at present more reason to fear that in the future it may become even less satisfactory than it now is, unless effective means are taken to extend the education of the system and to preserve what has been the almost universal habit of the people, but which now many circumstances tend to destroy.

There are many causes which, year by year, tend to place greater pressure upon the parochial system. The 4th standard, and many the 5th or 6th; but after leaving school they deteriorate rapidly. They keep their reading fairly, but lose their power of writing, and their knowledge of arithmetic." This is probably a correct description of the state of education in the northern part of the island of which Mr. Norman is speaking; though it certainly does not do justice to its general prosperity in the border counties. But can this really be considered as satisfactory? Can anyone, acquainted with the state of education in many countries on the Continent, believe this to be sufficient, if we desire that our country should be able to hold its own, in the arts either of peace or of war, when brought into competition with nations that have received the education and training of Prussia? In the struggle for existence among the nations a people who cannot, or will not, elevate itself to the level of those which have attained the highest position, can look for nothing but retrogression, to be followed by extinction.

Scotland in the past has held a high position in the rank of education; the general intelligence of its people has been conspicuous, and their present education, despite the poverty of many and ruggedness of the country, attests how much they owe to their parish schools. But there is no ground for fearing that the parochial system of the country generally is not as satisfactory as it was formerly; and there is at present more reason to fear that in the future it may become even less satisfactory than it now is, unless effective means are taken to extend the education of the system and to preserve what has been the almost universal habit of the people, but which now many circumstances tend to destroy.

There are many causes which, year by year, tend to place greater pressure upon the parochial system and in-

duce them to take their children from school at an earlier period than formerly, for the sake of their earnings. The payment in kind is giving way to payment by money wages; the labourer is becoming more in the habit of buying his provisions at the shop instead of receiving them from the farm; the porridge and milk diet is being abandoned for white bread, tea, and sugar; consequently a few shillings at the end of the week are of more consequence than formerly, when a supply of food received from the farmer lasted throughout the year. The more migratory habits of the present day also have an injurious influence, by causing changes of school, which, with the elder children, naturally lead to an earlier leaving than would have been the case had there been no change of residence. Public opinion, likewise, has less influence on those who are frequently changing their abodes. The authority of the Church, which was formerly omnipotent both for good and for evil in Scotland, has been so much weakened as to be now almost of no weight whatever. Above all, the increase of population, and the increased facilities of locomotion, bring a mass of poor and ignorant labourers, chiefly Irish into the districts where wages are high and education good. The competition of these men has a manifest tendency to bring down both the rate of wages, and the condition of education and intelligence to their own level. Uneducated themselves, they place no value upon education: they work for low wages, and send their children to labour, as soon as they can make a surplus by sacrificing the child's permanent welfare to the need of the hour.

Manufactories and mines also everywhere offer the temptation of comparatively high wages to children. The law permits them to be sent to these manufactories at eight years of age; the parents, therefore, very reasonably come to the conclusion that they may, without impropriety, follow the rule in one branch of industry which the State expressly sanctions in another. With the pressure of poverty upon them, these inducements tempting them, and these examples around them, we cannot be surprised if the high and conscientious feeling which has hitherto led the Scottish peasantry to make such sacrifices for their children's education, should break down, and give place to one not higher than what prevails in other parts of the empire.

Some of the changes in manners and habits which we have just referred to may be regretted, they are sometimes spoken of with regret, both by the Commissioners and by the witnesses, in these Reports. It would be futile to dream of checking the progress of these changes; they are the inevitable result of the mighty social revolution that is at work everywhere around us; but in this wonderful age of transition, in which our lot is cast, when all old things are passing away, we are called upon to consider how we may best save what is good in our old institutions, how preserve the living spirit, when the old body is worn out, and adapt it to our new circumstances. One of those good things which we would not willingly let die is the old parochial school system of Scotland, with its real though imperfect compulsion, as it existed in the law, and to a great extent made its way through into the Highlands, and the great towns have sprung up with at least an adequate plan of education in their place. This inherent principle proceeded from the municipal or patriarchal mode of life, which prevailed in the rural districts of Scotland, from the authority of the Church, and the force of public sentiment, acting upon a statutary

community. The dependence of an earlier period has given place to absolute independence, the jurisdiction of the Kirk session is a thing of the past; but the public sentiment which deemed the education of their children to be the bounden duty of the parents, though weakened, is still strong among the great majority; it is a minority only who neglect that duty. For the sake of society, as well as for the sake of the children, these men should be compelled to discharge that duty, the necessity and benefit of which they are themselves too ignorant to perceive. Those, on the other hand, who do their best to fulfil this duty require the assistance of the Legislature to perform what they desire; in their hard struggle to maintain themselves, and to educate their children, they have a right to demand that they should not be exposed in the labour market, to the competition of the children of those who are alike careless of the welfare of their offspring, and regardless of what they owe to the community.

Since, however, the principle of compulsory attendance has been introduced into the English Elementary Education Act of last session (though left to the discretion of the School Boards whether they shall adopt it), and since the same proposal is contained in the Lord Advocate's Bill on Scotch Education, now before the House of Commons, we may assume that the principle is settled, and we have to do is to determine to what extent it shall be carried. If, then, the principle be sound that no parental claim be permitted to deprive a child of such elementary education, by which alone it can be made of any real value, to prevent a man to escape what should be both a moral and a legal duty by merely changing his residence from one parish to another, is really too great an absurdity to be seriously entertained by any

even for this, the land of absurdities and anomalies. It would not be more irrational to leave it to each parish to determine whether 'pocketing' or 'baby farming' should be lawful or unlawful within its bounds. Practically considered, the consequences of such a system would prove most hurtful to those districts, and to those individuals, who are most anxious to fulfil their obligations. Take two adjoining parishes, in one of which the attendance of the children has been made compulsory, in the other not. The first has to pay increased rates for education, consequent on the increased numbers to be educated; the labourers lose the earnings of their children; and the farmers are deprived of a portion of the labour they have been accustomed to. The second parish has a lower education rate (if in England, escapes an education rate altogether), the labourers pocket all they can squeeze out of the hard toil of their children, and the farmers get a cheap supply of juvenile labour. Such a prospect as this will hardly act as an inducement to other parishes to adopt compulsory education, or reconcile the labourer, anxious to do his duty by his family, to a measure so partial and unjust in its operation. We do not see in the Scotch Bill as it now stands (and this observation applies equally to the English Act) that a School Board has any power to prevent children living in adjacent parishes from being sent into its parish, to be employed in labour, thereby depriving the labourers in it of the compensation they would otherwise have derived from an increase of their own wages.

It would also tend to the yet further crowding of the agricultural population into small towns, in which compulsory education was not enforced. From these towns, bands of children, similar to those gangs that attained so unenviable a notoriety in the eastern counties of

England, might issue forth each morning into the better regulated districts around, in which education had been made compulsory. This would be felt to be so intolerably unjust, and so mischievous, that it would soon lead either to the giving up of compulsion altogether, or to its being rendered universal. On the other hand, if Parliament would take the bold, the wise, the statesmanlike course of themselves deciding the question for the whole of Scotland, they would be supported by the almost unanimous voice of the country. It could hardly be considered an experiment, for the new system would make no violent alteration in the practice of the majority of the people; it would only confirm that which has long been customary with them, but it would compel the careless and negligent, who are to be found in every community, to do what the bulk of their neighbours are already doing; and it would prevent the ignorant and thriftless immigrants of a less advanced country from introducing their own lower modes of life and of civilisation. It is not a change of practice, speaking generally, that is wanted—it is a new sanction that is required to maintain the old practice, that might otherwise, from the change of times and circumstances, grow feeble, and perhaps die out.

The condition and history of popular education in Scotland has been very similar to that of Germany; and the same causes that, in the last century, led to the adoption of the present system of compulsory education in Germany, require a similar change in the Scotch system. It is generally supposed in this country that the German system of compulsory education is a new-born creature of princely power and statesmanship; but the fact is [illegible] Mr Patterson, [illegible] period of the Reformation, and was a recognised religious duty, long before it became a law of the State. From the time of Luther's address to the municipal corporations of Germany in 1514, this has been so recognised, whether it was enforced by enactment or not. It was the distinction of the Protestant child that it should be taught to understand and practise the doctrines and duties of its religion; it was the business of the Church to see that all its youth did so.'

'The *Allgemeines Landschulreglement* of 1763 for the first time exactly defines the age, viz., from five to fourteen; but this was only defining an obligation universally admitted as one of the first duties of the citizen and the member of the Church. If there was any novelty in the ordinances of the eighteenth century, it was in adding writing and arithmetic to the religious instruction given in the village schools. Compulsory education in Protestant Germany never had to contend with an adverse public opinion, not because the spirit of parental liberty is wanting, but because, since Protestantism began, there has never been a time when it was not thought part of parental duty to have the children properly instructed.'

Change Germany and Luther into Scotland and John Knox, this extract will be as applicable to the latter as to the former country, and just as the German Governments were compelled to [illegible] by means of [illegible] so it will be now necessary that the State in Scotland should take upon itself duty which the Church has failed to perform.

It is much to be desired also that Parliament would adopt the Prussian limit of fourteen instead of thirteen as at present fixed by the Lord Advocate's Bill. The Prussian enactments [illegible] up to

fourteen, have been obliged to give up all attempts to teach the children anything beyond reading, writing, arithmetic, and singing, for they are a people who undertake nothing that they do not perform thoroughly. They had found, by experience, that the whole school time from seven to fourteen was not more than enough to secure to the children a mastery of these, the mere elementary rudiments of knowledge. Should the plan, which seems to find favour with many of the Commissioners and Assistant-Commissioners who have enquired into the state of education in these islands, be adopted (i.e. that children should go to school regularly up to ten, and then for half-time in manufactories, and for the four winter months in agricultural districts), we are convinced that we shall go on very much as we do at present. Parents will think they have done all they are bound to do when they have fulfilled the essential requirements of the legislature, few children will be sent to remain at school beyond the prescribed minimum period. In that case there is too much reason to fear that, at the end of another generation, after vast sums have been spent, a large portion of our men and women may be still growing up no better educated than they are at present. If this be so, it will arise from the fact that they leave school before they have learnt to read sufficiently well to be able to enjoy it; they consequently soon give up the practice, and in too many instances lose altogether the imperfect knowledge they once possessed: thus their education, which should be continued as long as they retain their faculties, comes to an end just as they are entering upon life. The Scottish peasantry, at least in the best districts, look upon fourteen as quite early enough for a boy to leave school, and begin work. The organizers of the Prussian system have found by experience that all that time is absolutely required to lay the foundation of an education necessary to fit the citizen-soldier for the work of life; and they are the men who know how to make the best use of everything they never throw away time, money, or exertion. We should therefore be pressed to see the age of fourteen adopted in place of that of thirteen, as the limit up to which every child should be required to attend school without intermission, subject, of course, to exemption on the ground of any reasonable excuse, to be approved of by the School Board.

PARIS: 1588–1594. COMMUNE versus KING

An Historical Study.

Si je me suis arrêté pour un instant sur cet épisode, c'est que là, pour la première fois, il fut possible à l'observateur de bien juger cette population Parisienne, comme elle est facile aux effarements subits, combien elle est crédule, aveugle, emportée, et quel peu de fond il faut faire sur son bon sens et sa raison! Elle n'agit jamais que par caprice, et flotte sans cesse, comme un vaisseau sans gouvernail, sur une mer agitée de vents contraires, d'une extrême à l'autre, de la confiance la moins justifiée au découragement le plus profond.

Francisque Sarcey. *Le Siège de Paris.* 1871.

IN the Ninth Book of Davila's *History of the Wars of the League in France*, our imagination is caught by one of those picturesque scenes in which the French national annals abound, one to which a master's hand has here given a peculiarly life-like presentment. We can almost hear the clamour and see the crowds which greeted the entry of Henri Duc de Guise—*le Balafré*—into Paris, on a memorable spring noontide of the year 1588. Davila tells of it thus:

The Duke of Guise entered Paris on Monday, the 9th of May, near upon the middle of the day. He brought with him no greater a company than seven hundred horse, some of them gentlemen and some servants. But, like a diligent and wise captain, he had so ordered the matter, as to increase continually until it became a mighty mass, even those joined by the first way, who, to meet their friends and acquaintance, with kind affection, by the way, had left the rest behind. The streets of the city before he had all his upwards of 50,000 persons; and, as some say, 8 or 10 thousand more. Great was the throng. Up to the very gates of the royal palace was he followed by the King's own guard, as long as there was room for them. It was with the greatest difficulty that they could make way for the Duke to pass. Many kissed his hands, others his feet, and some even the hem of his garment. There were some who fell on their knees to him, as to a saint, crying out, "Long live the Duke of Guise, the father of the people, the restorer of the Catholic religion!" Others, as he passed, threw themselves before his horse, and then kissed, or applied to their eyes and foreheads, the hairs which had fallen from the animal's tail. Women scattered flowers and leaves from the windows, and seemed to applaud his coming. Meanwhile he, with a cordial aspect and smiling countenance, spoke gracious words to some, cast friendly glances on others, and passing through the press of people with head uncovered, omitted nothing which could serve to increase the popular applause and goodwill. In this manner, without pausing at his own house, he rode straight on to the Louvre to the palace of the Queen Mother, who received him pale and trembling, and in a mood of terror very unusual with her. On his arrival took her by surprise. M. de Bellievre having assured her of it but a probability three hours before.

This scene ushered in the memorable revolt of Paris, which lasted till March 1594. For nearly six years no monarch trod the streets of the contumacious city. Three days after Guise's entry, the popular *émeute*, which had long been preparing, broke forth. Barricades were raised, the civic banners of St. Eustache and Montmartre advanced even to within thirty paces of the Louvre; and the King, Henry III, had to make his escape by a back door of the palace. A revolutionary party reigned supreme over street and place and faubourg.

The party was that of the League, the extreme section of the Roman Catholics, who were for no compromise with the Huguenots, who frowned at the absolute exclusion of Henry of Navarre from the succession to the crown, who detested the King of France as much as they hated the King of Navarre, who professed zeal for the spiritual prerogatives of the Church, went by and had that of the Pope for their military leaders were the Archbishop of Lyons, the Bishop of Paris, and the Papal Nuncio. He of Lyons was the type and pattern of the priest militant, the priest ruling men's consciences by terror.

Their practical programme was, so far, as different as can be conceived from the programme of French revolutionism in these later centuries. Yet were the mode and conditions of its enforcement strangely similar, for, at the bottom of all *doctrinaire* profession, when once the spirit of League-faction had laid hold of the lower classes and mechanics, lay that wild political self-will which has at all times been as a second nature to the Frenchman of civic life. In their turbulent opposition to any 'moderate' course of action, the Leaguers of this date, the confederates of Philip and the advocates of the Inquisition, threw themselves impetuously into the arms of the democracy. And they used unscrupulously all those methods of propagandism which have told with such effect on every successive mob-generation of the French: the extremes of theory, the licence of language, the excitement of novelty, display, and theatrical sensation of every kind. The religious motive, which was the text of their resistance to constituted authorities, was put forward with all due ostentation; but its special exponents were not the best nor superior clergy, but the restless, fanatical, intriguing body of the lower clergy, members of religious orders—Jesuits mostly whose popular mode of preaching, intermingling the dry technicalities of the schools, had of late won for them immense influence over the masses. Nor was it possible to doubt the Catholic faith, which the adherents of the League professed to, as the sanction of their conduct, so much as fierce animosity against the Huguenots. In short, the spirit of partisan hatred was abroad, and as the cravings for partisan ascendency, or all before these eager impulses, 'private pens' were deemed to very strange extremes.

Some writers observe that what gave the League that republican character, which at the outset of the civil wars had been rather the badge of the opposite faction, was the ardour with which it happened to be embraced by the principal municipal corporations of the kingdom. Now we wish to draw attention to this very significant fact, and to bring it into comparison with the tendencies so vehemently asserting themselves at the present day among our distracted neighbours. Then, as now, nothing less than the disintegration of France was the consequence involved. If the Revolution of the sixteenth century had carried its point against Henry IV, a system of federal communes would have been established throughout the realm, complicated with the territorial divisions of a not yet extinct feudality. It was the prospect of France's dismemberment, and the consequent assured position of Spain as the dictatorial Power of Europe, which explains—at least as much as sheer hatred of heresy—the countenance and support given by Philip II to the turbulent democrats of the League, men who advocated regicide and popular sovereignty, nay, who scouted the Pope himself, because Sixtus V, like a wary politician, deprecating that very depression of France in the comity of nations which Philip desired, set himself against the anarchical extravagances of the ultra-Catholic zealots.

The civic restlessness which animated Paris in particular at this time may have been born in great measure of a certain vanity which circumstances had engendered. In addition to its position as chief city of the realm, Paris had lately begun to put on its special fascination of social and artistic grace, partly the gifts of the Renaissance and of Medicean Valois rule, partly too, it would seem, of something inherent and innate demonic, the Germans phrase it—of which its visitors have always felt the attraction, and

its denizens the enthralment. A passage in the Essays of Montaigne, written only a few years previous to Guise's entry, shows how the spell had already begun to work on cultivated and thoughtful spirits. To us Montaigne's lucubrations seem to throw a gleam of epic pathos on the revolutionary situation of 1588, and on all subsequent revolutions of which Paris has been the victim. 'Let me never so quarrel with France in general,' says the sympathetic moralist, 'as that I cease to regard Paris with a favourable eye. She has possessed my heart ever since my infancy, and with regard to her it happens, as with most things excellent, that the more opportunities I have had of seeing beauteous cities since, the more her special beauty gains upon my affection. I love her for herself, and more in her own character than when bedecked with foreign pomp. I love her tenderly, even to her spots and her warts. Nay, I am not a Frenchman save by the medium of this great city, great in population, great in the felicity of its site; but above all great and incomparable in the variety and diversity of her commodities—the glory of France, and one of the world's most noble ornaments. May God chase far from her our divisions! While united, I consider her safe from all attempts of violence. Of all parties, I hold that that would be the worst for Paris which should bring discord within her walls. *I tremble for her, I know it*, but in that lies as great a fear as I may entertain for the State. While Paris remains Paris, I shall never be at a loss for a retreat where I may live at my last gasp, and treat with how little from me all regret for any other.'

A very few years after Montaigne penned this passage Henri III. was driven from Paris. When the Duke of Guise entered Paris in May 1588, the city was not only the centre of the revolutionary movement, but a revolutionary situation was maintained in the background by the Secret Committee of the League, which kept the mass of the *bourgeoisie* on its side, and was in connection with other League agencies throughout the kingdom. The most powerful engine by which this Secret Committee worked on the popular mind was the pulpit oratory of the parish curés. In the sixteenth century the 'working classes' and citizens were not materialists or positivists. As a rule, they believed implicitly in the hopes and fears of another world; and those who were content to make the clergy responsible for the interpretation of God's law might easily, if only the clergy were eloquent and 'sensational' enough, be led to any course of action they might prescribe. Now the Paris priesthood of the League were not only highly 'sensational' in their oratory, but both they and their employers had fast hold of one axiom in casuistry: they held any amount of mendacity to be justifiable and commendable for political purposes. The lies propagated by the revolutionary faction, at the period we speak of, were as audacious, as numerous as, and indeed wonderfully similar to the lies told during the rule of the Government of National Defence in 1870–1. As an instance, one may compare the [illegible] Prussians cooped up in the forest of St Germain according to the fables [illegible], with the [illegible] Huguenots besieged by the Leaguers in the Bastille of St Germain, ready to eat the flesh of every [illegible] in the city. I compare the [illegible] for lack of other parallel, but [illegible] the certainty of details. I compare the [illegible] interest to every personal statement with [illegible] many regret to the [illegible] of 'treachery' at [illegible] Bazaine.

Indeed it is the essential similarity of the national character [illegible]

and practical extravagance, along with the diversity of technical symbols, which strikes us as so very curious when we read in parallel lines the history of the Paris of nearly three hundred years ago and of the Paris of our own day. It by no means follows that because pulpit oratory swayed the excitable masses in 1588–1594, instead of the Club and Tribune and newspaper oratory of 1793 or of our own times, that the people were one whit more thoughtful, more self-controlled, more reasoning then than they have proved themselves on later occasions of intestine strife. The same was the same in leaders and in led—vain, presumptuous self-assertion in the one class, heroic sanguinary lawlessness in the other. The Marat and Danton of 300 years since, the Blanqui, Pyat, Assi of to-day, were accurately rehearsed in the clerical Agitators of the League, in Boucher, Rose, Guincestre, and their like. In our present survey, our attention will be called, rather particularly, to the part these men bore and had in the events of the time. M. Charles Labitte, [illegible] the rise of Paris, Leaguer, the Duke, Archbishop of the state was [illegible] years ago and since revived, *De la [illegible] des Ligueurs*.

A week before the day of the Barricades, the [illegible] had arrived at the King's. He had [illegible] and [illegible] and [illegible] to prevent the [illegible] Many were [illegible] [illegible] the [illegible] [illegible] open [illegible] Leaguer Guise, whom they had been wont to designate as the Gideon who was to deliver France, the David, who (when fighting against the Huguenots) had slain his ten thousands, while Saul (the King) had slain his thousands only. Now, with the recreant monarch fairly ousted from the walls of Paris, they gave the reins to their oratorical exultation, and indulged in brilliant, if not very well-ordered, dreams of the future. A few words as to the personality of these preachers. Foremost of all was Jean Boucher: Boucher *le docteur*, Boucher *le curé de la Sorbonne*, as he became in popular parlance. 'Sent to me to insanity,' said Voltaire of him

> Pour sa dame de guerre avide
> Il perdit son [illegible] et son esprit,

said the Satire Ménippée. 'The most mutinous and fiery spirit among the rebels,' was Bayle's character of him. He was a learned man, however; came from one of the [illegible] families; professed the 'humane lets' at Rheims University, was poor, and subsequently rector of the Sorbonne—twice in 158[illegible], when only thirty years of age—and soon after, having taken the degree of doctor of theology with [illegible], was appointed to the [illegible] of St. Benoît, in the city.

Next in fame to Boucher came Rose, the [illegible] Bishop of Senlis, a [illegible] to whom he was presented by [illegible] elected against Henry III. [illegible] four years previously to [illegible] Rose [illegible] to have been [illegible] grace-ful, and at the same time [illegible] eloquence, [illegible] which [illegible] the [illegible] began by preaching [illegible] ordinary. At [illegible] threw himself into the [illegible] of the League, [illegible] affairs, [illegible] secret [illegible] negotiations, and intrigued successfully to get

appointed as one of the Council of the Union at Paris. Before leaving Senlis, he assured his flock from the pulpit, that every one who entered the Holy League should be saved after death and enjoy everlasting happiness; yes, 'even though they should have slain father, mother, brothers, sisters, and committed every sort of atrocity.' A simple burgher of Senlis, who relates the fact, adds that the worthy part of his auditors were horrified at this new morality. But the fanatics of the League applauded Rose's zeal, and called him 'the rose of kings, the rose of princes, the rose of the people, the rose of theologians, the rose which the envy of heretics could not blast, whose leaves the tempests howling around the Church were unable to scatter.' His sanguinary harangues when he got to Paris are partially excused by De Thou on the plea of a diseased brain. The hypothesis is, at all events, a charitable one.

The Benedictine Genebrad was really a man of immense learning. As Hebrew Professor in the Royal College he had for his pupil the very un-likeminded St. François de Sales. He worked at his books fourteen hours a day, but, already as a man devoted to letters, showed his vehement temper by the acrimony with which he would throw himself into literary quarrels, even Scaliger. As a preacher of the League in the pulpits of Paris, Lestoile likens him to a 'fisherman in a fury.'

Like Genebrad learned, and like him a bitter controversialist, Le Père Bernard de Montgaillard, commonly known as *Le Petit Feuillant*, was only five-and-twenty years old at the outbreak of the Paris Revolt, but was one of the most popular of all the clerical fanatics. The ladies of Paris ran after him with fureur, for besides being eloquent he had the fame of saintly austerities, but Lestoile declares they gave him so many sweetmeats, and altogether petted him so much, that they changed his asceticism into finicality: 'elles lui changèrent son austérité en mignardise.'

Guincestre, a Gascon, probably of English descent — *Winchester* — a young bachelor in theology, having made himself conspicuous in League fulminations, was installed in the parish of St. Germain after the day of the Barricades; Pigenat, another League orator, in that of St Nicolas des Champs; in both cases the rights of prior claimants being disregarded.

The Cordelier Feuardent was another prominent preacher.

Hamilton, a Scotch refugee, occupied the benefice of St. Cosme. Lestoile calls him a 'man of reputation and knowledge.' He had been tutor to some of the Condé princes. On his appointment to St Cosme, in 1586, he hastened to become a Leaguer, and 's'espagnoliser,' or adhere to the policy of Philip II. Jacques Jumen, curé of St Leu, Jean Prevost, curé of St Severin, Faber, curé of St Paul, Pelletier, curé of St Jacques la Boucherie, Christophe Aubry, curé of St André des Arcs, Jacques Cueilly, curé of St Gervais, Aubert, a were also famous among the fanatical demagogues of the day. Every parish in the capital belonged to the Leaguers save three. St. Eustache, occupied by Rene Benoist, St Sulpice, by Chavagnac, and St Méry, by Morenne. Then on the League side there were the foreign preachers who happened to be in Paris, and enlisted in the cause. Pierre Cratère, of Nice—a very Demosthenes in eloquence, it was said—Guillaume Garnier, a Savoyard Cordelier, noted for impudence and temerity, says De Thou. A little later, Panigarola, Bishop of Asti.

The extravagance the rare heads lifted by the learned among these men may be judged of from such a work as the *Le Jesuite* [illegible]

Henrico Tertio, of Boucher, half composed before that monarch's death, and published shortly after. The writer asks four questions, the first of which is the significant one in the history of opinion, 'Has the Church, has the *People*, the right to depose monarchs?' He accords the right to both. Of the people he says that its sovereignty cannot be contested, that kings are made by the people, that the right of election is superior to the right of inheritance, that the inherent powers of the Republic remain after a king is appointed, that the people have the authority of life and death over their rulers, that monarchy is nothing more than a mutual contract. After laying down such general principles, it was easy enough to answer the questions of the Treatise by proving that as a matter of fact Henry of Valois had laid himself open to be dealt with by the extremest methods.

Now, with views such as these, or with the Republican Utopia of the self-governing municipalities, Guise's own aspirations were by no means in harmony. The chief practical issue with which he had before him as a declared result of that dissolution of the monarchy so likely to supervene on the death of the reigning sovereign, was the quasi-independence of his own government of Champagne. A provincial sovereignty or protectorate of France, in the name of Philip II, might yet allow of the possession of great local power by the magnates of the realm, and by none more naturally than by the powerful chiefs of the House of Lorraine. Meanwhile, for practical purposes, the civic chiefs of the League were playing his game, and possibly the assistance of his genius might have controlled the constructive of the Communes, and might have held its own against the intrigues of Spain, but time was not given him.

To return to the date of the Barricades. When the Bastille and the castle of Vincennes had been delivered into his hands, and there was no further question of a Royalist resistance, Guise desired the bourgeoisie to assemble at the Hôtel de Ville. At once the Secret Council, or Committee of the Sixteen, took possession of the municipal offices, dividing the sixteen quarters of the city among them; and they thus formally established a revolutionary government at Paris, independent of and opposed to the royal authority. It was in name as well as in fact, a Commune. De Thou says its members were adventurers and bankrupts—men of no social credit whatever.

Guise was already Lieutenant-General of the League. The new municipality of Paris, *Messieurs de la Ville de Paris*, as they desired to be styled, now conferred on him the additional title of Grand Master, and caused it to be proclaimed by the Parliament. Their idea was that he should stand in the same relation to the phantom sovereignty of the Valois monarch as the ancient *Maires du Palais* had done to that of the Merovingian *rois fainéants*.

Guise, himself, looked at the 'situation' with a master's eye. He knew the excitability, the impracticability of the Parisian populace. He believed that, as likely as not, their impulsive courage would fail them after the unprecedented step they had taken. Should the royal army determine on blockading the city, hunger and privation would, he doubted not, soon scatter their enthusiasm to the winds. Therefore, with a few hastily formed regiments, he proceeded at once to reduce all the fortresses which dominated the course of the river near the capital—*les avenues de Paris* they were called by military men—St. Cloud, Charenton, Lagny, Pontoise, and others. The King's

vacillation at the critical moment assisted him. But in fact Guise was conscious of a vacillating mood also. Neither leader felt sure of their mutual footing as things now stood. The preachers only were for driving matters to extremity: their logic was without misgiving. Even 'Messieurs de la Ville de Paris' entered into communication with Henry III., and received in good part the announcement of his intention to convoke the States-General of the Kingdom at Blois on August 15. This Assembly did not actually take place till several weeks later. It was opened by the King in person on October 16. The Duke of Guise attended from its commencement, and exercised his vast popular influence in a manner which, though not antagonistic to the professed interests of the King, served to exasperate notwithstanding his dire jealousy and mistrust. How long these feelings had been engaged in preparing the catastrophe of December 23, is matter of conjecture. Davila believes that the design was already shaped when Henry first announced his intention of convoking the States-General.

The assassination of Le Balafre and his brother the Cardinal de Guise was conclusive in breaking off every vestige of allegiance to the royal authority on the part of the Paris Government. The news was brought to the capital on the evening of the 24th. All the shops were immediately closed, the citizens met each other with tragic and dismayed countenances. They hurried their steps to the Hôtel de Guise, to confer with the bereaved ladies of the House of Lorraine. The Duke of Mayenne was absent, but from Lyons, the Duchesse de Montpensier, excited by emissaries of the late Guises, they at once found something very different from consolation.

For a few days there was silence concerning the deed in the pulpits. On the 29th Guincestre the Gascon held forth in the Church of St. Barthélemy—the preachers at this time were wont to preach from other pulpits than their own, for the sake of purveying more excitement and novelty to the people. Guincestre told his auditors in plain terms that *Henri de Valois* was a perjurer and an assassin, to whom it was their duty no longer to recognise allegiance. Twisting his name according to the anagrammatic fancy of the day, he designated him a *vilain Hérodel*. His denunciations were presently translated into deeds. The people, rushing to the portico of the church, tore down the royal arms and emblems. A few days after Guincestre held forth again. He exacted an oath, with hand upraised, from all present, that they would expend the last coin in their purse and the last drop of their blood to avenge the death of Guise and his brother. Harlay, first president of the Parliament, was one of his auditors. Guincestre spied him out. 'Raise your hand,' he cried, 'M. le President; raise it high—higher still—so that everybody may see it.'

Pelgenat preached from the pulpit of Notre-Dame. 'Was there no one,' he asked, after expatiating on the glories and virtues of the Guises, 'no one zealous enough to avenge the great man in the blood of the tyrant who had caused his massacre?' A religious procession was got up. Towards it from two processions marched with wax torches, crying, 'O God, extinguish the race of Valois!' Waxen images of the hated King were paraded upon the altars of the churches, which the officiating priests would stab from time to time as they went on with Mass. In short, nothing was omitted—and the Sorbonne was driven to take to handle in the pulpit—and Paris deprived of their military hero, what Davila styles 'great seams' [illegible] de Parte in vet letra.' Stories true and untrue were told from the pulpit of

Henry's vicious habits of life. 'He always wears a Turk's turban, even when receiving the Communion,' said Boucher. 'He invoked devils and worshipped satyrs,' said Guincestre, pulling from his sleeve, in confirmation of the last charge, a little silver candlestick with satyrs engraved on it, which he said had been the King's property.

In consequence of an application from the preachers, Feuardent and Guincestre at their head, the Faculty of Theology of the Sorbonne gave forth a decree on the 7th of January, declaring Henry III. to have forfeited his throne, and authorising all persons to take arms against him 'for the defence and preservation of the Apostolical and Roman Church.' The prayer *pro rege nostro Henrico* was ordered to be erased from the canon of the Mass.

The Parliament of Paris, though firm in its adherence to Catholic interests generally, as was natural with the highest legal body of the realm, resisted for legal prerogatives. The Sorbonne now resolved to purge itself of all royalist adherents, and on the 16th of January an armed force was sent to arrest certain members specified on a list: Harlay to begin with. Next day the Parliament of the League sat in form, at 1 o'clock, and took the accustomed oath, and formally confirmed the decree of the Sorbonne.

Mayenne, Duc de Mayenne, was called to the command of the League, in place of the Duke of Guise. He was invested with all royal powers, the appointment of the governors of all the provinces, and the control of the finances. He arrived at Paris on the 15th of February with an armed force. With the prestige of the name of Lorraine and the Duke of Guise, Mayenne possessed many of his brother's and great talents. But these gifts hardly qualified him to control the emergencies of faction. He deprecated the national dismemberment which must ensue if the Communalist movement in the cities had its way, and his first step was an endeavour to trim the balance of political influence by establishing a 'Council of the Union' sometimes called the 'Council of Forty'—which was to assist him in the general government of the realm, but not to interfere with the local supremacy of the Sixteen in Paris.

Henry III found that the assassination of Guise had been as much a blunder on his part as a crime. He could not recover his footing with any section of the zealous Catholics. He made overtures to the Pope and to Mayenne, but was rebuffed by both. His last resource was Henry of Navarre. There was hesitation in the Huguenot ranks as to the project of joining with their old enemy; but the King looked on more sides than one of the question, he carried the decision of his followers with him, and the two Henrys, the King of France and his heir presumptive, met at Plessis-les-Tours. Party hatreds had there suspended themselves. Instead of three contending parties, there were now two: the 'Politiques' and Huguenots were one side, the zealous Catholics and sworn Leaguers on the other. Materially, the King's force was stronger than it had been: morally, his position was more fatally critical than ever. At the end of July he was before Paris, at the head of 42,000 men. His own headquarters were at St. Cloud. Henry of Navarre commanded the investing force to the south of the city. A general assault was ordered for August 2. Within the city the decree was entrusted partly to the new regular troops of Mayenne, partly to the civic militia, the 'National Guard' of that era, which had already measured their strength

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Paris: 1588–1594. *Commune versus King*

against the King's forces on the
day of the barricades, and were
said then to amount to
number.

On the last day of July the King
rode out to reconnoitre the
the enemy, and on his way back
turned round after saying the
hill of St Cloud and looked
of the fair city lying
him, apostrophized it in
to Paris,' thou art the head of
the kingdom, but a head too large
and too capricious. It is needful
that thou have the health restored
to thee by the letting of blood, and
that thereby the rest of the king-
dom should be saved from thy
frenzy. I trust that within a few
days here shall be seen, not the
walls, not the houses, but the ruined
remains only of Paris.' According
to L'Etoile, he said, 'Truly, it would
be a great pity to ruin so fair and
excellent a town, nevertheless, I
must needs settle accounts with the
rebels who are within it, and who
have driven me out ignominiously.'

Meanwhile the impatient popula-
tion, frightened and discouraged,
were already beginning to talk of
surrender. 'Wait a few days,' said
the preachers from their pulpits;
'before the end of the week some
great event will deliver you.' Every
day they continued their invectives
against the King, and endeavoured
to keep up the resolution of the
people by inventing both false news
of successes and outrageous scandals
against Henry. They effectually
fired the brain of a young
fanatic belonging to the Dominican
order of Jacobins. On the day
after his excommunication from St
Cloud, the eve of the intended
assault, the last monarch of the
Valois line received his death-blow
from the dagger of Jacques Cle-
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declare the
the *Béarnois*, in-
succeeding to the throne.
nounce all who should
part liable to excommuni-

mediately the pulpits re-
sounded with Clement's praises.
He was 'the blessed child of Do-
minic, the holy martyr of Jesus
Christ.' Those who should call
him a regicide for ridding the
world of that 'dog Henri de Valois'
were themselves fit for public exe-
cration. A figure of the monk was
set up in the churches, and was
candles lighted round it. Madame
de Nemours, the Duke of Guise's
mother, mounted the altar steps at
the Church of the Cordeliers, and
harangued the populace on the
'tyrant's' death. Madame de
Montpensier gave the shelter of her
roof to Clement's mother, who ar-
rived at Paris to claim a reward for
her son's deed. Two days after
the murder, these ladies drove in
their carriages through the streets,
announcing the joyful intelligence.
On the 8th, without waiting for the
States-General, the Cardinal de
Bourbon, still a prisoner in royalist
keeping, was proclaimed by Mayenne
and the League King of
France as Charles X. His regal
dignity ended with his life nine
months later.

The change in the Huguenot
prince's position had its natural
results on the lukewarm Catholics
who could tolerate
him as King in
possibility of conversion, however re-
would restore him now having
his army rapidly dissolving
quitted St Cloud on August 1st.
It was hopeless to carry on the
siege of Paris under the circum-
stances of the moment.

His next great Angevin
brought back a favourable answer
to his cause. The Paris leaders

concealed from the populace, as long as they could, the unwelcome news. They did more, they invented false news. The preachers did not hesitate to read from the pulpit supposed letters of the Duke de Mayenne announcing fictitious victories. It was called 'preaching by *Pièces*.' Madame de Montpensier purveyed the *Pièces*, the very counterpart of the fictitious telegrams of recent history. Every day that lady and her mother, the Duchess de Nemours, made it their business to assure the populace of Paris—how ready to believe what it wished, then, as at all times!—that *le Béarnais* was reduced to the last extremity, that he was on the point of surrendering, or of taking refuge in England, but that escape beyond the seas would be rendered impossible for him. It was a rude disenchantment when the supposed fugitive arrived before Paris, on October 31, with a formidable army. The *Politiques* were called to arms, the inmates of the convents joined them, the ramparts that enclosed the city were everywhere manned. But it was deemed nearly hopeless to guard the faubourgs, and these, for four days, the King's troops occupied and pillaged. Then, upon the arrival of Mayenne from the North, they drew off in the direction of Tours, November 4, and Paris breathed again.

Between November 1589, and March 1593, the Commune, and their nominees the parish curés, had it all to themselves in the capital. Mayenne sought in vain to temper their extravagances. At one time, it is said, by the 'mortal terror and abject remorse' of the Parisians, he was induced to make terms with Henry. The Sixteen, on the other hand, threw themselves unreservedly into the political views of Philip II, who aimed ultimately, at securing the crown of France for his own daughter, Isabella, but at present pretended only to the position of Protector of France. The Pope's policy, which was calculated on the probable conversion of Henry IV and an accommodation with him, was repudiated both by the 'Sixteen' and by Philip, and invectives against the Head of the Church were hurled alike from Spanish and from French pulpits. When, shortly after, Sixtus V died, the cure Aubry did not hesitate to declare, 'God has delivered us from a bad man and a *Politique*' (the party name for men of moderate views).

One of the last acts of Sixtus had been to send a legate to Paris, Cardinal Gaetani, who arrived there on January 15, 1590. Whether from intimidation or real sympathy, Gaetani soon showed himself devoted to the Commune. In his suite he brought a distinguished preacher, Panigarola, Bishop of Asti, who became one of the most efficient oratorical allies of their party.

At first, indeed, Panigarola, smooth, refined, and *Italian*, a circumstance, it seems, which did not make his sermons less popular with the Parisians—(perhaps the native language of the Medici was more familiar to them then than before or since)—receded a little from the coarse brutality of Boucher. On one occasion, in conversation, he even ventured to hint at the desirableness of peace. But the ill-advised words were repeated to the Sixteen, who immediately threatened to have him sewn up in a bag and thrown into the river if he did not change his note. Accordingly, in his next sermon, Panigarola took care to lash himself into a fury, crying out 'Guerra, guerra, guerra!' with an energy which impressed his audience the more because of his usual calmness.

The great strain upon the nerves of the Paris Revolt was during the four months from the beginning of May to the end of August 1590, when Henry IV, having gained the battle of Ivry, laid [illegible] blockade

to the city. The news of the battle was a thunderclap to the Commune, who scarcely knew how to announce it to the people. At last it was decided to do so by the instrumentality of the Savoyard Monk Cristino; he mounted the pulpit and chose for his text the words, *Quare ego amore patet castigo*. God, he said, would doubtless see fit to try the endurance of the Parisians. Just as he was about to begin the second head of his discourse a courier arrived, and (as preconcerted) gave him a letter. Cristino bent forward and cried out that God had inspired him to be that day not a preacher only, but a prophet; then he read aloud the account of the defeat, winding up with so pathetic and earnest an exhortation that the people were more than ever resolved to stand by the Union. Thenceforth every stimulus that 'ruling' could afford was applied with increased vigour. A solemn procession was held on June 3, a troop of 1,300 monks, priests, and scholars, carrying armour beneath their cassocks, marched through the streets, the preachers in the front. Rose, Bishop of Senlis, carried a crucifix and preached a sermon when the procession halted. Every murmur or hint at capitulation was repressed; the three or four parish priests who ventured to profess 'moderate' sympathies were in danger of their lives. Mendoza, the Ambassador of Philip II, was busy with Spanish reinforcements and Spanish gold. The Duchesses of the House of Lorraine went through the streets daily encouraging the people.

The unexpected delay of two months between the battle of Ivry, which was fought in March, and Henry's arrival before the walls of Paris, had given the Parisians time to prepare themselves for the siege better than they could otherwise have done. They were busy with energy, digging and fortifying their ramparts, and bringing in provisions. Many useless mouths quitted the city; the numbers that remained are estimated at 150,000. The Duc de Nemours and the Chevalier d'Aumale, left by Mayenne in chief command, had a few companies of horse and foot under them, and sixty-five pieces of cannon. The civic militia might be raised to 50,000. The Leaguers numbered about 1,200 infantry and 3,000 cavalry. Stringent measures were taken by the Paris authorities to keep down luxury, and eke out the means of subsistence. While they retained possession of the faubourgs they were able to cultivate vegetable produce, but by the end of July they were forced to retire on the inner ramparts of the city, and then privation began to be most severely felt. Horses, asses, and dogs were sold in the butchers' shops. Bread was made from ground bones — human bones, it is said. Nay, there was a story of a mother devouring her own child, as in the siege of Jerusalem. The comparison of that siege was held before the people, and inspired the fanatics with more desperate resolve. But the clamours for peace and surrender increased in numbers. 'Du pain ou la paix!' was cried with hollow voice and lantern jaws — especially in the night-time, says Davila. Thirty thousand persons are said to have died of hunger. The preachers could not preach it away, though they held forth twice a day in each church. Even more effective were the lamentations of famished children.

When the desired relief came, on the return of Henry IV before the walls of Paris, the chronicles of the period are not known to have recorded. Paris was a large city, and it was a matter of little moment to the King of Paris what happened to the

tality to do with it? God had intervened directly, and of His own will, in this great event. 'Let men talk of the siege of Bethulia, of Jerusalem let men talk of Troas, of Sennacherib -here was a miracle indeed!' The sufferings of the Parisians he likened to those of Christ. Let vengeance, he said, be taken on the Politiques, and on the Bearnese Prince, whom Scripture had foreshadowed in Ahab.'

Though relieved from the present pressure of the blockade, the insurgent city had still to maintain her self-sustaining attitude, not only in antagonism to Henry IV., but also in marked independence of her champion, Mayenne. The siege had served to intensify her self-centred consciousness, and also to exercise her militia. Paris was the Paris of the Commune and of the preachers; it was not to be the slave of any military chieftain. Still were the parish pulpits the forms of the revolt. From these the news of the day was announced, indictments were attacked, state interests were discussed. In the early spring (1590) the fate of Chartres was the great topic of excitement. Chartres was after Paris, the most important town in the interests of the League. Henry had begun to starve it in order to storm the square whence Paris itself derived much of part of its corn supply. From March, letters from Chartres were read twice a day in the churches, and prayers offered up for its safety. The appointed time for the surrender was declared to be the octave of the Woman of Canaan. All the preachers interpreted it as an allegory. Paris was the persecuting daughter; Chartres was the afflicted mother; the devil who possessed her was the King of Navarre.

On April 13 it was announced that Chartres had been relieved by the Duke of Nemours, and that the citizens were celebrating their deliverance with bonfires and rejoicings. Mayenne, who had not yet made up his mind to make war against hostile, but even against their Patron Saint, our Lady. Could *She* have abandoned them, in spite of so many prayers and offerings?

And now began what may be called the Reign of Terror of the League in Paris. Jean Boucher distinguished himself by the special bloodthirstiness of his discourses. It was time, he said, to put hand to the sickle. Others imitated his tone. Rose said that a St Bartholomew letting of blood was needful; Commelet, that the death of Politiques was the life of Catholics. Aubry, Cueilly, Gincestre, were not behindhand in their utterances. It was against the magistrates of the Parliament that the animosity of Commune and clergy was more particularly directed. In spite of its previous purgation this body was now denounced as treacherous, unworthy.—*Duces se in fact.* An extraordinary committee, called the Council of Ten, was appointed by the Sixteen, a sort of Committee of Public Safety, by which it was resolved in secret conclave that the lives of the president Brisson, and Larcher, should be taken. The mandate went forth, the victims were dragged to their fate. Then a list of 'proscribed' was drawn up at Boucher's instigation. Forty-four counsellors were signalised as suspected persons whom it was right to sacrifice for the public good. Papers were issued for each of the sixteen quarters of Paris, with lists of the Parliament, and affixed to each name a Cross Dagger, standing for Death. Fearful would have been the massacre of Frenchmen by Frenchmen, had it not been that the Spanish and Italian troops refused to carry out the intention. Mayenne, alarmed at the excesses and at the report that the advanced Leaguers were privately treating with Philip of Spain for the surrender of the

crown to the Infanta, hastened back to Paris with a few regiments of horse and foot. Having ascertained that the friends of order, 'la bonne bourgeoisie et les milices,' were writhing under the domination of the *Seize* and the populace, he mixed his own troops with the civic guard, replaced over the latter the officers dismissed by the Commune, and seized on the Bastille and all the important posts of the city. This was vigorous conduct, hardly expected of Mayenne. The 'Sixteen' and their preachers were terrified. Boucher came forward and assured Mayenne that their proceedings had been in accordance with his interests. But the Captain-general had resolved on his *coup d'état*; and on December 3 he declared the council of the union dissolved, gave the principal municipal posts to Politiques, and condemned nine of the 'Sixteen' to death. Four only were arrested; they were hung without delay in the Hall of the Louvre.

Still the snake was scotched only, not killed, and it turned upon Mayenne with intensified fury. Boucher dared to tell him that the execution was a butchery, and the victims holy martyrs. The preachers made the most of the text. Mayenne was impotent in his irritation when his sin was enlarged upon to the listening masses, and could only threaten to tear out Boucher's seeing eye.

Popularly, Boucher appeared to be the master of the situation. The University chose him for Vice-Chancellor, and he obtained the *Prospect* of King of the League. To dwell upon the oratorical extravagances of himself and his fellow curés would be monotonous and needless. A part of their description consisted in enforcing the attendance of the congregations on their numerous, lengthy, and sanguinary harangues. The aspect of a sermon was a sanguinary [illegible]

death or loss of goods. The first circumstance that seriously affected their authority over the minds of the Parisians was the prospect of conversion now openly held forth by Henry IV. Now, for the first time, some sinister protest or dubious silence would meet their arrogant declamations. While Commelet was preaching with his usual violence, three of his auditors left the church. 'Let these *Politiques* be watched and pursued,' he cried; but his fury met with a response. 'Ah,' said Aubry, 'if the bodies of my parishioners were opened, a big Bearnese would be found inside most of them.' St. Boucher talked boldly. 'Let the Bearnese,' he exclaimed, 'conquer the Kingdom of Heaven if he could, but to think of the Kingdom of France was folly.'

The meeting of the States-General took place at Paris in January 1593. It was urged forward by Philip II., in hope of obtaining from them, through the agency of his gold and his preachers, a declaration of the Infanta's title to the throne of her maternal grandfather, Henry II. The States talked, but did little. They were ridiculed by the preachers—some of whom, however, had places in the Assembly. The commentary of the *Politiques* on their futile proceedings may be read in the famous *Satire Ménippée*. The Parliament, on the other hand, stepped forward in the interests of Mayenne, of moderation, and of national independence, and, on June 28, issued a manifesto proclaiming the irreconcilableness of the Salic law. Then the Spanish party had recourse to a new project. This was to marry the Infanta to the young Duke of Guise, and get him made King by election. The Sixteen threw themselves into it with ardour. They made a desperate rally of the party and instituted the [illegible]

lavished on Boucher and his co-*reus*. The young Duke was praised in all their pulpits, and called *Sire*. He was the darling shepherd youth, the David whose destiny was to save the Christian religion. The expected abjuration of Henry was denounced as a thing base and monstrous. 'There are still good brethren at Paris,' said Aubry, 'who will fight to the last and die sooner than submit to peace. For myself, let them drag me to the river in a sack and throw me in, rather than I will ever give my consent to it. . . . Let the Huguenots be purgarded, I would kill plenty of them myself had I the strength as I have the courage.' Well might the President Le Maitre say, 'You are a bloodthirsty pack; it is your sermons that prevent the repose of the people.' Boucher's extravagant harangue on the text, 'Erigne nos de Into,' has often been cited as a specimen of the clerical taste and temper at this time. He punned upon the word *lot*, mire, saying, 'Il est temps de se delourber, de se de-Bourbonner.'

Nevertheless the influence of the preachers was on the decline. Some there were who capped Boucher's 'equivoque' by observing, 'Il est temps de se de-Boucher.' Their insolence and anti-national politics were repugnant to any public spirit or good sense that might be left among the people, and when Henry's public abjuration took place on July 25 there seemed no sufficient reason why all good Frenchmen should not be content under his rule. Many of the priests themselves showed signs of wavering. These must have changed to zeal when Henry ventured to apply to Clement VIII. the treasonable, to further treasonable ends, remedy. He did so with the shrewd remark, 'Never was good treason a spar and.' It does not seem that Clement ventured at this moment to comply, but at all events he had withdrawn from the party politics of the League.

From the first to the ninth of August Boucher preached his famous Nine Sermons on 'La simulée conversion de Henri de Bourbon.' They were approved by a formal 'privilege' of the Faculty of Theology, and may thus be considered as the 'dernier mot' of the League, its last authorised expression of opinion. These sermons are much sought after by the curious in Bibliology. In argument they are but a more florid and rhetorical enunciation of the principles he had already put forward systematically in his treatise *De justâ Abdicatione*. 'Ventre saint Gris!' said Henry, when told of the pulpit performances of some preacher who was drawing all the crowds of Paris to hear him, 'that must be *Boucher le bon*, our master.'

During the closing months of the League's last agony in Paris, however, the principal rôle among the preachers was filled by Garin, the Cordelier monk. While some had drawn more decidedly to the King of Spain, others to Henry IV., Garin maintained an attitude of simple and entire loyalty to the sixteen municipal chiefs, the Commune. It was civic independence which he proclaimed and exalted. He said, 'Whilst this good, upright, and noble company of the Sixteen had authority, we have seen religion flourish, traitors punished, everything going by compass and reason. . . . Since authority has been taken from them, all has gone to ruin. . . . Religion is vilipended; the towns consider about surrendering to that wicked one: traitors walk with heads erect.' The golden age for Garin was that of the *entière obéissance* of Boucher, when Brisson and his colleagues were murdered, and Mayenne was held in check. Mayenne and the Parliament had changed that state of things, and Garin could find no

language too bitter for them. He would preach for three hours and a half consecutively. His invectives, coarse jokes, and rhodomontades brought him crowds of listeners, but probably no adherents. The spell of the pulpit was over. Meanwhile, anarchy was at its height in Paris. The innocent were victims of unjust persecution—malefactors escaped justice. The party of order tried vainly to curb the extravagances of the press. Two printers, arrested by order of Mayenne and the Parliament for the insolent publication called *Dialogue du Maheustre et du Manant*, were, owing to Guarin's seditious bluster, allowed to go scot-free.

Still the undercurrent of the action was progressing. Henry's consecration at Chartres, on February 27, was another stroke of dire dismay to the Leaguers, and augmented the number of the royal partisans.

Nemours, the half-brother of the Guises, the *Lieutenant* of the city, as he had democratically styled himself, now set out for the Lyonnais. Mayenne quitted Paris to join the troops of Count Mansfeld, and make one last attempt to hold out in the field. Before departing, however, he was persuasive necessitated to remove the brute he had himself lain on the unruly Commune. He reinstated the Sixteen in their prerogatives, and let the Spanish envoys resume their part in affairs, seeing that thus alone the existence of the Union could be preserved.

Then Boucher burst forth again, charged as he was with the actual presidency of the Seize, and boldly declared the Pope powerless to absolve Henry. Around Guarin, his auditors formed a veritable club. He and the other preachers placed arms in the hands of their retainers. A massacre of the Politiques was recommended. But the drama was drawing to a close. Brissac, left as Governor by Mayenne, began, tentatively at first, for fear of Guarin, to treat with Henry. Rose of Senlis, blind to the coming event, had commenced, on the 21st of March, what was to have been a series of sermons proving the impossibility of the Bearnese King's acceptance. On the morning of the 22nd, that very King was in undisputed possession. He entered during the night, and, owing to the military precautions taken by Brissac, and the growing royalist reaction among the people, resistance had vanished as if by magic.

At the astounding news, the seditious preachers fled like chaff. We do not find that any of them carried out keep that 'part with death' to which they had so profusely sworn when urging their flocks to endure to the last extremities. Some had already taken care to save themselves in time by retreating from the scene, or keeping silent. Some had even turned to change their tone. Some had veered from one partisan cry to the other according to the exigencies of the hour. Commotet was a striking example of the unabashed effrontery of the latter case. But Guarin had held on to the last moment before evacuated Paris, along with the Spanish garrison, on the King's entry. Nine days later that event Guarin was receiving from the pulpit an act of regret after the pattern of that of Jacques Clement. But when Henry actually came, even Guarin escaped. He hid himself in a barn in the Rue St Honoré, and when discovered begged for life on his knees, swearing that he was ready to preach in the King's behalf if necessary. Henry contented himself with an order to the effect that Guarin should be sent to the Bastille.

Obscurity, sometimes with literary ease and occupation, was the lot of most of these firebrands of the League in their subsequent days. Boucher survived to a great

age. 'Not knowing how to exercise the activity of spirit by which he was devoured,' says M. Labitte, 'he passed his protracted old age in keeping a sort of academy and taking charge of some young students.' But he indulged in frequent law-suits also, for Philip II. had made him Archdeacon of Tours-en-Vay, and capitular questions were a tempting food for his pugnacity. Again, his 'Apology for Jean Châtel' and his 'Funeral Oration for Philip II.' show that, from time to time at all events, the fortunes and the triumphs of the Catholic power of the League were by no means extinguished in the mind of Boucher. He is said, indeed, by the historian Mézeray to have received a pension before the end, and to have been 'the first to make a breach in the friendship which had been between Spain and France.' He died in 1646, at the great age of ninety-two years, only to see the overthrow of the ideas

A magnificent illustration of the reign of Henry IV. at Paris was this, that it saved the National Unity of France. The Communalist movement of the League was quelled at its head-quarters. The system of Federal towns, and half-federal arrangements in connection with some weak nominal monarchy, which was still in prospect of being realised, yielded to the Bourbon autocracy of the next 200 years, with all its splendour, and, it must be added, with all its vices. Since then, revolution and military despotism have ruled their several hours, but France has held together, proud above all things of her integrity, consolidated politically as a nation. Now, for the first time since the wars of the League, do we behold the political utopia of Federal municipalities at strife with the other elements of order through the country. The 'Commune of Paris, in April 1871, in its dogged opposition to the opinion of the country at large, as evinced in the National Assembly at Versailles, has run but a three days' race.

THE POETRY OF THE SIEGE.

'INDIGNATION makes verses,' and it is not surprising that the mental excitement of the Parisians during the siege (perhaps we should now say the first siege, or the siege by the Germans, to distinguish it from the second siege by the French) should have led to a considerable outburst of lyrical activity.

Much of the poetry thus produced was, it must be confessed, poor stuff; but it has, at least, an interest as reflecting the prevailing emotions of the period, and some of the pieces are not without a value of their own. There was, of course, any quantity of street songs, chiefly of a grotesque and satirical kind, the most popular being *Ah! Ça ira*, *ah ça ira*, warning the Prussians that they would all be swallowed up if they did not instantly decamp; and *Le Plan le Tendre*, a mocking review of absurdities attributed to the Governor, each verse winding up with a chorus of 'Plan, plan, plan!' Another favourite song was one which I have [illegible]

[illegible]

When the working folk had their breakfast coffee, the middle and upper classes went to the theatre to hear verses of a more ambitious order, recited by well-known comedians. Revert[illegible] to primitive fashion, the poets published their new compositions not through the press, but from the stage. The introduction of these pieces into the theatre was generally with the Parisian readers and playgoers in front of a favourite actor or actress, the want of which became more and more felt as the rations and starvation diet, with the gradual exhaustion of the articles through which they were passing, and the severe heroism they attributed to themselves. Long before the siege began, the terrible drama of the war engrossed the public mind to the exclusion of everything else. To read the various editions of the papers, to discuss the news, to receive and retail the thousand rumours, reports, and speculations of each hour, occupied the Parisians from morning to night. The players acted and sang to empty benches, and the managers were arranging to close their doors when the Prefect of Police issued a edict compelling them to do so, and saved them the trouble of framing an excuse. Before the siege was a month old, however, the fires of the theatres began to be [illegible] Cut off from communication with the outer world, deprived of news except now and then when a pigeon arrived, or a few letters and papers were smuggled through the lines, the Parisians felt it a thing heavy on their hands. Business was for the most part [illegible] or at any rate [illegible] part of the day. [illegible] and meeting friends, [illegible] walking, but their evenings were [illegible] the theatres. An actor [illegible] reciting the verses, and after a [illegible] of applause with which [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

splendour was owing to the short supply of gas, but it was also greatly due, as M. Perrin explained to his audience at the Comédie Française, to *scrupules de trésorier*. The first public entertainment during the investment was a concert given on the 23rd Oct. by M. Pasdeloup, an Abbé being specially retained to open the proceedings with an address, and say grace as it were over the programme. The Opera followed the example, giving matinées of operas and symphonies. On the 30th the Comédie Française reopened for the benefit of the sick and wounded. After a very dull lecture by M. Legouvé on 'The Moral Alimentation of Paris,' some scenes from the *Misanthrope* and *Horace* were acted, the heroes of Molière and Corneille appearing in dress coats and white ties and Mdlle. Agar sang the *Marseillaise*. The house was crammed in every part. In what was formerly the Imperial box were seated a number of wounded soldiers. The women among the audience were all in black, and the men, with few exceptions, in the grey uniform of one kind or another. The decoration of the theatre was at this time actually an object!

At the Ambigu a new play, called *Les Prussiens chez Chatenay*, was produced. It was presented as 'une actualité patriotique,' and contained a very simple story. A young Prussian officer, bred in France and betrothed to a French girl, is compelled against his will to become a Prussian. He goes to the rendezvous, returns with the army to Chatenay, and there, wounded in the trenches, is nursed in the French ranks. The drama concludes with a representation of the bombardment of Châtenay, and while the piece was being acted the sound of the real bombardment on the other side of the Seine was plainly heard mingling with the roar of the stage guns. Another play produced at the same theatre was entitled *Les Paysans Lorrains*. A sensational effect was produced on the audience by the exhibition of some real bacon in the course of this piece.

These were almost the only new plays produced during the siege. The other theatres contented themselves with supplementing their stock pieces with odes and monologues bearing on the great question of the day. In this country the poets have long been divorced from the stage, but in France the fashion of writing both comedies and tragedies in rhymed verse has kept up a connection between the players and the bards. The Théâtre Français had therefore no difficulty in finding verses in abundance for the purpose of recitation. The stock theme of these poems was the moral dignity of the situation, accompanied by exhortations to continued fortitude and endurance, and denunciations of the barbarous foe. One of the most characteristic of them in this respect was, perhaps, *The Clock of Paris*, by M. Leconte de Lisle, which was recited by Mdlle. Agar on the 200th night of the siege, and doubtless thrilled the audience by its picture of the terrible scenes so near to them—the sea of snow and ring of fire in which the city was set, the shattered palaces and burnt homes around it, the frozen corpses of the battle-field, and the cruel icy wind, charged with moans and shrieks of execration and vengeance. The following lines will show the spirit in which Paris was glorified and the invader abased.

Vois ce cadavre, cerveau du monde, cœur
de la femme,
Reine aux mains étoilé des aspects,
Phare aux feux dans l'ombre où sont Athènes
et Rome,
Astre des nuits ou Paris!

. . . . . .

Vois la hache au poil fauve essuyer ses
mains rouges!
Vil troupeau de sang altéré,

De la sainte patrie ils mangent les entrailles,
Ils lavent sur ton sol sacré
Tous les loups d'outre Rhin ont mille fois raison,
Vandale, Germain, et Teuton.
Ils sont tous là, hurlant de leurs gueules épaisses,
Sous la fanure et le bâton

Odette Guerrière is in a lighter strain. It is supposed to be the soliloquy of a fashionable coquette, who, however, amid her vanities, is not insensible to the impressions of the time. She is elated because her lover has just been made captain of a battalion of *éclaireurs*, and is disposed to triumph over her bosom friend, whose husband is only a corporal. At first she was sadly disturbed at the idea of his going a soldiering, and forgot herself even so far as to cry till she reddened her eyes, but she consoles herself with the thought of his bravery, and his very graceful appearance in a brilliant uniform, with a sword by his side. The sound of the cannonade fills her with horrible forebodings of evil, and often she fancies she sees the gloomy coach with the red flag on a white ground drive up to her door, and the dying soldier lifted out of it. But something assures her he will return in safety, bringing with him a Prussian helmet as an exquisite gift of love —

Je vois revenir mon amant
Dans cette voiture ensanglantée,
On le soutient à peine en route
Pour le mettre à l'ambulance
Lorsqu'il descend de son cheval
Je lui crie en battant des mains,
Il m'apporte un casque
Pour faire un vase de Japon.

And further to flout at war, she resolves to make the pickelhaube the depository of all her little amulets of love, *billets*, and locks of hair, and the bunch of violets which was the first declaration of her lover's passion.

The *Cantinière de Bazeilles*, by Emile Bergerat, which was recited by Coquelin at the Théâtre Français, and caused some sensation, is a poetical explanation of the mad cavalry charge against the strongly-posted German artillery. First, we have rather a full-coloured picture of the battle, the Germans hidden in the forest —

Qu'est-ce monstrueux à la mêlée —

Turcos dashing up to the mouths of the enemy's cannon with the sabres in their teeth, and so on. The French having exhausted their ammunition, and no supports arriving, are compelled to fall back. Mac Mahon, gathering his dragoons round him, points out the locality where the Germans are hurrying, and orders an attack. 'Go,' he says, 'and take your time about it!' a covert hint to withdraw his army while the attention of the enemy is occupied by this movement. The impression was not a forlorn hope, but certain doom. 'Tis the daughter of the colonel of cuirassiers, 'Sidi Ege, Marshal, but the enemy are in full flight, Lamoricière! The man of Magenta takes his bâton, encourages him in the midst of all, and then disappears, not without envy, to glorious death. So the cuirassiers go forth to their doom, in circumstances which eclipse the famous charge of the Balaklava.

The object of the attack is accomplished, and the baffled Germans next morning behold the French marching off in the far distance. Only a Frenchman could have the thought of chanting an army in retreating —

Ses armes [illegible]

The *Mort d'Ilo*, another poem by the same author, and also recited at the Théâtre Français by Coquelin, is more than ever vivid and impressive. The following verses will give an idea of the subject-matter, story, and the circumstances under which he met it, and those who recollect Coquelin's dra-

[illegible] and masterly dramatic [illegible] can imagine with what [illegible] it be rendered it

[illegible]

'En Forêt!' is the cry, and off they go, the old priest leading the way. The Schoolmaster takes his wife to her parents at Illzach, hands back her dowry, and the parting is made more terrible by the discovery that she is before long to be a mother. In a frenzy of grief and despair he returns to his village —

[illegible]

A remarkable literary incident of the siege was the recitation of Victor Hugo's *Châtiments* at the Comédie Française. Only a few months before the work circulated with guarded secrecy from hand to hand, people looked themselves in

[illegible] read the scathing denunciations on the Empire. The most striking passages were now recited on the public stages, before a dense and enthusiastic audience, amid deafening applause. But the excitement soon subsided. The Empire was over; to triumph over it in this manner was too much like kicking a dog when dead what men had cringed before when living. So, after a little while, the Philippics ceased to appear from the play bills, though it continued to have an extensive sale as a book. While shut up in the capital from which he had been so long proscribed, Victor Hugo, in addition to one or two rhapsodical letters, wrote a poem called 'Dans le Cirque.' France, under the guise of a lion, being pitted against a polar bear — Prussia, of course—in the circus, argues with the latter on the absurdity of rending each other to gratify the blood-thirsty passions of the Emperor Nero, and proposes a wiser course—

Insensé,
Nous vous m'attaquez. Sus. Mes griffes sont prêtes.

Mais je pense à ce dieu que nous servons tous
Au fond
De nous entretuer avec tant de fureur
Et que nous forçons tous deux de mauvais
Empereurs.

On the whole the poetry of the siege was more remarkable for quantity than quality. The thought is thin and monotonous, and the manner in which it is expressed is usually, at the best, graceful rather than dignified or vigorous. A certain prettiness of style which many of the pieces exhibit contrasts unpleasantly with the gravity of the subject. Their recitation doubtless afforded an agreeable and decorous amusement, but it is difficult to conceive that the audience derived any genuine moral support from listening to or reflecting on them. Nothing was produced which can even distantly be compared with the 'Marseillaise,' or with the effusions of Chenier and Korner. The poems of the siege have, however, as we said at starting, a certain degree of historical interest, and deserve a passing notice.

J. H. F.

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THE TENURE OF LAND IN EUROPE.

THE question of the land is looming in the immediate future, and men are to-day gathering up from the various countries of Europe those materials from which may be obtained a more perfect grasp of the constituents to be considered. In its first view the problem appears complex to the extreme of complexity, for Common Law and Roman Law, Feudal Law and Ecclesiastical Law, are so interwoven that the highest legal intellects have expressed their sense of the enormous difficulties with the matter in question, and have declined to the undertaking their desire to find a remedy.

But far more important, because more pressing, passionate, and growing, is that phase of the question which is discussed in all the great manufacturing centres of our country, and which does not enquire what are the legal technicalities of title, but asks, whence came the original possession of the land, and what gives the right of ownership. These, and many others are asked with a fearful intensity which has a significance more powerful than words. They are evoked from one end of our land to the other, and they grow many times heavy upward in the larger great centres, owing to temporary madness the whole mass of the artisans, and also all those in the earlier stages of the same question of the land.

None recognise these truths more absolutely than those who know the under-current of life most thoroughly; and the greater the certainty of these facts, the greater is the necessity that the problem should be reviewed in its simplest elements, so that all minds may grasp the difficulty with which we have to deal. It is from this point of view that the present state of land tenure in Europe will give us a great lesson and a great opportunity. On some parts of its surface may be seen the earliest germs of human awakening into free and active life, whilst on other points there still remain the stagnating remnants of the past, as a dying growth. In Rome ecclesiastical law takes the highest place in Prussia military law, in Russia still rests upon the divine right of kings, whilst in Russia the old form of communal property has been lost in the midst of the ruins of the past, and crushed with the power to reunify society. These forms of land occupancy present the widest possible divergence, and despite the apparent anomaly impressed upon them by the contradictory stages of modern life, such as religion, war, or commerce, the great reality contain distinct resemblances that are separated by centuries of civilisation.

At the present time in Europe we have four influences in greater or lesser activity. The earliest, the widest spread, the most permanent,

and, in one sense, the most important, is the old law of communism; for, when closely viewed and carefully traced through its various modifications, it will be found to underlie the entire structure of European land tenure. Arising out of it, extending over it, and having had in the past almost as wide a range of activity, is that of feudal law; its influence having ever been directed to the abrogation of common holdings and the building up of manorial rights. This power of feudalism grew but slowly, rising into full development at the time of our own Norman Conquest, and retaining, even to the present hour, some of its most marked privileges in their entirety. Against this law of feudal tenure—against the assumption of superior right—against the line of demarcation that separated class from class—against the pretension of being above or below the salt—the whole power of modern thought and modern progress has struggled, and in that struggle has ever achieved its victory. It has been enabled, step by step and little by little, to break down the successive barriers; how this has been achieved, by what efforts and through what processes, is best told by that series of enactments that appears in our statute books. But these three great influences—that of the law of common tenure, the law of feudal tenure, and the law of modern thought—are each modified by another influence, the condition of population as represented by the greater or lesser density of life. So long as a population is sparse, so long as large tracts of country remain uncultivated, so long will the laws of common holding and the law of feudal tenure have a more or less direct vitality: but when life becomes dense, when each foot of land acquires a value, and when the struggle for the means of life deepens in intensity, then the law of feudal tenure must struggle with or yield to that of modern thought. Such a special condition is the condition of our own land to-day, and the signs are not wanting that the time approaches when a more or less definite solution will have to be found.

It has been said that the law of common holding underlies all land tenure in Europe, and the reasons why this is so are very evident. The system of common holding was the original type of land tenure, and existed alike amongst the early Romans, the early Teutons, and their still more early progenitors the Indo-Germanic tribes, and evidence of each of these points exists to the present time. In tracing them separately out, the more pronounced point is the distinct association of the people with the land; for not only was the land held in common and cultivated in common, but the possession of land was hedged round with distinct limitations in a clearly defined manner. These limitations retain their significance in many parts of Europe at the present time, but it is only when the broad fact stands out in its simple integrity that we are enabled to appreciate the full force of its teaching. Thus, for instance, as is the case in the common lands of England or the Mark lands of Germany, we find systems of land tenure in force that have existed from times long preceding the Norman Conquest or the downfall of the Roman Empire. It is only under such circumstances as these that we can recognise how unchanging are some forms of land tenure in Europe. But if this be true of the West, where our law of life is the law of change, how much more is it so of that earlier home of our forefathers, the land of the East, where the law of permanency is stamped on all forms of thought, and where, apart from the influences of European ideas, the conditions of life, even to trivialities, remain unbroken for centuries. We might,

therefore, anticipate to find in India to-day those prototypes of land tenure which have exercised and still exercise so large an influence on Europe, and it is found that they not only exist, but are exceedingly widely spread

In India at the present time a large proportion of the whole empire is divided into communities, in which the land is held and cultivated in common, and the limitations by which the system is surrounded are thus given by a careful and painstaking writer.[1] 'When I speak of a village community, I use this latter word in our ordinary English sense, and not to signify the actual holding of property in common . . . It is true that in early times, before communities have settled down to fixed cultivation, the land is held to a great degree in common for grazing purposes, private property being in cattle, not in land . . . The bond, then, which keeps together a village community is rather municipal than a community of property The cultivated land is held by individuals, and the common interest in common property is scarcely greater than that which exists among the members of any large electorate The waste land and grazing ground are held in common certain common receipts are brought to a common fund, certain customary allowances charged against the same fund, and distributed in a manner similar to that governing the holdings The village community, as a corporate body, has certain municipal powers, and the community claims to exercise a certain limited control over its members, and to have a reversionary right to the land of members who cease to cultivate or fail to pay, but beyond this there is complete individual freedom . . . The community is managed by a council of elders, who rule it as long as they retain the confidence of the people, and who conduct all negotiations with the Government. In such a village, then, the body of the cultivators consider themselves to be the proprietors. They are united and very strong; they certainly exercise rights of property, and no one would dream of attempting to disturb them.'

The distinguishing mark of all early forms of proprietorship is the possession of land by the community as distinct from the possession of land by the individual; it is only as civilisation advances, and the value of individuality becomes more thoroughly recognised, that personal rights rise more and more distinctly into being. The reasons for this being so are very large In the earlier stages of civilised life the relationship of family ties and kinship forms the great bond of union, and the tribe, the village, or the clan constitutes the rule, if effective, organisation by which the people are guided and controlled This system has existed through all history; it appears in our earliest Biblical records, in the early history of Greece and Rome, in the early Germanic customs, and it has its root and its explanation in the natural growth of family life It is thus we are enabled to understand how it is that, under such widely varying circumstances, the same phenomena repeat themselves . . . Now, for instance, we meet the almost identical type of organisation as exists in our Highland clans, the wild mountaineers of India, and the communal life of Russia. With what intensity these feelings maintain themselves, so far as common holding is concerned, is sometimes strangely illustrated One instance may be given: 'The most curious proof that the natives do not necessarily prefer the separate to the joint system is found in the fact published in some of the official

[1] *Tenure of Land in India.* By George Campbell, Esq Cobden Club Paper.

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the more clear by noting how in
some parts of Europe the old com-
munities still remain in their full
integrity. In Westphalia we have
the communities of forest and pas-
ture, on the Weser, the Moselle,
and the Elbe we have the system of
open villages, which until lately
retained all their ancient rights;
while in some of these districts,
such as Starkenburg, so recently
as 1848 the only private rights of
property were the house and the
garden attached to it, arable land
(Gewanderland), with the exception
of a very small portion which remained
for common use, was periodically
distributed by lot amongst the owners
according to their rights,
and thus changed owners
according to the results of the draw-
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Russian Empire at the close of the
Crimean war, the one thought that
was uppermost, the one idea that
stood together antagonistic
terms, was that which based itself
the recognition that the law of
munism was not only the
framework of Russian society, but
was the one means by which Russia
herself could be regenerated. With
what passionate fervour this idea
was worked out, and through what
vast changes it was carried, is well
shown in Bekhaus's *Water-Law*,
in one part of which, when speaking
of the struggles of parties,
author thus expresses himself: "The
most important battle between the
two factions who were disputing
sway over the Russian
people, consisted in their
reference to the old Russian law
of communism, which excluded all
private possession of property, and
made the land of the community
the possession of all together."

The history of property will
characterise the various forms of
existing communism in India,
Russia, in Germany, in Greece, and
elsewhere, tends to support the
idea that they all had a common
origin in the East. It is
established by the general agreement,
and by the language, legal terms,
historic facts, and the
languages, and all the
communities give the same
of a village community, and that it
is nearly and generally agreed
that Europe was peopled from the
high table-land of Asia, and the
wave of population that poured
forth waxed strongest as it
the West. Under these circum-
stances it is natural to
that the germs of tribal
carry with them, not only the
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governed. It is thus that the old form of land tenure would take root throughout the whole of Europe, and it is thus that the various distorted cases that exist have so intimate and positive a resemblance, having sprung from the same source.

Nothing is more certain than that land tenure is at all times slow to change, even under the most adverse conditions, but when it is in harmony with the circumstances of life by which it is surrounded, it not only does not change, but it truly deserves the appellant virtues. Such has been the case of land tenure in India; for though it bears on all its features the traces of an extreme antiquity, it has yet preserved sufficient intimate force to remain the original form universally adopted by the laws of men, although modified in the midst of the vast variety of changes. Such a result is possible only when the requirements of the existing generation are identical with those which they are in harmony with the life that are to be preserved.

But the case is not so simple. Europe and the East were originally governed by the law of change. In the East the stagnation of many centuries in the West the progress of the people in the career of advance, and it is thus that a common origin was the cause of such a land tenure in Europe, so diverse in its actual appearance from the same forms of the East.

I do not think it necessary to enter into any discussion upon the feudal power. In which land was the grant of feudatories, and the struggle between these two powers has extended over a thousand years and is in full force to-day. Many of us are so accustomed to regard feudalism from the most fantastic side of its later development as it stands broadly out with its noble castles and its grand pageantry, that we are scarcely prepared to recognise the form it assumed in its earlier aspects, yet it is quite clear that in the first forms of feudalism the chief and his retainers occupied the same level, the leader being selected out of the body on account of his superior prowess and superior capacity. It is only as the principle became more consolidated, and the class that had risen to power as its predominant element, that the more and more broad line from the democratic, that the distinction between baron and retainer became in any sense a marked one; and even then the footing on which they stood to one another was broadly different from what many imagine. The tenure of the baron with his followers was that of the leader of the military brotherhood, and services are not wanting which indicate a common fellowship in which the flower of the two brotherhoods were thus intimately united as a moral, legal, and social whole, which, with the lapse of the centuries, and the attendant modifications of circumstance, has left its impress upon the whole of the institutions of Europe.

Whatever may have been the extent to which, or the way in which, all this has been the development of many of our greatest liberties, whether a natural evolution of the then existing conditions, the broad fact that feudalism has been developed in a more or less perfect form in Russia, India, and in England even previous to the Norman Conquest, tends to show that feudalism is the natural outgrowth of a special condition of civilisation—that condition which is the one step lower than that of communism. The development of the feudal system and the rise of life in towns are contemporaneous events; the one is a complement of the other,

and it is here the great division of class interests first rises into view. One portion of the population became absorbed in manufacturing and commercial pursuits; another still adhered to the land; whilst a third became the representative of war, undergoing its dangers, winning its victories, and claiming its spoils. The final result was not difficult to forecast: the military element dominated everywhere; and its representative men, chosen from their own ranks, became the holders of fiefs and lords of the soil. The division of the community as represented by town life helped to aid the condition from which serfdomism was eventually evolved. The mere fact that manufacturers and traders became absorbed in their own pursuits constituted one source of weakness to those who still followed the pursuit of agriculture; for whilst the military class found it necessary to maintain a more or less perfect organisation, and a greater or lesser state of efficiency, the peasant holders of the land, from whom they themselves had emerged, became mere serfs through the operation of one-sided laws and the conditions of life by which they were surrounded. The broad result here indicated was the same all over Europe; but the legal steps by which it was carried out in our own country have a curious significance when viewed from the point now indicated.

Amongst the earliest laws passed with regard to the land is one of the time of Henry III. At that period the recognition of the right of common holding had not died out, either in the minds of the people, the nobles, or royalty, whilst on the other hand the development of commerce had begun to give a new value to the land that surrounded the towns. The barons of that day evidenced a keen perception of their own interests and desired from time to time to select such portions as seemed to them most convenient for their own purposes; but against this course the people strongly protested, and their protests assumed such distinct form that the Act now referred to was passed to meet the difficulty, and runs as follows (Statute of Merton):

'Also because many great men of England (which have infeoffed knights and their freeholders of small tenements on their great manors) have complained that they cannot make their profit of the residue of their manors, as of waste, woods, and pasture, whereas the same feoffees have sufficient pastures, as much as belong to their tenements: It is provided and granted, that whenever such feoffees do bring an assize of novel disseisin for their common of pasture, and it is acknowledged before the justices that they have as much pasture as sufficeth to their tenements, and that they have free egress and regress from their tenements to the pasture, then let them be contented therewith, and they on whom it was complained go quits of so much as they have made their profit: their lands, wastes, woods, and pastures; and if they allege that they have not sufficient pasture or sufficient ingress or regress, according to their land, then let the truth be enquired by assize, and if it be found by the assize that the same feoffees have disturbed them of their ingress and regress, or that they have not sufficient pasture, as before said, then shall they recover their seisin by view of the inquest, so that by their discretion and oath the plaintiffs shall have sufficient pasture and sufficient ingress and egress in form aforesaid, and the disseisors shall be amerced, and shall yield damages as they were wont before the provision. And if it be certified by the assize that the plaintiffs have sufficient pasture with ingress and egress (as before a

said), let the other make their profit of the residue and go quit of that assize.'

Through the lapse of ages, and in spite of the quaint technical phraseology in which the statute expresses itself, the broad facts of the case come out clearly enough. It was the people who objected; it was they who brought actions at assize against the lords of the manor; it was they who were discontented; and it was to meet their complaints, and by indirect action to give increased or new powers to the rights of the manor, that the Act was passed. Nothing is clearer than that the interpretation of any Act must be sought for in the conditions of the times to which it belongs, and for the latter government of which it was created. When viewed in this light the Statute of Merton has a positive significance.

The next statute was passed in the time of Edward I., and is equally curious as indicating the gradual changes that were creeping over the law of land, as well as the continuous encroachments that were being imposed upon rights of common. These results were not achieved without protest, struggle, and litigation, for the Reformation of that age swept away time after time the various boundaries that were erected, and which marked the limit of the rights of the manor to encroach upon the ancient rights of common. The Act of Edward I. runs as follows: 'Whereas in a Statute made at Merton, it was granted that lords of wastes, woods, and pastures might approve the said wastes, woods, and pastures, so that they should leave sufficient pasture to their tenants, and that the tenants had and might have their commons, with free ingress and regress to the same, as was aforetime used; inasmuch that the lords having right to approve did thereby approve over and above, and enclose from the commons of their tenants, more than was sufficient for the lords, whereupon the tenants complained that they had not sufficient pasture as they ought to have, do overthrow the hedge or dyke, and it cannot be known by verdict of the assize or jury who did overthrow the hedge or dyke, and men of the town near will not indict such as be guilty of the fact, the towns near adjoining shall be distrained to levy the hedge or dyke at their own cost and to yield damages.'

The same general indication runs through the series of enactments that have passed from that time to this: they express the atmosphere by which they were surrounded; for although century after century the struggle still continued, the result was ever the same, the nobles always winning and the people always losing. The final result came at the Restoration. A great property lawyer naively adds: 'At the restoration of Charles II. a final blow was given to the whole system. Its form indeed remained, but its spirit was extinguished, the tenure of land then became less burdensome to the owner and less troublesome to the law student, and the courts of law, instead of being occupied with suits between lords and tenants, had their attention more directed to controversies between different owners.' The same general results were taking place all over Europe: the system born of feudalism had forced the stronger brains and stronger wills into the higher walks of life, and they used their position to the advantage of their own class. Our laws and the laws of other countries teem with evidence of this truth, one enactment after another was passed for the express purpose of consolidating and extending the rights of the feudal aristocracy, and the result was the gradual and almost total absorption of the land into their hands. It is idle to protest against the result or the mode by which it was produced, for it is the natural tendency of all class legislation. Aristocrat, plutocrat, and democrat are alike in this particular, for each has a distinct tendency to

mould the laws of the country into harmony with the ideas which they represent.

But the very success of feudalism, the very power of concentrative force that gave it at once its military supremacy and its class character, the very qualities that enabled it to triumph over all opposition, formed the elements of its greatest danger. It developed a state of society where everything was for the aristocrats and nothing for the people.

In France the most extreme forms of feudal tenure were retained in all their coarse integrity. Society under Louis XV. and Louis XVI. presented a series of strange pictures, Madame Pompadours, lettres de cachet, and secret espionage; whilst the wits and writers jeered and gibed at everything. At last the force of despair found its wild utterance in those pangs that culminated in the earthquake of the Revolution.

In Germany feudalism died out more slowly, being held in check by the genius of Frederick the Great; whilst in our own country the horror inspired by the destruction of Reason and the butchery of a king banded together all ranks among us. This union of classes, which had its origin in panic and disgust, was cemented through the dread felt for the first Napoleon. The conflict that originated in support of legitimacy destroyed through the whole war, and left behind a bitter antagonism that is only now slowly dying out.

It is not necessary to assume that the policy adopted by our country at that time was adopted as a mere result of aristocratic prejudice. The more probable and the more pleasant idea is that the best governed by exciting events had so thoroughly carried away men's thoughts that they really believed that the struggle was one for position, property, and freedom. Whatever may have been the origin of that great French war the result has been to give a different standard of land tenure to our country to that which exists on every other part of the Continent; for England alone at the present time retains the strong impress of feudalism. Although this result is doubtless due, in some degree, to the causes now indicated, it has also been aided by our insular position, which separated us from the propagandism of the Revolution. Its outbreak shattered the feudal system in France, and the Code Napoleon has taken great care to prevent the possibility of its reconstruction. As the destruction of feudalism represented the downfall of class interests, so the establishment of the Empire laid the foundations of modern agrarian life.

It has been said that the struggle which culminated in the earthquake of the French Revolution was the struggle between feudal pretension on the one side, and the demands of modern thought on the other. It will also be found that the struggle was between the settling of mere class position and interests, and the claims of universal freedom and development. It was thus that the feeling that propagated the Revolution, as well as the idea on which that feeling was based, has again and again risen to the surface in the trite phrase of Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity. Liberty is the freedom from servile labour; Equality is the equal status of all men before the law; and Fraternity the basis of a universal brotherhood. It matters nothing that the dreams of enthusiasts have failed to realise themselves in every-day life, or that the wildness of fanatics has broken down their wild programmes: the fact remains, and has tended to mould the whole course of modern society. From it were formed those main elements that made the armies of the first Republic everywhere irre-

stible, for they carried with them the nerve-force of a new hope, and the recuperative power of an ideal standard. These results were widely spread and greatly intensified by the military genius of Napoleon, and that series of splendid victories which gave France the sway over Europe, the mastery over Austria and Prussia, the alliance with Russia and which placed her grenadiers at Berlin in the north and Rome in the south, formed the elements of a more or less efficient propaganda for French principles. The results are before us to-day in the land tenure of Europe. At the present moment, France, Italy, Belgium, Prussia, and Austria are more or less directly under its influence, and it may be truly said that where the Code Napoleon prevails, there the feudal system is unknown.

Our own country formed the happy exception to the rule of the general European movement. Here the principles of feudalism, which had been introduced by the Norman Conquest, were gradually modified by the growth of civil liberty, and a new system was established, which, retaining the principle of Feudal tenure, but with the greatest possible relaxation of its rigour, gave to the land a new and elastic character. The state of the country and the laws of its tenure were peculiarly favourable to the accumulation of property in large masses, and to their descent as the rule of the great body of the people. Many thousand families have held land for centuries, and have grown with and waxed strong by the growth of the country, and have become, to a great extent, identified with its history. Others have risen from the ranks of the people as the result of successful industry, and have taken their place among the landed gentry of the country. The state of the country and the laws of its tenure were peculiarly favourable to the accumulation of property in large masses, and to their descent as the rule of the great body of the people. Many thousand families have held land for centuries, and have grown with and waxed strong by the growth of the country, and have become, to a great extent, identified with its history. Others have risen from the ranks of the people as the result of successful industry, and have taken their place among the landed gentry of the country.

The general satisfaction with which the great mass of English society has hitherto regarded the question of land tenure has two causes: the one the substantial existence of individual and political freedom, the other the relatively small proportion that the agricultural class bears to the total of the population. These two causes have also been largely aided by the development of other resources, which has given employment to our rapidly increasing population. The people flocked to the towns, attracted by the prospect of fortune, which afforded a market for their labour, and in the general improvement of their position the question of land tenure was left behind. But it will have become evident that these causes are strictly exotic, as the extremity of commerce is not indefinitely extensive, and thus, sooner or later, the great question of the land will have to be faced. At the present time the discontent that exists in the country districts, and in other great cities, is largely traceable to the growing impatience that exists between the artificial condition of the labour market and a decent standard of living, which is gradually taking place.

For, as our limits of time and resources increase, the demand will arise that the land shall cease to be the exclusive property of the few. That the change must come is inevitable, but how long before it is realized will depend upon the means of life that exist for the great body of the people. So long as our commerce grows and creates sufficient employment for the people the whole question will be regarded with a temperate if earnest curiosity; but should the channels of trade suddenly close, and the pressure of want awaken the just feeling of indignant rights, the laws of land tenure may fall under discussion with an emphasis which will not be again subdued.

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in outline the three great influences on which the whole structure of European land tenure may be said to depend; but it will be necessary to recognise that the three principles act and re-act upon each other, producing a series of modifications that extend from the most ancient form of common holding to the most modern form of proprietorship. It will also be wise to remember that these three great systems are the distinct outgrowth of their surroundings, and are more or less directly representative of particular features of civilised life. It is thus as impossible that communism can succeed feudalism, as it would be that feudalism could succeed modernism. The great divisions of Patriarchal Communism, Aristocratic Feudalism, and Democratic Agrarianism are the natural developments of social life. For we have, first, the family; next, the class; finally, the individual. These varying conditions being the natural results of particular conditions of civilisation, cannot be transmuted at will, the one into the other. When, therefore, we see, as is the case in Russia to-day, an endeavour to reproduce a form of social life that belongs essentially to the past, it is natural to anticipate a more or less direct failure, and the facts that come to the surface appear to bear this out. The disorder that reigns in village life, says the Novoe, threatens to produce general disorder in the State. There is a strong tendency to a general levelling of society. The idea of political equality is considerably developed even in the midst of the new territorial institutions. As still further illustrating the break-up of communal life whilst endeavouring to retain its outward form, the following from the Novoe Vremya in the article on Russia may be quoted: "The separatist movement in peasant life may likewise be considered from a commercial point of view. That life might have been seen before 1861 stereotyped, as it were, in every village. Its habits of the people, their food, their clothing, had been preserved from remote ages by traditions which had descended from patriarch to patriarch. In every country the old have more or less a natural aversion to innovations which are almost unheeded in the strong tendency of the young for change and progress. In Russia, however, the young and energetic of the village commune possessed no influence whatever. The elder members of the communities lived according to past traditions, and the future was after all of little promise or brightness to them as serfs. By a natural instinct they opposed all changes, for their despotic power would have been endangered by the triumph of any new ideas applied to mode of life, clothing, or agriculture. The creation of artificial wants was in direct opposition to the interest of the patriarch, whose great object was to keep together whatever money the family earned by a common effort of industry.

A dislike to the communal life and the system of collective responsibility by which it is attended has also acted as a powerful incentive to those peasants in preferring to become the proprietors of a small freehold in gift. . . . Their first movement, and the movement that stands out in the greatest relief as an effect of emancipation, was to throw off the yoke of the patriarchal tyranny and to enjoy such rights as were bestowed upon them under the new dispensation. A division and subdivision began soon after 1861, and was largely practically checked by the Central Government, even so late as to-day a ratio that has far to pass the majority of which presents a [illegible] of separate holdings. In every village throughout Russia the conservative may be heard, "No, we

each is for himself." In some parts of Southern Russia it is customary, when two sisters-in-law still inhabit the same hut, to draw a line in chalk on the floor to mark the limit of their respective dominions. These and other facts indicate that communism in Russia is on the wane, and in its place there is arising a phase of life in which the small freeholding class is being created, bearing a strong analogy to a state of life that once existed in our own country. Whether it will follow the same fate may be questioned, but some of the facts connected with other parts would seem to indicate its probability. "In the Western, or old Polish provinces, the measures of the Government were more decisive and radical, chiefly for political objects, but partly also because agriculture was relatively so much farther advanced in that part of the Empire that it had become the interest of the lord to deprive the serf of the soil he had tilled for his own benefit, and to reduce him to the condition of a landless labourer."

The present condition in truth represents a fusion of communal ideas with feudal rights viewed in the light of modern thought.

If we turn to Turkey, we meet with similar phenomena presenting themselves, for there also the principle of communism has taken root, but exhibiting one of those variations that are so common in Oriental governments. As regards the various modifications that have come from the absorption of the Moslem to the dominant race, it is not necessary to enter into a variety of phases ranging from the entire abrogation of individual liberty by its absorption into the community upward to that point where the individual asserts its independence. It is necessary to have these before us, as it tends to explain the varying aspects that range themselves under the generic term of communism. In Turkey, at the present time, in the laws that affect the land one special phase is thus described[1]: "Freehold estates belong either to single owners or the villagers collectively, when they are called "Elevthuskhoria" (free estates). As these latter constitute a large proportion of the landed property of the country, it will be well before proceeding further to point out their distinctive character. They are, as has been said, freehold estates; and they belong each to its own body of villagers, who, to acquire possession in the first instance, collectively incurred all the responsibilities, collectively went through all the processes required by law, and obtained a "berat" conveying the estate to them as a corporate body. And yet they do not hold in co-partnership; but each member of the body has a distinct and separate share, over which he has an independent, inalienable, and transmissible right, and in proportion to the value of which he contributed or became responsible for his share of the purchase money, he likewise contributes to all the dues to which the estate is liable. . . . Such being the case, the villagers when they have bought an estate take out, each for himself, a "tapu," or personal title for his holding, paying a fixed five per cent on the ascertained value of the property. The "tapu" is to the farm what the "berat" is to the estate, on every transfer to the farm it must be cancelled, which is done by an entry certified on the register kept in the "tapu" office, and a new one, subject to the same fee as the old, made out for the incoming possessor, who takes over the property with all its responsibilities. . . . For the raising and pasture of stock

[1] *Law Land*, Part II. 1870. Pp. 325-330.

in outline the three great influences on which the whole structure of European land tenure may be said to depend; but it will be necessary to recognise that the three principles act and re-act upon each other, producing a series of modifications that extend from the most ancient form of common holding to the most modern form of proprietorship. It will also be wise to remember that these three great systems are the distinct outgrowth of their surroundings, and are more or less directly representative of particular features of civilised life. It is thus as impossible that communism can succeed feudalism, as it would be that feudalism could succeed modernism. The great divisions of Patriarchal Communism, Aristocratic Feudalism, and Democratic Agrarianism are the natural developments of social life. For we have, first, the family; next, the class; finally, the individual. These varying conditions being the natural results of particular conditions of civilisation, cannot be transmuted at will, the one into the other. When, therefore, we see, as is the case in Russia to-day, an endeavour to reproduce a form of social life that belongs essentially to the past, it is natural to anticipate a more or less direct failure, and the facts that come to the surface appear to bear this out. The disorder that reigns in village life, says the *Viest*, threatens to produce general disorder in the State. There is a strong tendency to a general levelling of society. The idea of political equality is considerably developed even in the midst of the new territorial institutions. As still further illustrating the break-up of communal life whilst endeavouring to retain its outward form, the following from the *Times* article on Russia may be quoted: "The separatist movement in peasant life may likewise be considered from a commercial point of view. That life might have been seen before 1861 stereotyped, as it were, in every village. The habits of the people, their food, their clothing, had been preserved from remote ages by traditions which had descended from patriarch to patriarch. In every country the old have more or less a natural aversion to innovations which is almost unheeded in the strong tendency of the young for change and progress. In Russia, however, the young and energetic of the village commune possessed no influence whatever. The elder members of the communities lived according to past traditions, and the future was after all of little promise or brightness to them as serfs. By a natural instinct they opposed all changes, for their despotic sway would have been endangered by the triumph of any new ideas applied to mode of life, clothing, or agriculture. The creation of artificial wants was in direct opposition to the interest of the patriarch, whose great object was to keep together whatever money the family earned by a common effort of industry. A dislike to the communal life and the system of collective responsibility by which it is attended has also acted as a powerful incentive to these peasants in preferring to become the proprietors of a small freehold in fee. . . . Their first movement, and the movement that stands out in the greatest relief as an effect of emancipation, was to throw off the yoke of the patriarch and to enjoy individually such civil rights as were bestowed upon them under the new departmental division and subdivision began soon after 1861, and although partially checked by the Central Government, continues to this day at a rate that has far passed the most sanguine of strict peasants at the head of separate households. In every village throughout Russia the cry may be heard, "Now

each is for himself." In some parts of Southern Russia it is customary, when two sisters-in-law still inhabit the same hut, to draw a line in chalk on the floor to mark the limit of their respective dominions. These and other facts indicate that communism in Russia is on the wane, and in its place there is arising a phase of life in which the small freeholding class is being created, bearing a strong analogy to a state of life that once existed in our own country. Whether it will follow the same fate may be questioned, but some of the facts connected with other parts would seem to indicate its probability. "In the Western, or old Polish provinces, the measures of the Government were more decisive and radical, chiefly for political objects, but partly also because agriculture was relatively so much farther advanced in that part of the Empire that it had become the interest of the lord to deprive the serf of the soil he had to sell for his own benefit, and to reduce him to the condition of a landless labourman."

The present condition in truth presents a fusion of communal tenure with feudal rights viewed in the light of modern thought.

If we turn to Turkey, a mewl it other phenomena present themselves, for there also the principle of free tenure has taken root, but with a large admixture of those various tenures that have grown up under governments. As I have already alluded to, the various rights and titles that range from the absolute dominium of Louis XIV. to the determinable revocable estate in England have been variously fused and modified in the course of centuries, ranging from the entire abrogation of individual life by its absorption into the community upward to that point where individual life asserts its own freedom. It is necessary to have these before us, as it tends to explain the varying aspects that range themselves under the generic term of communism. In Turkey, at the present time, in the laws that affect the land one special phase is thus described.[1] "Freehold estates belong either to single owners or the villagers collectively, when they are called "Elouthakhoria" (free estates). As these latter constitute a large proportion of the landed property of the country, it will be well before proceeding farther to point out their distinctive character. They are, as has been said, freehold estates; and they belong each to its own body of villagers, who, to acquire possession in the first instance, collectively incurred all the responsibilities, collectively went through all the processes required by law, and obtained a "berat" conveying the estate to them as a corporate body. And yet they do not hold in co-partnership; but each member of the body has a distinct and separate share, over which he has an independent, inalienable, and transmissible right, and in proportion to the value of which he contributed or became responsible for his share of the purchase money, he likewise contributes to all the dues to which the estate is liable. . . . "Such being the case, the villagers when they have bought an estate take out, each for himself, a "tapu" or provisional title for his share, paying a fee of five per cent on the ascertained value of the property: the "tapu" is to the farm what the "berat" is to the estate, on every transfer to the farm it must be cancelled, which is done by an entry of satisfaction on the register kept at the "tapu" office, and a new one, subject to the same fee as the old, made out for the incoming possessor, who takes over the property with all its responsibilities. . . . For the raising and pasture of stock

[1] *Law Rev.* Part II. 1864. Pp. 325-326.

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In most of the provinces, especially in Upper and Lower Austria, the owners of small properties maintain themselves in comfort. In Galicia, notwithstanding the fertility of the soil, the condition is not so good; but it is stated that since 1848 they have improved, and are still improving. There are few tenant farmers, but where they exist the rent is calculated by a share of the produce. Leases are not frequent, and are governed by the terms of the contract when no specific contract exists, the law allows six months' notice.

In the three countries of which we have spoken, Russia and Turkey as Austria, the influence of [illegible] and the relation it bears to the [illegible] manner are seen very clearly in the outlines of the first two, while in Austria the traces of it [illegible] darken to the more modern type of which is characterised by the absence of tenant farming and the general rise of small freeholders. As we proceed farther west the influence of modern thought becomes more and more conspicuous. In France the laws of land tenure have passed through a series of revolutions, having for their object the creation of a class of peasant proprietors, the difficulties encountered in the [illegible] of the [illegible] development of agriculture [illegible] results that at last have been [illegible] the existence of this class [illegible] characteristic of the [illegible] laws [illegible] of the [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

the results of other legislation by their definiteness. These have been the conversion of the feudally subjected peasant with more or less imperfect rights of property in land, into a perfectly free peasant with absolute ownership, subject only to remaining rent-charges (commutation), in Scandinavia; the conversion of the feudal lord-protected landholder with more or less perfect rights of property, into a perfectly independent landowner with absolute ownership of his land, in the abolition of tenures, charges, and services arising out of the old agricultural organisation; the reclamation of the system of entails, the extinction of the baneful and almost universal rights of common, the introduction of fruitful principles of consolidation of interests in lands, and of associations, under compulsion if needs be, for land improvements. These are the general results, and the facts appear to be that in Prussia the State has devoted long and careful attention to settling the various and different questions that are inevitably connected with the land, more particularly with a state of transition from one form of tenure to another. At the present time the result aimed at seems almost to be a rural, and it consists in establishing the great body of the peasant proprietors of the land, and also in utilising the money and power of the State to aid in promoting such a result. Many of the statistics which may be given to show the progress made forward are not to the present account of the progress that has taken place in Prussia since 1850, and a full account of the land-legislation of that time would fill a volume, but a few examples may be shown, and will at once attract attention. For instance, the relative proportion of tenants to proprietors is about one in twenty, the numbers previous to 1866 being 1,111,117 proprietors to 56,710 tenants. But even out of this number of tenants only one-half are farmers properly so called, whilst the other half add to farming some other industry. In the matter of money for the purposes of irrigation and other works there are 359 associations in existence, of which 95 are compulsory, by law. In looking at Prussia as a whole, it may be said that, to a large extent, the land belongs to the cultivators, and that the feeling entertained by the people for the actual possession of land is exceedingly strong.

But if this feeling is strong in Prussia, it is still more conspicuously manifested in France—that country in which the great change of all modern land tenure had its origin. In order that the facts may be clearly brought forward, it will be advisable to have the latest statistics before us, and they are here appended:[1]

Total number of the Number of Persons, Families, or Establishments [illegible]	
Persons who have their [illegible]	[illegible]
Persons [illegible]	[illegible]
Persons [illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]
Not [illegible]	
[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]
Total	[illegible][2]

It thus appears that there are at the present time in France at least [illegible] proprietors of the soil,

[1] [illegible]

[2] [illegible]

there is always a tract of mountain land attached to each estate, which the villagers have the right to use in common without payment.' The population of the country is not more than perhaps a fourth of what the soil could support. It is still on the decline, so that available lands are as much considered as acres, in all contracts about lands. In the case of farms let to tenants, of which the number appears to be small, the landlord has unlimited and irresponsible power of eviction, with or without cause, but any abuse of this power is held in check by the difficulty of obtaining tenants through the paucity of population.

In passing to the consideration of land tenure in Austria, the first point to be borne in mind is the enormous change that has been effected since, and more or less directly through the influence of the revolutionary uprising in 1848. The legislation of that year did not turn tenant farmers into proprietors; it simply converted feudal proprietorship into free proprietorship. It did not deprive the great proprietors of their properties, it only deprived them of certain feudal rights over the property of others. Previous to 1848 the Austrian peasantry were serfs, subject to forced labour, and it was by that labour the estates of the great proprietors were cultivated. But in return for this forced labour each serf had a certain portion of land, and when the feudal system was abrogated they at once rose into the rank of small freeholders. The effect on the large landowners was at first sight disastrous, but the final result was the very opposite of that which was anticipated, and has thus been described: 'The great proprietors, constrained, in order to escape ruin, to cultivate their estates more carefully, have supplied the place of forced labour by greater scientific knowledge and more efficient machinery. The result is that many of them have doubled, and some have trebled, the income of their properties since 1848, while the average market price of land has risen at least a hundred per cent., and in some provinces still higher. In most of the provinces, and especially in Upper and Lower Austria, the owners of small properties maintain themselves in comfort. In Galicia, notwithstanding the fertility of the soil, the condition is not so good; but it is stated that since 1848 they have improved, and are still improving. There are few tenant farmers, but where they exist the rent is calculated by a share of the produce. Evictions are not frequent, and are governed by the terms of the contract; where no specific contract exists, the law allows six months' notice.'

In the three countries of which we have spoken, Russia and Turkey and Austria, the influence of feudal law and the relation it bears to communism are seen very clearly on the surface of the first two, while in Austria the transition from feudalism to the more modern type of life is marked by the absence of tenant farming and the preponderance of small freeholders. As we proceed farther west the influence of modern thought becomes more and more conspicuous. In Prussia the laws of land tenure have passed through a series of revolutions, having for their object the creation of a class of peasant proprietors, the ultimate removal of all forms of feudalism, and the vigorous development of agriculture. These results aimed at have been more or less perfectly achieved, and the existence of the apparent exceptions that have taken place between 1807 and 1850. The effects of the measures of liberation are thus summarized: 'The improvements of the national agriculture have certainly not been clearly out-

the results of other legislation by their definiteness. These have been the conversion of the feudally subjected peasant with more or less imperfect rights of property in land, into a perfectly free peasant with absolute ownership, subject only to remaining rent-charges for commutation. Secondly, the conversion of the feudally restricted landholder with more or less perfect rights of property, into a perfectly independent landowner with absolute ownership of his lands free also of tenures, charges, and services arising out of the old agricultural organisation; thirdly, the extinction of the baneful and almost universal rights of common, the introduction of fruitful principles of consolidation of intermixed lands, and of associations, more or less compulsory as the case may be, for land improvements. These are the general results; but the facts appear to be that in Prussia the State has devoted its careful attention to settling the various and different questions that are inevitably connected with the first more partial change which is a state of transition from one form of tenure to another. At the present time the result aimed at seems to be a moderate, and it seems in every way desirable, subdivision of the property of the land, and also in all respects money and power of the State to aid in promoting such a result. Many of the statistics necessary to place before the public forward are not to hand on account of the census that has taken place in Prussia since Sadowa; and I must take account of the last census, that of tenure increased to a certain extent, but a number of the most well known, and most important holdings.

For instance, the relative proportion of tenants to proprietors is about one in twenty, the numbers previous to 1864 being 1,111,119 proprietors to 60,719 tenants. But even out of this number of tenants only one-half are farmers properly so called, whilst the other half add to farming some other industry. In the matter of money for the purposes of irrigation and other works there are 369 associations in existence, of which 95 are compulsory, by law. In looking at Prussia as a whole, it may be said that, to a large extent, the land belongs to the cultivators, and that the desire entertained by the people for the actual possession of land is exceedingly strong.

But if this feeling is strong in Prussia, it is still more conspicuously manifested in France, the country in which the great changes of all modern land tenure had its origin. In order that the facts may be clearly brought forward, it will be advisable to have the latest statistics before us, and they are here subjoined:[1]

Proprietors who farm their own estates	(6,637)
Proprietors cultivating their own and [illegible]	3,764,916
Proprietors cultivating their own [illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]
Non-proprietors —	
[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]
Total	[illegible][2]

It thus appears that there are at the present time in France at least [illegible] proprietors of the soil;

[1] [illegible]

[2] [illegible]

and it would still further appear that the influence of law, custom, and successful cultivation tends to increase the number of proprietors, although the actual number of the agricultural population of France would appear to be on the decrease, as shown below.

Table showing the Percentage of the Agricultural Population for the Years 1851, 1856, 1861, and 1866.

Years	Population	Percentage
1851	21,922,000	0·62
1856	19,064,000	0·53
1861	19,873,000	0·53
1866	19,598,000	0·51

The eagerness which the peasantry display to become proprietors is thus expressed by M. de Mornay:[1] 'Not only does the small proprietor round his little property year by year, but at his side the class of agricultural labourers has been enriched by the rise of wages, and accedes to landed property in its turn. In the greater number of departments seventy-five per cent. at least of them have now become owners of land. Peasant property thus embraces a great part of the soil, and that part increases incessantly. The price of parcels of land accordingly, which are within reach of the industry and thrift of the peasant, increases at a remarkable rate.'

The whole structure of French law favours the creation of small holdings; the law of succession, which limits the power of testamentary disposition to a part equal to one child's share, and divides the remainder amongst the children equally, is without doubt the most powerful influence in the general division of landed property. This result is also aided by the strong desire that exists for the possession of land amongst the peasants themselves, and which has already been referred to; beyond this there is the great rise in price of all articles produced by the [illegible] culture, and which thus indirectly tends still further to facilitate the division of land by the high prices which small lots now command.

Amid the wreck of all laws that occurred at the Revolution, a few of the land laws still remain intact, but they were only such as existed for the benefit of the people. In France there survive seventeen millions of acres of forest and common land whose tenure dates back to times long preceding the great event, and it will require bold, positive and vigorous legislation to change them from their present comparatively useless condition.

Passing from France to its neighbour, Belgium, we encounter the same general fact of the increase of the agricultural population. It amounted in 1846 (counting from the age of twelve years) to 1,083,601, and in 1856, to 1,062,111; whilst during the same period the absolute density of population increased from one hundred and forty-seven to one hundred and forty-four to the square metre. There is no doubt that the same cause is at work upon the two countries, that is, the great rise of manufacturing industry and the increased temptations afforded by town life in both France and Belgium to a decrease of population in the towns. But the broad fact that separates Belgium from France is the difference that exists between the relative numbers of tenants and owners in France and Belgium respectively. In France the great majority of the land is in the hands of proprietors, whilst in Belgium the numbers of proprietors are to those of tenants, roughly, as [illegible] proprietors, and 314,764 tenants. But the absolute area of land [illegible]

[1] *Law Rev.* Part I. 1864

under cultivation differs very largely —there being nearly twice as much under cultivation by tenancy as is under culture by the proprietors, the figures being 628,291 hectares by proprietors, and 1,202,224 hectares by tenants. There also exist many systems of land tenure in Belgium, ranging from yearly occupancy to the most absolute proprietorship. The general form of tenancy is that of short leasehold for about nine years, whilst at the same time yearly occupancy is very rare. Amongst other forms of holding there is one that has a sort of fixity of tenure with copyhold conditions. The landlord can never raise the tenant's annual rent. The tenant, however, can bequeath, mortgage, or sell his right of occupation, with the one limitation that he does not diminish the value of the land. Whenever the land changes hands the landlord is entitled to a fee, the amount of which is fixed beforehand. Somewhat similar systems have existed in the Channel Islands, Lombardy, and Portugal. In the case of sale, division, transfer, or exchange of land, this is effected by a deed before a notary, who is bound by his personal responsibility to obtain a certificate that there are no outstanding charges against either the seller or former owner. A transcript is taken of the deed, and placed on a public register, with a statement of any of the mortgages on the estate transferred. The law affecting the sale and transfer of property in Belgium is very similar to that existing in France and in most parts of the Continent, the aim everywhere being to render the transfer of land at once cheap and easy, and to take all possible precautions against either fraud or error. The transfer is in fact a public and registered transaction, instead of being, as is the case in England, a mere private arrangement. The law of the subdivision of property exists in full force; all property being equally shared amongst the children at death of parent, right of disposal being reserved over one quarter, one third, or one half, varying according to the number of children.

Hitherto the consideration has been directed to those countries which lie through the centre of Europe. Elsewhere the revolutionary outbreaks that have occurred in so many parts of Europe have tended to raise the questions of land tenure in a more pronounced form. This is notably the case in Denmark. The 'Peasants' Friends' have won a succession of triumphs since 1848, and one of their leaders has lately announced that 'the peasants' soil is more *their real home*, which the State has hitherto allowed the landlords to administer, and which it may at any time resume.' Practically the peasant power is gaining ground rapidly, and lately an expropriation bill was brought forward under which, 'in case the landlord would not come to terms to sell his land to his tenant, he must sell on demand at one-third of the land's value as rated by a commission.' This to English ears sounds fearfully revolutionary, but the same writer remarks 'The tenures of land in Denmark are not the tenures of England; to the tenemented land the landlord stands, roughly speaking, as the zemindar did to the ryot before the Permanent Settlement in India.' In Sweden the circumstances are altogether different, and the day of trial is indefinitely postponed. Out of an area of 112,[illegible],000 acres, only about one-tenth is under cultivation; in addition to this the population is decreasing, small freeholders are numerous, and the relations that exist between them and the great proprietors are to a large extent patriarchal. If we turn to the south of Europe, to Italy, Portugal,

or Spain, the stagnation is too general to allow matter for profitable consideration; Lombardy only is an exception: in that portion of North Italy the effects of the wars of Napoleon have produced a distinct result in creating a testamentary division of land; but in the south of Italy the métayer system prevails; in case of tenancies payment in kind still continues, whilst throughout the kingdom all the processes of agriculture are still at a very low ebb. Of Greece, only a small part of the available area is utilised; out of a total of 5,600,000 acres of productive land, not more than 1,800,000 are under cultivation. In Portugal matters are scarcely better, for out of the total area of 9,000,000 hectares, it has been cal-

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peculiarities, yet they agree in the general stagnation of agricultural life and slow measure of improvement. This is more conspicuous in the south than in the north, but in all there is a marked contrast with the belt of earth that runs through the centre. In Poland, parts of Russia, Austria, Prussia, France, and Belgium, the whole agrarian condition of the populations is not only advancing rapidly, but the advance is of that character which tends to the furtherance of wide-spread social ameliorations and the sound consolidation of political life. In one respect, in all the countries that have changed the old feudal tenure so as to bring it into harmony with modern requirements, the result has been achieved, not only without injury to the great landowners, but, so far as pecuniary position is concerned, largely in their favour. In this respect the testimony from all the countries now referred to is unanimous.

The various States of the Continent are more or less parts of one whole; the barrier that separates kingdom from kingdom may be a small stream, a hilly range, or a merely artificial line. The consequence is, that the thought which ripens in one land disperses its seeds over its neighbour; and the tendencies which most favour the growth of individual life at length overmaster all others. It was the recognition of this that gave force to Count Cavour's remark to a Russian diplomatist: 'The equal right you give your peasants to the soil is more dangerous to the Western than all your armies.'

England is as yet largely free from the influence of these disturbing forces. Those twenty miles of salt water that divide us from the shore at Calais also separate our people from that flux of thought that spreads over Belgium, grows up in Prussia, and is permeating the whole mass of European society. The idea of 'the land for the people and the people for the land' is only beginning to move among us, but it contains the germs of a far-spreading vitality. The rough facts imperfectly grasped, often inaccurately and vaguely stated, are yet so far powerful that they give point to the questions that are involved against our own land tenure. All men will recognise that it is doomed to change, and some more vividly than those who are most intimately connected with it. The expressions that have fallen from members of the House of Peers sufficiently indicate the recognition that change is inevitable. How far

it shall go, what form it will assume, or where it will end, no man can say. Every symptom indicates that the Land Tenure question lies before us in the immediate future, and as soon as modern ideas have permeated the mass of our people the demand will certainly arise for large alterations. As our great feudal system arose out of the earlier form of communal life, so surely will democratic agrarianism arise out of and dominate over the relics of feudal life. The evidences of this lie broadcast before us, and are written in the history of every State in Europe. One after another each country has changed its land tenure, either quietly and with cool good sense, or in hurry and at the threat of convulsion. There is little doubt how the result will be achieved in our own land. So soon as circumstances indicate that the time has come for modification and change, so soon will the laws be moulded into harmony with our necessities, for our aristocracy have the rare wisdom of knowing how and when to yield.

or Spain, the stagnation is too general to allow matter for profitable consideration; Lombardy only is an exception: in that portion of North Italy the effects of the wars of Napoleon have produced a distinct result in creating a testamentary division of land; but in the south of Italy the métayer system prevails; in case of tenancies payment in kind still continues, whilst throughout the kingdom all the processes of agriculture are still at a very low ebb. Of Greece, only a small part of the available area is utilised; out of a total of 5,600,000 acres of productive land, not more than 1,800,000 are under cultivation. In Portugal matters are scarcely better, for out of the total area of 9,000,000 hectares, it has been calculated by two eminent authorities at least, and on entirely independent data, that 2,000,000 hectares at the outside are cropped in any form whatever. The system of tenure is fourfold—small proprietors, tenants, métayers, and copyholders. The general condition of the peasantry is exceedingly impoverished, and the state of feeling between the tenants and proprietors is very unfriendly. The less important countries which we have last mentioned in the north and south of Europe differ largely from one another in physical peculiarities, yet they agree in the general stagnation of agricultural life and slow measure of improvement. This is more conspicuous in the south than in the north, but in all there is a marked contrast with the belt of earth that runs through the centre. In Poland, parts of Russia, Austria, Prussia, France, and Belgium, the whole agrarian condition of the populations is not only advancing rapidly, but the advance is of that character which tends to the furtherance of wide-spread social amelioration and the sound consolidation of political life. In one respect, in all the countries that have changed the old feudal tenure so as to bring it into harmony with modern requirements, the result has been achieved, not only without injury to the great landowners, but, so far as pecuniary posture is concerned, largely in their favour. In this respect the testimony from all the countries now referred to is unanimous.

The various States of the Continent are more or less parts of one whole; the barrier that separates kingdom from kingdom may be a small stream, a hilly range, or a merely artificial line. The consequence is, that the thought which ripens in one land disperses its seeds over its neighbour; and the tendencies which most favour the growth of individual life at length overmaster all others. It was the recognition of this that gave force to Count Cavour's remark to a Russian diplomatist: 'The equal right you give your peasants to the soil is more dangerous to the Western than all your armies.'

England is as yet largely free from the influence of these disturbing forces. Those twenty miles of salt water that divide us from the shore at Calais also separate our people from that flux of thought that spreads over Belgium, grows up in Prussia, and is permeating the whole mass of European society. The idea of 'the land for the people and the people for the land' is only beginning to move among us, but it contains the germs of a far-spreading vitality. The rough facts imperfectly grasped, often inaccurately and vaguely stated, are yet so far powerful that they give point to the questions that are levelled against our own land tenure. All men will recognise that it is doomed to change, and none more vividly than those who are most intimately connected with it. The expressions that have fallen from members of the House of Peers sufficiently indicate the recognition that change is inevitable. How far

it shall go, what form it will assume, or where it will end, no man can say. Every symptom indicates that the Land Tenure question has before us in the immediate future, and as soon as modern ideas have permeated the mass of our people the demand will certainly arise for large alterations. As our great feudal system arose out of the earlier form of communal life, so surely will democratic agrarianism arise out of and dominate over the relics of feudal life. The evidences of this lie broadcast before us, and are written in the history of every State in Europe. One after another each country has changed its land tenure, either quietly and with cool good sense, or in hurry and at the threat of convulsion. There is little doubt how the result will be achieved in our own land. So soon as circumstances indicate that the time has come for modification and change, so soon will the laws be moulded into harmony with our necessities, for our aristocracy have the rare wisdom of knowing how and when to yield.

CHARACTERISTICS OF MORMONISM.

By a Recent Visitor to Utah.

In our own day a new religion has been added to the many which diversify and illustrate the history of human development. Mormonism is a Church claiming to be inaugurated by a recent divine manifestation, founded by a ministry of apostles, 'revelators,' and prophets, and established among the most civilised nations of the world by a perpetual succession of signs, wonders, and attested miracles. According to its own assumptions, the Church of the Latter-day Saints is as necessary and important a development of Christianity as Christianity is of Judaism; its claims are allowed by multitudes of converts who have gathered into the fold, and the new Church has already won a significant place in history.

The marvel of this is increased, not diminished, by the patent fact that the originators and promulgators of this novel religion are a small company of illiterate, ill-living, insignificant men, remarkable, if for anything, for their powers of credulity, or of imposition on others, or possibly for both these characteristics of the typical religious fanatic, and for a great talent of unscrupulousness of action. By such men has the new religion been established. And, upon the face of it, the task they have accomplished is one that could not have seemed possible for any men, however gifted, with any conceivable advantages of position and influence. Mormonism is a huge stride backward in the civilisation of the race. It is a system of priestly tyranny more oppressive than that of Rome. Its demands on the capacity of human credulity are extravagant in the extreme. It sets itself against the whole course of modern ideas. In an age of science, of scepticism, and of religious tolerance, it renews the visions and miracles of primitive times, and dares to coerce allegiance, and punish apostasy, by the free use of force, and of violence to the death. In the territory of a democratic Republic which has carried the principle of individual liberty to the greatest extreme ever known, Mormonism flouts at the liberty of the subject, denies the 'equality of conditions,' and holds its adherents in abject subjection.

Upon a contemplation of the rise of this new superstition, we perceive that the world has not outgrown its credulous childhood. In the very partial culture of the masses of our population, if the amount of moral and intellectual training they possess removes them above the level of positive barbarism, we have no preservative, it is evident, against the rise of the most absurd social follies, and the most noxious religious fanaticisms. Thus Mormonism, a new and more absurd Mahometanism, has just been permitted to run its course among the two most advanced peoples of the age. The world is not safe yet against the appearance of preposterous faiths that may outrival the follies of pagan times. Presuming the elements in this new faith which have commanded success against all obstacles must be worthy an attractive contemplation. An adequate study of the rise of Mormonism, considered in relation to the condition of religion in America and England, and in illustration of the religious features of the human mind, ought to be interesting in the highest degree, should a writer with the necessary qualifications be attracted to the distasteful but serviceable investigation. I may confess that a principal reason for the

preparation of this paper is a hope that it may prove useful in suggesting the importance of an adequate scientific examination of the subject of which I treat.

No time should now be lost in preparing the materials for such a work. Many of the actors in the first scenes of this curious religious farce are still living. Never before in the history of the world has the opportunity occurred of examining critically the men, the motives, the means, concerned in the establishment of a new faith. In the interests of human knowledge the opportunity should not be suffered to pass. There are men like Sidney Rigdon, living in retirement, prominent actors in the establishment of a creed which they have abandoned, who could give the most important evidence as to the method of the development of the new religion. To the vulgar the origin of Mormonism is already becoming dim, and in the same measure poetical, by a growth of myth and romance round the actual facts, but for the information of the world at large these facts should be established beyond the reach of doubt.

The promoters of the movement are conservative order of men. It will add little comfort to reflect that Mormonism already promises to become entwined in the halo of mystery which gives beauty to the older religions. The founder of the faith has become a holy martyr, whom the people have not seen, but whom they honour with a love and devotion not exceeded by that which they give to any being in the universe. A kindred thrill of enthusiasm is awakened by the names of fellow-creatures mentioned in the same breath of time. The sufferings of the first Mormon converts have become invested in the popular mind with more pathos and romance than the persecutions of the early Christians. The wilderness march of the despised Church, and its establishment in the 'top of the mountains,' in the true Zion, are already associated with miracles like those that signalised the wanderings of the children of Israel. Mormonism has its counterfeit of Moses and Aaron, its Gideon and Barak, its 'sons of Dan,' its Pauls and Peters, and perhaps its St. John.

We might now, if we chose, with the necessary pains, trace out the whole petty secret of the reception of the new faith, the blunders and disputes at its announcement, the surprise of the adventurers at their success, and the rapid evolution of the thing into a conglomerate theocratic system. The grotesque faith may hereafter grow matured into a powerful religion with an origin dim in a splendour of miracles and martyrdoms, commanding while it lasts a reverence from the ignorant and superstitious equal to that which we pay to the great religions of our own time.

The originators of the Mormon scheme, and the first converts, were Americans of the New England States. The present leaders and most successful missionaries are Americans, Englishmen, and Scotchmen. The mass of the converts are from the south and States of the Union, from the cotton districts and southern counties of England, from the mines and rural districts of Wales, and from Sweden and Norway on the Continent. Everywhere the class reached is that of the indigent and the hopelessly ignorant. The apologists of Mormonism are not anxious to deny this. 'Unto the poor the Gospel is preached,' is their triumphant reply. 'Not many wise men after the flesh, not many mighty, not many noble, are called: but God hath chosen the foolish things of the world to confound the wise, and God hath chosen the weak things of the world to confound the

things which are mighty; and base things of the world, and things which are despised, hath God chosen, yea, and things which are not, to bring to nought things that are.' It is a noticeable fact that the converts are usually gathered from the inferior or secondary Protestant sects, from Campbellites, Grahamites, Millerites, and various splits off the Methodist, Baptist, and Independent Churches. In many instances, no doubt, the influential motive in joining the Latter-day Saints has been the anticipated improvement in the convert's material condition on his removal to the promised land of the Far West. But perhaps in the majority of cases religious motives have largely influenced the decision. From conversation with a considerable number of Mormons I should judge that the fanatically religious among them have been largely recruited from eccentric sections of Protestant sects which have separated from the main body on some question of the Second Advent, the Personal Millennial reign, or on matters connected with the purity of church order or membership.

A consideration of some of the main elements of strength in the appeal which Mormonism makes to the classes that it addresses will have the advantage also of exhibiting in some detail the general scope of that system.

First in order of importance in the list of the strong points of Mormonism I am inclined to place its direct appeal to the letter of the Holy Scriptures. To an extent little imagined by the outside public this new religion is based on a literal interpretation of the sacred books of the old. The people among whom Mormonism gathers its converts are animated by an ignorant and superstitious, but usually a very profound reverence for the very words of our Bible. They are prepared to listen anxiously to any prophetic speculator, theologue, or heresiarch, who professes to derive his theory from Holy Writ. And the Mormon missionary cites chapter and verse for every statement he makes. No religious teacher grows more willing heed to the popular appeal, 'To the law and to the testimony.' The Mormon demands boldly that the sacred words be taken in their literal sense, and traffics little in subtleties and evasions. The Divine Being is literally 'the father of our spirits' and procreated the children of men in a preceding stage of existence. The saints in their turn are to become 'heirs of God and joint heirs with Christ,' and are to rule over creation. There is an absolute power of the keys on the earth for the remission or retaining of sins. Baptism by water, by divinely accredited agents, is essential to salvation. 'Except a man be born of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God.' Miraculous powers are the undying marks of a true Church. Signs and such signs were to follow 'those that believe.' The elect saint is to call for the elders of the Church, and he is anointed with oil for his recovery, and for the removal of his sins. In the latter-days evil men and seducers are to abound, a general falling away from the true faith is to take place, the corrupt churches, 'having itching ears,' are to heap to themselves teachers among whom no unity of doctrine can be found, the faithful are to forsake Babylon, 'the Lord's house is to be established in the top of the mountains,' and all nations are to flow unto it, and the saints at last are to rule the earth.

The common people are astonished at these bold appeals to their own sacred Scriptures. A scheme of literal interpretation has a simplicity that commends it strongly to their understandings. They listen

with the more interest from the fact that the new preachers are a persecuted set of men, as the Apostles were. They are flattered at the prospect of entravelling their Christian friends and neighbours, and the ministers of their little chapels are endowed, by entering a new church, with peculiar privileges and immunities, with the assurance of becoming rulers finally over a world in which they have little present consideration.

The peculiar success of Mormonism was only possible among such a people as our own, animated with an irrational reverence for the letter of our Sacred Book. The Mormon missions have proved absolute failures in Catholic countries, where the tradition of the Church outweighs the authority of the Scriptures, and no less among idolatrous populations such as those of India and China, to which the new religion proved entirely without authority or attraction.

Next among the elements in Mormonism by virtue of which it attains its success may be mentioned its daring assumption of restoring the immediateness of the Divine action in the affairs of men. In all ages the deepest longing of the human heart has been that God should help us. The miseries of human life are so profound, and our best efforts for their mitigation are so impotent, that we crave naturally a succour from on high. In Christian countries especially (though not exclusively) the promise are taught the beautiful belief that the Most High has had pity on the creatures of His power, has visited the world for its salvation and established His kingdom among men.

To people trained in this belief Mormonism says 'The same God lives, and continues to act by more special interpositions as He ever has done. He has to-day a faithful Church on the earth, the legitimate successor of that chosen people of Israel, and of that elect Christian society, "the Bride of the Lamb," which in turn He called from darkness to light, remaining with them while they kept their integrity. It is conformable to the ways of the Lord to select still a new peculiar people. Angels are not extinct, for they have appeared to the founders of our faith. The miracle-working power is not a myth of the past. If it ever existed, it exists now. A living faith, exercised in harmony with a divinely-constituted order, still raises the dead, cures the leper, restores the blind, and casts out devils. Apostles and prophets are not a race defunct. If they were ever needed, surely they are now, and we have them now, accredited by divers signs and wonders and mighty deeds. The God of heaven, the God of Abraham and the patriarchs, of Moses who smote Egypt with a rod, the God of Daniel, and of the holy children preserved in the fiery furnace, the God of Apostles and of Evangelists who made the blind to see, and struck Ananias with death, still lives, and remains unchanged. In a time of gross darkness covering the world, He has again intervened to restore a peculiar Church to bear His testimony and receive His grace.'

'Where in the New Testament,' the Mormon asks triumphantly, 'can there be found any warning that Divine interpositions were to cease, that the canon of Scripture was to be closed, that the succession of prophets and apostles had come to an end, that miracles would no more be repeated?' On the contrary,' he argues, 'the whole scope of sacred history, if it is anything more than an idle tale, teaches us that the Most High is concerned in the doings of the world, and makes His will known in each succeeding dispensation. And,' he adds, 'the Scriptures teem with

predictions of the special interpositions that are to take place in the last days.'

It is little wonder that appeals like these should command ready hearing and acceptance.

An adaptation to the cravings of human nature, almost as significant as the one just mentioned, is to be found in the provision which Mormonism makes for the development of the family instincts. This may be counted as a third great reason for the hold this new system has acquired on our fellow-men. By a singular piece of theological jugglery the new faith provides for the vicarious salvation of the members of a man's family. The Mormon saint can redeem from everlasting death the souls of deceased wives, children, friends, parents, and progenitors through all generations. The instincts of natural affection are enlisted in this great work of mercy, and, besides, new honours are acquired for the family, the chief object of the spiritual ambition of every true Latter-day Saint; and the process of the redemption of the dead is happily as simple as the results are sublime. The Mormon has only to be 'baptised for the dead,' and receive the imposition of the priestly hands conferring on him the Holy Ghost on behalf of the individual he personates. In this way multitudes of the saints, men and women, have saved the souls of their grandmothers, uncles, aunts, cousins, nieces, and the rest—by dozens and scores. Genealogies are searched out to this end with great perseverance and with extraordinary success. Apostle Orson Pratt, the great divine of Salt Lake, showed me a costly volume containing his ancestry for many generations, which he had prepared at great pains for this pious work. The poorer Mormons, however, who have neither leisure nor means for obtaining such accurate information, content themselves with guesses at the names of their dead great-grandfathers, and of the other people to whom they render this important service. They piously hope these slight verbal mistakes will not vitiate the legal validity of the performance.

Of course a Scriptural authority is found for this singular innovation on the practice of all existing Christian churches. The passage confidently cited occurs in 1 Corinthians, chap. xv., verse 29: 'Else what shall they do which are baptised for the dead, if the dead rise not at all? why are they then baptised for the dead?' No theological student will be surprised at a doctrine being founded on a single isolated text. In the present instance the Apostle does not give the slightest hint of the character of the custom he mentions, or of the uses it subserved. This, however, is only an advantage to the modern expositor; it leaves the Mormon imagination wholly untrammelled.

We need not hesitate to allow to this singular practice a considerable influence in strengthening the hold of the new faith upon its adherents, and in endearing it to them. It was probably suggested by the old doctrine of Purgatory, and indicates as just a knowledge of human nature. The sorrowing husband, or father, or friend, finds an unspeakable solace in rendering so great a service to the spirit passed beyond the present life. The system, too, accumulates power in the priestly hands that can alone administer the saving rites, and in this respect is creditable to the ingenuity of the founders of the faith. But what shall we think of the mental condition of the people who accept the extraordinary fiction? And yet in itself it is scarcely more incredible than the Catholic doctrine of Purgatory, and may in time become as venerable.

But this appeal to the family instincts of which I speak has its chief

expression in the Mormon doctrine of Polygamy, some consideration of which shall close the present paper.

Beyond question, one of the chief attractions of the new church is the prospect it opens before the poor man of an improvement in his condition in the present life. Though spiritual Christianity promises little help in making the saint fortunate, there are probably but few among modern Christians who are not satisfied of the propriety of 'making the best of both worlds.' We need not expect the ill-fed, ill-housed, ill-paid poor, to whom Mormonism comes as a true gospel, to be indifferent to selfish considerations. The missionary of the new faith, a shrewd farmer or trader from Salt Lake, paints a picture of the beauty and fertility of the Canaan of the New World in colours whose brilliancy, we may indulgently concede, is lent by the fervour of his own fond recollections. The convert is assured of comfort, plenty, and independence on his removal to the favoured land. An assisted passage is promised him, and, to the shame of our modern civilisation, about which we boast too much, it must be said, notwithstanding the many hardships of the poor man's lot at Salt Lake, he avers that his life there is better worth having than ever it was in the old country.

But besides securing material prosperity, the new Church claims to possess the sole means for the regeneration of human society, and the preservation of the race from destruction in its moral corruptness. No less an importance than this is assumed for the peculiar moral order especially characterising the Mormon Church.

I had expected to find in Utah that the Saints were willing to give up their 'peculiar institution,' and that, upon a stringent pressure of the United States Government, Brigham Young was prepared to receive a new revelation, deferring in this particular the new patriarchal restoration until the world should prove more worthy. I have had to change these opinions. Polygamy is thoroughly interwoven in the Mormon system, commands the willing assent of the mass of the people, and is steadfastly enjoined by all the teachers and officials of the Church, from Brigham Young to the last elder. It is not probable that the Mormons will have to fight in defence of the institution, but it is likely they would if necessary; and it can scarcely be doubted that multitudes of the pious among the Saints would submit to any persecution rather than abandon a practice which they consider essential to their faith.

The religious importance attaching to polygamy among this singular body of people is the direct result of the intensely materialistic character of their belief. Mormonism is essentially anthropomorphic. It teaches that God has a body, parts, and passions, precisely as we have. He is the progenitor of the whole existing races of men; we in turn may become gods, the progenitors of new worlds. This will depend mainly on the number of a man's offspring. The Divine Being who presides over our world perpetually produces souls by generation to be his children, but these remain in an incomplete condition until they are born in the flesh. Millions of these shadowy beings wait at the gates of mortal life for entrance. The man who has few children does these poor souls a grievous harm by keeping them waiting in the dark, while the prolific father builds himself up a great family for the future state. Adam is the head of the first dispensation of our world, and will have a great kingdom in the future. Abraham, as the father of the Israelitish race, will eventually be a god over a universe of Jews. The Mormon assertions

respecting the Founder of Christianity are peculiarly obnoxious. They do not scruple to aver that the Teacher of spiritual religion had a multitude of wives, and that he will be a god in the future state over his own carnally begotten descendants. They allow that all the world's prophets, Zoroaster, Confucius, Mahomet, and the rest, have had a certain measure of divine inspiration, and will receive a due reward of honour in the next state. The last elect prophet is of course Joseph Smith. He is to be the head of the new dispensation, and eventually a chief god.

The importance of the size of a man's family becomes at once apparent. It will constitute his peculiar title to consideration in the future state, and afford the means of his attainment of divine honours. By the wives a man has here he will continue to propagate his family in eternity. But it is generally held that in the future state no man can add to the number of his wives, since it is written that in heaven 'they neither marry nor are given in marriage, but are as the angels of God.'

The effect of this doctrine on the female Saints is very powerful. They dare not remain unmarried. They must remain for ever isolated, meaningless, useless, unless they are linked in destiny with some man. Their sole honour can but be a husband's reflected glory. So, once united with a man, it becomes their duty, and, inasmuch as they love him, their privilege, to advance the glory of his family. Often with pangs of heart, a faithful woman must introduce to her husband a second wife to divide his affections and his care.

Mormon priestcraft has learnt woman's capacity of self-devotion, and has tried it cruelly. The woman's fatality of subjection, natural to her character, and commonly necessary to her happiness, has left her an easy prey to the tyranny of the new faith. The progress of many centuries is reversed. By civilisation and chivalry, by Christianity, and the elevation of the Virgin as the ideal of womanly purity to divine honours, woman has been raised to a spiritual equality with man. Mormonism degrades her again to be his slave.

An ingenious defence of polygamy is constructed by Mormon theologians from the mixed relations of the unseen world. The argument is valid with them from the materialistic character of their faith. A man marries a woman for time and for eternity, but loses her by death. He takes to himself another, with the undoubting consent of all men. No one disputes that in this case plural marriage is right and good. In the next world, then, says the Mormon, this man will have two wives; but the principle is the same whether he has two at a time there or here.

Mormonism makes one singular but very politic recompense to the abused confidence of its women followers. The mother remains the mistress and disposer of her children. If she is divorced from a man—a frequent incident in Salt Lake—she takes her children with her, diminishing the 'glory' of her late husband, and ready to add to the family honour of the next saint she marries.

The Mormon divines have not yet perfectly harmonised their system. It is a fact that the woman is married to the man 'for eternity' by a profoundly divinely-given priestly power. But it is also a very patent fact indeed that numbers of the women in Utah change husbands again and again by easy divorces. To interpose a check to this frequency, the charges for the dispensation of relief have been raised by Brigham Young to ten dollars—an inconsiderable sum among the poorer members of the

community. He is reported also to have said in public recently that these divorces were not worth the paper they were written on, since the women had in the first place been joined to their husbands for the next life as well as for this. So at least I was told by one of the apostles in Salt Lake City.

'Then all these women have been living in adultery, sanctioned by the direct action of the Church,' I observed.

'No, I guess not,' was the puzzled reply.

One of the practical effects of the doctrine of woman's subservience to man in the next world appears very singular. It appears a powerful counteracting influence to a spiritual tendency to prefer a young man for her husband. But the character is not yet matured, he may wed, accidentally, or cut off from the true Church, and drag her to perdition with him by virtue of the marriage bond that joins them. So with a high the devout Mormon may not be content to wait for several years, and accept the fourth or tenth place among his wives. But it need not be imagined that all Mormon girls are passionately enamoured of their men.

It is hard to say that men, and not women, have fashioned this new Church, and that old men rule in it.

To them, with their contradictoriness of their system the Mormons allow the validity of marriages 'for time' only. A special need for this is found in the case of widows, of whom there are necessarily very many in this country from the custom of the younger and elders—very literally 'elders'—taking young wives. But it is contrary to the genius of Mormonism that any woman should remain unmarried while she can bear children. Another man, therefore, marries the widow 'for time,' without prejudicing the right of the first husband to possess her 'for eternity.' The children of the new marriage belong to the woman, according to the Mormon rule, and will be presented by her to the first husband to increase his dignity. It is a characteristic trait in this new sexual rule, that by general custom, though not by authoritative requisition, the widow marries a man higher in rank in the Church than her late husband, or at least not in a lower grade.

I had the advantage of discussing these points with several of the apostles on one occasion in the Historian's Office in Salt Lake City. My enquiries were answered most courteously, and, I believe, in perfect good faith.

I suggested that, from their own standpoint, the re-marriage of the widow was adultery, a capital crime in their system. The woman belonged to another, had borne him children, was going to bear more children to him in their re-union in the eternal world. In such circumstances could the man tolerate her 'going back' on the trust of a temporary union with some one else? Was not the woman's sense of decency to be revolted? In fact, was it not adultery?

The answer was a simple reference to Scripture. The Jew was commanded to raise up seed to his dead brother. So the Mormon, in raising up children to a departed saint, was actually rendering him a generous service.

'On the same principle, then,' I enquired further, 'it would be right for a Mormon saint at home to raise up seed in the family of a brother absent for two or three years on a mission?'

A strong dissent was expressed by all present; and I was assured that, whatever I might have heard among their hostile Gentile critics in the city, such a circumstance had never taken place.

The Mormon girls are married at an early age, often at fifteen or sixteen. I asked whether, the custom of the Church being to make the marriage rite binding to all eternity, the girl should not rather be allowed to attain maturer years before making a choice fraught with such heavy consequences.

'But is not there a more logical deduction from our doctrine?' rejoined Mr. Orson Pratt. 'Is the woman ever qualified to make so important a choice? How if we revert to the patriarchal order, and let the father choose for her?'

'But we have not got that far along, brother,' said Apostle Carrington, after a moment's pause in our group.

The Mormons profess to be ignorant of the term Spiritual Wife. 'Celestial Marriage' is the name by which they distinguish a union for eternity. Under this title the celebrated authorisation of polygamy was introduced, 'The Revelation on Celestial Marriage given to Joseph Smith, Nauvoo, July 12, 1843.' It is commonly asserted by the Latter-day Saints that many of their plural marriages are of the 'Celestial' order only; that is, are contracted expressly for the eternal state, and not for time. They deny that in such instances it is necessary that the marriage be consummated here.

In most of these cases the woman is the wife 'for time' of some other man. She married him, perhaps, in the old country, before their full enlightenment in the mysteries of the faith. Upon the arrival of the couple in Salt Lake Valley, she finds that she would prefer to be the fifth or fifteenth wife 'for eternity' of some apostle or bishop, rather than the first spouse of her own humble mate. Or perhaps her temporal husband offends the Church, and threatens to prove apostate. Or the case may be the not infrequent one of a woman converted to the new faith, while her husband remains unregenerate. Here there is an imperious necessity for a separate celestial marriage, for the very security of her soul.

'But do you not find a danger from this relationship?' I enquired.

'There is always trouble and danger in the relations of the sexes,' an apostle answered.

'But in the case you give me surely an especial danger. The woman, while married, makes choice of another man whom she loves or respects more, and with whom she is to enter upon the closest relations in the next life. With this man she undergoes a secret rite of celestial marriage. Will she not be an adulteress in heart, if not in fact?'

I was assured that cases of such marriages were very rare, and that no evil results had been known to arise from them.

'Is the husband apprised of his wife's entering upon a celestial marriage?' I asked.

'Most likely not,' was the reply. 'It could do no good, and might disturb the peace of the family.'

It must not be supposed that polygamy is practised universally among the Mormons. They are too poor for the most part to support several wives and a number of young children. The proportions are probably these: about one Mormon in eight has two wives; one in thirty, three; perhaps one in a hundred, four or more. Brigham's sons have three apiece. Square Wells, as the third president is called, or 'the General' of the Mormon militia, and old apostle John Taylor, have seven each. Franklin Richards boasts nine; the orator Orson Pratt is content with six; and the amiable courteous George Q. Cannon with four. The rest of the apostles have burdened themselves with similar household cares. The bishops and elders take their full proportion. As for the

pre-eminent President, the wives whom he visits more or less regularly are variously estimated from sixteen to six and thirty, with 'more than he knows of' sealed to him for eternity.

The system has not been worked long enough in Utah to demonstrate fully its good and evil qualities. Scandals abound, no doubt, and there is a large amount of domestic misery, but it is not certain that in these respects the Mormon community is worse off than any other of similar proportions. On the other hand the Saints claim that their system has done away with concubinage, and the existence among them of a class of outcast women.

The Mormon women do not betray any consciousness of degradation, or any unusual sense of unhappiness. 'The universal look of melancholy in the eyes' which some travellers have seen was probably the reflection of their own sympathetic vagaries. The women and girls laugh and gossip, and sing about their doorways and bits of garden, just as they do anywhere else in rural districts. In the streets of Salt Lake City they walk about freely, nod to their acquaintance, or stop and smile, and talk gaily, with a freedom borrowed from American customs rather than from the English. In their private houses, as far as my experience goes, in the ward-meetings, tabernacle, or theatre, they have just the ordinary look of untrammelled content, ready for smiles at the least provocation, which one finds in the faces of women in a similar rank of life anywhere in England or America. No doubt they have frequently occasion enough for discontent, privately, and regret in their hearts, possibly (though I have no reason to think so) greater than that experienced in monogamic communities. At all events, human nature here usually asserts itself in cheerfulness, and in various activities, whatever hidden sorrows may exist.

But the attitude assumed by Mormon polygamists is scarcely an apologetic one. They assert, and apparently believe, that their system is necessary for the purgation of modern society, and the salvation of the Christian world from destruction through its wide-spread vices. Mormon preachers and missionaries inveigh in the strongest terms, and not altogether without reason surely, against a variety of social corruptions which are deteriorating the peoples of America and of Europe. Their ordinary periodicals are filled with accounts from Gentile newspapers of marriage infidelities, divorce scandals, and the miserable results of prostitution. Their thoughtful writers point out the infecting evils of our modern civilisation, and assert that Mormonism is alone concerned for their cure. The physical health of the present generation, they say, is undermined by infectious diseases attributable to vice. The evil increases. The growing luxury and effeminacy of society threaten to accomplish its ruin. In the great country in which they are settled, they aver that social corruption abounds to an alarming extent. The American ladies, they say, are given to the use of drugs to avoid having families to rear. Abortion and infanticide are common. They believe that the social condition of England and of the continent of Europe is equally bad and dangerous. A social reformation is necessary for the salvation of the race. Mormonism supplies it.

The Mormons assert vehemently that so far from their system pandering to vice, it controls and checks all sensual indulgence. Some men have joined them, they do not deny, to exercise the liberty they allow, but they pray to be judged by their legitimate fruits, and not by exceptional unfaithfulness. It is their

rule, theyany, dictated by considerations of propriety and health, that the husband shall always occupy a separate chamber, and that the wife, as soon as she is pregnant, shall remain strictly apart. They promise in this way to produce a race of new vigour and purity.

Meanwhile the traveller perceives that the poor dwellings of the mass of the people are not large enough for ordinary decency, and that the swarming children are just like the groups he would see in any rural district in the old country.

Of course it is not to be questioned that a reintroduction of polygamy would exercise a great influence on the course of the civilisation of a people, but the simple truth is that the system has not been tried long enough in Utah, or on a scale of sufficient magnitude, to prove what are its natural and full effects.

Whether a continuance of the experiment at Salt Lake is desirable or not on grounds of public morality is a question admitting of much debate: it seems, however, pretty certain that the world at large could very well afford that the system should have a full and fair trial, and there are many Americans who have sufficient faith in the destiny of their country, and confidence enough in the primary article of their political creed, - that all men should be allowed the widest liberty consistent with the liberties of their neighbours,—to make them willing, or even anxious that this novel religious and social organisation should follow unhindered its natural course.

The establishment of a religion so grotesque, with a social order so retrograde, as that of Mormonism is doubtless a reproach to our civilisation, and a symptom of the unwholesome condition, mental and spiritual, of our people. But the mere repression of the symptoms of disease is never a wise policy.

CHARLES MARSHALL.

THE TRAVELS AND ADVENTURES OF A PHILOSOPHER IN THE FAMOUS EMPIRE OF HULEE

From an Old MS., A.D. 2070.

'Αλλὰ νῦν ἔστω ὁ λόγος ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς πρώτης.

Ἐξ ἧς ἔστιν ... τὸ μὲν τῆς ἀρχῆς τὸ δὲ τοῦ σκοποῦ, καὶ τὸ μὲν ἀναγκαῖον τὸ δὲ συμφέρον. *Aristotle Politics*, lib. 8

Τοῦ μὲν γὰρ ἕνεκα τὸ ὑπάρχειν ἐστὶν, καὶ τὸ γενέσθαι.

Τὸ δὲ γενέσθαι καὶ γενόμενα ἕνεκα ἐστὶν ἀρετῆς καὶ ἀνδρίας

Aristotle [illegible] *of Love* lib. 9

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AFTER many adventures in divers regions governed by different kings and queens, most of whom were, however, invisible to their subjects and ruled by means of great mysteries, I resolved to pay a visit to the famous empire of Hulee. Its empire seems to date its origin from the earliest period of the world's history, and although its significance as a political and moral power has varied considerably at different times, yet it has always maintained the same laws as a constitution, and has been governed by the same dynasty of kings, which, like similar dynasties elsewhere, has always borne the common dynastic name of Hulee. During my travels in other regions I had heard much of Hulee and Huleean institutions, but the report was often accompanied by some doubt of its real existence. To these doubts, however, I gave little heed. That Hulee existed I felt assured by certain family records preserved in our house, from which I learnt that not a few of the noble race from which it is my pride to have sprung had at different times both visited, and, in a few instances, settled in that country, and had risen to eminent positions in the State. These records had for me a marvellous fascination, so that I made up my mind, after I had returned to my native land, to travel thither myself. When I arrived at this resolution I had already and almost unconsciously accomplished a considerable part of the journey; and, much to my surprise, I found myself within a comparatively short distance from Hulee even while I was making up my mind to go thither. This wonderful expedition was fortunate, inasmuch as any avowed purpose of setting forth to such an ill-famed country would have been attended by not a few perils. As it was, I had to encounter the opposition of my friends; not that I acquainted them with my deliberations, for I hardly dared avouch them to myself. But they, it seems, got scent of my purpose long before I had come seriously to entertain it. They had noticed how diligently I studied the maps of the country, the different roads which led to it, as well as my constant perusal of those family records that treated of Hulee. They accordingly set themselves in extreme opposition to my supposed project. They tried to alarm me with the sense of my journey, especially with the danger of settling in Hulee. They spoke in strong terms of the low-lying situation and consequent unhealthiness of the country, the godless character of its laws and ruling powers, the reported cruel nature of the inhabitants, the strangeness of their manners and customs, &c. Finding I was not easily frightened, they resorted to other methods—gentle expostulations, earnest prayers, pathetic appeals to my fondness for my country and home. And, for my part, I must admit that these various devices often took considerable effect on me. Often did I waver while forming my resolution, and drew

back from the half-resolved enterprise. Sometimes I summoned courage to follow the road for a little distance, but, enticed by the affectionate appeals of the friends I was leaving behind me, or else frightened by the loneliness of the way, I hurried back again to my old home.

At last, after much hesitation, I had, as I have said, come to a resolution on the subject, and was already far on my road to Hulee. I was, perhaps, led to this final determination by the fact that the road, which had once deterred me by its loneliness, was just about this time becoming more frequented. There had been a time, as I discovered in my researches, when for hundreds of years together scarce a single pilgrim could be seen along the solitary route. Now, however, there were several persons from my own neighbourhood, men of eminence too, some of them, who had made up their minds to see, and possibly to settle down in Hulee. Of course the pleasure of company removed one objection to the enterprise, still it was reputed to be a most hazardous one, not to be undertaken except under the stimulus of an all-powerful motive. The motive in the case of most of my companions I ascertained to be something of this kind. They had got hold of a notion that in Hulee alone was there rest for enquiring, dissatisfied, and restless minds. In other lands there were mysteries, obscurities, puzzles of every kind; nothing was plain, self-evident, and demonstrable. A secret lurked in everything, unknown causes were rife, mysterious rumours of existences dark and inscrutable were prevalent. Ruling powers were invisible and intangible, and yet they had laws by which they governed, and they even claimed, or were said to claim worship. Such a state of things had naturally been very irritating and distasteful to my companions, and hence they were now journeying with all eagerness to Hulee. There everything was reported to be plain, easy, and self-evident; no more provoking secrets and unintelligible mysteries, no more painful riddles destined to last a lifetime, and only receiving solution when the power of comprehending it was possibly lost for ever. True, the journey had cost them, as it had me, much. They had to tear themselves from old associations; friends and home had to be abandoned; country, Government, and King, all of which they had been trained to love and respect, had to be given up; the lessons of half a lifetime had to be unlearned; old hopes and affections had to be repressed; nothing was left to them but the present, their own individuality, and their strong, unconquerable faith in Hulee. Notwithstanding these sacrifices, they went on their road rejoicing, hoping to find in the new country a full and ample recompense for the trouble their journey thither had cost them.

For my own part, however, these considerations had on me but a limited influence. I had not as yet made up my mind to settle down in Hulee. True, I knew something of the inconveniences of dwelling under the government and laws of other countries, but I was by no means sure that Hulee, though reported to be free from many of them, might not have peculiar ones of its own. My main motive was not emigration, but a traveller's restless ambition to investigate foreign lands. For this reason I did not follow the main road to Hulee so persistently as did my companions. I often turned aside to see something of the country that lay to the right or left of the road. I was indeed the only one of our company who allowed himself these occasional deviations; all the others were so zealous in their undertaking

that they refused to permit themselves a single glance on either side as they pursued their journey. And in order to put from them all possible temptation to do this, they all wore blinkers, somewhat like those which our forefathers were accustomed to fasten to their horses' heads in order to keep their eyes directed to the middle of the road. To these they had also added some large spectacles of a curious shape, which they assured me were universally used in Hulse. The leaders among our company were very earnest in advocating this mode of travelling, telling me that not a few in former times had absolutely deserted the road to Hulse, from the dangerous faculty which they continually exercised of looking towards either side as they journeyed.

The road to Hulse I found to be all down-hill; and it was, perhaps, to this circumstance that I was indebted for the unconscious speed by which I had traversed the earlier part of it. This incline, as we proceeded, became so steep that I began to realise the truth of the description I had so often heard of Hulse, viz that it was the lowest country in the world. When I first heard this report I refused to believe it, I attributed it to what I considered to be the common prejudice against the country; now, however, I felt its truth, and that painfully. I had myself always been fond of high situations, such as the tops of mountains, where the air was pure and rarefied. My native home was happily located in this respect, being placed on a high table-land, and I had often rejoiced in the purity of the atmosphere, and in the bodily health and mental exhilaration which such a situation conferred. Consequently, when I now perceived our unceasing and rapid descent, and felt the increasing density of the atmosphere naturally accompanying it, and which was so great that I could hardly breathe, I began, for the first time, to regret the step I had taken, and, for a moment, to wish myself back again in the loftier and more salubrious region which I had forsaken. However, it was too late to think of returning now. I had determined, at whatever cost, to see Hulse; and this determination, together with the disgrace I knew I should incur by deserting the expedition, sufficed to restore my drooping courage, and I once more quickened my pace, and in a short time overtook my companions, who, in consequence of my recent feeling of faintness and mental depression, had been walking somewhat in advance of me.

We were now come, so I was told, to the very bounds of Hulse, when a strange incident befell me. I had just overtaken the foremost rank of our company, when all at once I stopped, amazed and affrighted. I seemed to myself to be standing on the very brink of a horrible precipice, while far below me an immense plain stretched away as far as the eye could reach. I was on the point of turning round to warn my companions of our danger, when suddenly some half-a-dozen men advanced from the side of the road, and enquired whither we were bound. Hearing that we were travellers to Hulse, they rapidly surveyed our company, and, coming upon me, they immediately placed a large pair of spectacles on my eyes, and blinkers on my cheeks, telling me that I must now, as a subject of King Hulse, conform to the usages of his country. As all the rest of our company had already adopted this Hulsean fashion, I was the only one for whom this arbitrary treatment was needful. This event so frightened and bewildered me, that for a moment I forgot the strange prospect which had startled me a

minute ago. But, on a little reflection, I called to mind the hideous sight, and, turning my head (now armed with spectacles and blinkers) in the direction of our road, was about to point out to my companions the danger that lay before us, when, lo and behold! the whole scene was transformed: there was no longer any precipice; the road stretched out evenly before us; and though nothing appeared to me as it had before, yet the immediate sense of danger had happily disappeared. I must confess that the whole matter wonderfully discomposed me. I could not help telling my companions of the strange sight, but they laughed, and declared it must have been an ocular delusion. There was, however, an old man among us who had travelled much, and with whom I had contrived to establish some intimacy as we journeyed; and I overheard him mutter, with a kind of chuckle, that it was not the only instance within his knowledge of men descending precipices, as well as scaling heights, by the sole aid of spectacles and blinkers.

We were now arrived in Hulee, and I endeavoured to concentrate all my attention on the wondrous land of which I had heard so much. Hulee then appeared unlike any other country that I had ever seen, for to which side soever I directed my eager gaze I could see but one view—a great level plain extending as far as the eye could reach, without the least rising ground anywhere. In my own country we should have called such a prospect dull, and dull I certainly thought it, but I feared to give expression to my thoughts, because I had learnt from my companions the extreme jealousy of the people of Hulee on every point connected with their country. But the most wonderful part of the prospect was the sensation that all objects, whether far or near, seemed placed at an equal distance from us. There was no perception of distance, no perspective of any kind; an object in reality on the horizon appeared to be but a few yards off. Moreover, all objects were uniform in colour—a dark shade, verging closely on black. The effect of this was to give to all objects a wonderful distinctness. There was no delicacy of light and shade, no variety of colours or gradation of their tones, such as I had often witnessed with delight in my native country. Everything appeared near, everything seemed black. Of course this marvellous distinctness was to me a very strange feeling indeed I must confess that a painful bewilderment attended my first investigations into Hulean scenery. I did not know how far these appearances were real, or how far they might be ascribed to the spectacles without which it is impossible for an Hulean to exist. And here I may notice a curious fact which confirms a theory one of my ancestors was fond of viz. that parents transmit a newly acquired organ or faculty to their descendants. All children of native Hulæans are born with spectacles and blinkers and even in the case of settlers it was informed that constant use these articles had the effect making them grow fast to the head, whence they could not be disengaged but by a painful surgical operation. My spectacles, though gradually clinging closer to the sides of my face, were removable owing to the plan which I adopted but which I was obliged to carry out with the utmost caution and secrecy, of taking them off for a brief interval from time to time. My companions were apparently less bewildered by the scenery than I was indeed their delight was extravagant and extreme. Oh! how

beautiful! how distinct!' they cried out, in rapture; 'why did we not journey hither before? No more immense distances, no more painful mysteries, everything is near, everything plain. Hail, King Hulee and Queen Dunamis! from henceforth ye are our gods—to you we render worship. In all existence there is nothing for us but you, oh great, omnipotent, omnipresent deities! All other gods and especially those who are vainly reputed to be greater and older than you, we utterly disclaim and repudiate.' In a similar strain of rapture they continued for some time.

Our company now began to break up. Some of my companions were resolved to settle close on the borders of Hulee, so that if anything happened to falsify their first prepossessions they might be able to return to the different countries whence they set out without much inconvenience. Others, more enterprising, determined to settle in the very heart of the country, and refused to admit even the possibility of their present being for Hulee ever changing into distance. I resolved to go forward with the latter, not because I was so well convinced as they were of the extraordinary excellence of the country, as because I wished to see all I could of it before I formed an opinion one way or other. I had now too become more accustomed to the strange feeling which the uniform nearness of all objects, and their similarity in colour, had at first excited in me. Still I was as yet perplexed on my way by with numerous doubts and difficulties.

I will now present the reader with the general result of my observations.

To begin, as in duty bound, with the ruling powers. The empire of Hulee was governed, as I have incidentally remarked, by two very powerful potentates, King Hulee and his wife Dunamis. They had ruled the country from time immemorial: indeed all native Huleans maintained that the empire was founded by them, they were treated by their subjects with much deference; so far indeed as profession went, they were held to be objects of worship; but I observed that this profession was counterbalanced by a wonderfully familiar treatment of them in common practice. There were, however, divers small sects, one or two of which I shall presently notice, which, although recognising Hulee and Dunamis as the rulers of the country, yet reserved their worship for other objects. One characteristic of the King and Queen no doubt contributed much to the general honour in which they were held—they possessed the singular power of being everywhere present: you could go to no part of their extensive dominions, nor could you contemplate a single object, but you saw the King and Queen at the same time. Hence their transformations were numberless their various manifestations endless. I had indeed been brought up from my youth to recognise the attribute of omnipresence in the King of my own country, but I had always understood that as implying an unseen presence. In Hulee, however, the same quality was maintained in a visible and tangible sense.

The King and Queen of Hulee were renowned for one characteristic highly commendable in all married couples, and that is they were quite inseparable! The King was never

[1] As an illustration of the influence which the Government and Institutions of Hulee exercised over the Minds of Thought, I may here observe that the mode in which these views were expressed was different from place to place, and varied according to the

seen anywhere without the Queen, and the Queen was equally attached to her husband.[1] I must, however, explain. The Queen's presence could not at all times be positively detected (for, as became a personage of her high station, she was of an exceedingly modest and retiring nature), so that it had to be inferred from the conduct of her husband. King Hulee was, by nature, somewhat slow and heavy, and of rather a passive temperament; his wife, on the other hand, was his complete opposite in this respect, being a person of exceeding vivacity and liveliness of disposition: when therefore, as was sometimes the case, Hulee was seen to exhibit some activity in transforming himself from one shape to another, then it was at once known that his wife was exciting and moving him in the way she knew so well. I was told that most Hulæans, and especially the immediate servants of the King and Queen, knew their unseen mistress's various moods and tempers to a wonderful nicety, so that they could often foretell with the greatest accuracy how her Majesty was likely to act in a given contingency; at the same time I feel bound to add my own impression, formed after a mature examination of the subject, that so far as the real secret dispositions of the King and Queen were concerned, a good deal of what was termed knowledge was in reality mere guess-work. The Queen especially was subject, or apparently so, to fits of passion and caprice (like females elsewhere, which must have made it difficult for her servants to define the course which at all times and in all circumstances she was likely to take. There were, however, numberless people in Hulee besides the paid servants of the court, who did nothing else than counter-fashion study the constitutions and dispositions of the King and Queen, to the intent that they might employ such knowledge to their own advantage.[2] As to issue of the King and Queen, the tradition of the country affirmed them to be the authors of all existence in Hulee; so that, assuming this to be true, the title of Creator or Father, which I had often heard applied to the King of my own country, in, however, a somewhat indirect and symbolical sense, was literally applicable in Hulee. As the King and Queen were in some of their numerous forms and manifestations everywhere present, it need not be said that the people of Hulee did not put themselves to the trouble and cost of erecting temples to their honour. Every spot was a temple consecrated by the King's presence and consecrated by the Queen's activity, and in matters such as their most ordinary occupations, such as eating, drinking, sleeping, or working, had a necessary connexion with the omnipresence of their King and Queen, and we

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some of their cl. of philosophers [illegible] a maxim [illegible] that H[illegible] [illegible] necessarily, as [illegible] and [illegible] by the [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

religious acts because they acknowledged the presence of these divinities and were supposed to be dictated and regulated by their laws, it is needless to add that generally there was no rite or form of worship in use. Nor, again, were there priests, at least in the sense in which they exist in my own country; those who occupied an analogous position, as being instructors of the people and interpreters of the laws of their gods, were eminent medical professors and scientific men, of whom I shall have occasion to speak by-and-by. During my stay in Hulse I often fell in with these men, and I am bound to say that, within the sphere of their own system (and it was a primary law with many of them not to overstep the bounds of this system by even a hair's breadth), they seemed to me very clever and cultivated men. Their researches into the internal constitution of the King, and the various moods and tempers of his royal spouse, were conducted in a very ingenious manner. Some of them once informed me that they had reasons for suspecting that the Queen was generally mistress, and could mould her husband to her will, although they admitted that there were occasions when the passive resistance characteristic of Hulse secured to him the victory in the strife matrimonial.

I must, however, confess that the actual knowledge possessed by these professors of the real nature and origin of their rulers was much less than I had anticipated. From reports current in my own country, and from rumours which I heard on the road to Hulse, I expected to find them possessing the completest knowledge of everything relating to Hulse and Dunamis. The fundamental principles on which the empire was established required, I was told, such a knowledge as this; and the contrast between this reported fullness of knowledge in Hulse and the admitted imperfection of all branches of science in other countries was the chief inducement which brought emigrants thither. In my own case, however, by occasionally regarding things without the aid of my Hulsan spectacles, I soon became aware that the reported difference between Hulse and my own country had been at least greatly exaggerated. I once met an ingenuous Hulsan Professor who agreed with me pretty closely as to the limits which knowledge must have in Hulse as in all other places. As our conversation may throw some light on the modes of thought prevalent among Hulsan savans, I trust to be excused relating it at some length. The Professor alluded to was one day dilating with more than his usual warmth on the power of Hulse and Dunamis, the extent of their country, the happy density of its atmosphere, the distinctness with which objects were seen; in short, the general absence of what was puzzling and mysterious, which was the bane of most countries in the world. After indulging in these praises for some time, he asked me what I thought? I replied that I had not been long enough in Hulse to form a satisfactory opinion on the matter; but so far as my present knowledge went, it seemed to me that there were unsolvable mysteries even in Hulse. He eagerly asked me to point them out, as he had never been able to discover them. I answered that was perhaps owing to the circumstance of his having been born and always living in Hulse, but to me, who had seen other countries and knew the puzzles from which they suffered, there did not seem to be that great difference between them and Hulse which he contended for. I then mentioned some things which had struck me as unsolved problems in Hulse.

I began with the King, and said that although anyone might see what he was like in his coarser manifestations, and those provided with artificial means could see no little way into his more impervious disguises, yet there appeared to be a limit to these researches; for there were numberless forms of such extreme minuteness, and shapes of such wondrous tenuity, that though it was known his Majesty constantly assumed them, yet they escaped the greatest eye and instrument power that his servants were able to bring to bear upon them. Moreover, as to the Queen, something of the same kind might be said; for though many of her Majesty's tempers and tendencies were foretold by her servants with surprising accuracy, and though they could sometimes so employ their knowledge that the Queen might be said to be led by the nose by some of her great favourites, yet I could not help thinking that there were more of her Majesty's movements unknown than known. Besides, even of those moods and tempers that were supposed to be best known, and in which her servants were most wont to vaunt their superior skill, it seemed to me there were many details which could only be dimly guessed. And of each and all of her movements, in common with herself, it might, I thought, be said that the real origin of them was hidden in the deepest obscurity. Summing up my argument, I said, that even granting that all the present manifestations of the King and the various moods of the Queen could be explained, yet, so long as their origin, e.g., their parentage and birth-place, was quite unknown, it could not be said that Huber possessed no mysteries. My friend, who had listened to my argument with ill-disguised impatience, here broke out: 'My good sir, you are talking treason of the most flagrant kind. You are impugning the first principles of our constitution. Do you not know that it is a primary law of our empire to refrain from making those silly enquiries into first or final causes which foolish people in other countries trouble themselves so much about? In the words of one of our greatest writers and legislators, "Dans l'etat (Huber l'esprit humain . . . . renonce a chercher l'origine et la destination de l'univers, et à connaître les causes intimes des phenomènes, &c. I pleaded my being a stranger to Huber as an apology for my transgression. Whereupon my friend, seeing my unwillingness to renounce so unlawful a topic, begged me to say what I thought. I then resumed, saying that the restriction of human enquiry within certain arbitrary limits was a cheap method of getting rid of mysteries, moreover, it was one which did not agree with the constitution of the human mind, nor did it serve to advance human knowledge. To this my friend answered, that no good Huberan would in the least wish to restrict and fetter any useful enquiry, but there were certain things, as for example the origin of Huber and Dunman, which appeared to him certainly insoluble, and concerning which, therefore, all enquiry was worse than useless. To this I could only plead what seemed to me the innate tendency of the human mind. And this suggested the last argument I employed in this discussion, and that was the impossibility admitted even by some eminent Huberans, that the real connection between mind and body in the case of thinking beings above I ever be found out. It was at least as yet an undiscovered problem, and I for my part, could not help thinking it would always remain so. My friend demurred somewhat to the conclusion, as being much too hasty, affirming that there was even now

some evidence that this problem would not long remain unsolved. As he seemed unwilling to renew the subject, I took my leave of him, not, however, before he had warned me against communicating to any other Hukean the sentiments I had avowed to him. He said, moreover, he suspected I took the unwarrantable liberty of looking at things without my spectacles, and that it was my duty, even if I was a stranger to Hukee, to conform as much as any of its subjects to the laws and institutions I found there existing.

I have already remarked that excepting the worship rendered to Hukee and Dunamis, there was no religion in Hukee. I ought however, to say that there were a few small sects, which, although agreeing with the other inhabitants as to the honour to be paid to their King and Queen, yet transferred their service to other beings. One sect, e.g., paid worship to science or knowledge, in other words to the muses in which the forms of Hukee or the deities of Dunamis appeared to the senses. I could not but regard this as a foolish worship, inasmuch as it was paying to the image reflected in a troubled disturbing medium, what was at least in order to the power which produced it. Another sect formed a still stranger device. They worshipped the human female as she was the type to sum up all the best attributes of the race. The author of this religion was a well-known Hukean lawmaker, held in much honour by one of the ruling men of the country. I was told that he devoted this moral period to later years, when he was in his dotage. However that may be the worship itself is worth describing. I observed one day to be passing one of their churches and seeing some women go in, I resolved to follow them in order to see for myself what their rites and observances were. In the church the chief object visible beneath the pulpit and seats for the worshippers was an immense image of a woman, apparently about thirty-five years of age, who bore a child in her arms. Towards this image the women on entering made a slight inclination, while the few men present prostrated themselves in a very devout manner, acting, however, as it seemed to me, under a certain compulsion, as I saw their female companions were watching every part of their performance with a suspicious kind of vigilance. The entrance of a stranger, as I was, seemed to disconcert them a little, especially as I in my ignorance did not prostrate myself before the woman image. The service began with a procession of two men and as many boys carrying a banner green on the one side and white on the other on which was painted the same representation of woman and child. The main act of worship appeared to consist in putting their forefingers along the crowns of their heads, repeating at the same time certain mystic words. In the performance of these symbolical acts the priests led the way and were duly followed by the worshippers. The presiding minister then delivered a sermon on marriage, because, as he reminded his readers, it was the month of marriage. I did not understand what this meant at the time. I, however, learnt afterwards that the founder of this religion had given new names to the months of the year and the days of the week, substituting some persons or things which he wished to be honoured on each month, week, or day. After the sermon was ended, and the procession of ministers and boys had left the church, the congregation with a final bow or prostration to the woman-image dispersed. I was

told that this religion was more popular among women than among the opposite sex, the ratio of males to females being about one to twenty. On talking to a friend on the subject of this worship, he told me that it was a law among this sect for the men to worship their mothers, wives, and daughters; and if they dared to refuse, they did so at their peril, for the women, as was but natural, were the stronger sex in that religious communion. He said that he once heard a case brought before a judge in which a husband pale from loss of blood and his head enveloped in bandages brought an action against his wife for assault; and the plea put in by the defendant, who was a very determined and ferocious-looking woman, was that he had refused to pay her her morning worship. As it was a case which concerned religious usages, the judge could not interfere: he accordingly dismissed it with the remark that if the man could not worship his wife from love, he had reason to do so from fear. I was told that this sect, although it boasted of a very elaborate organisation, numbered but a small portion of the people of Hulee.

In former times there had been in different districts of the empire many religious sects pretty much like those that existed in my own country; but when the empire had extended its bounds these outlying provinces came under its primary decree, that no mode of religious belief or worship should be tolerated which explicitly or implicitly denied the supreme power of Hulee and Dunamis, or which, allowing that power, referred it finally to a higher cause: consequently in these portions of the empire the ruins of many such churches might be found.

The Government of Hulee professed to be based on principles of perfect freedom. All native Huleans were indeed never tired of denouncing in the strongest terms tyrannous and despotisms of every kind, especially such as were religious; and yet I am bound to say there did not seem a great difference in this respect between Hulee and the other governments of the world. The laws were just as severe, both in enactment and in administration, as any I had ever known. They purported to be in every instance interpretations of the wills of Hulee and Dunamis as revealed by them in some of their many manifestations; although it may be feared that from inability to pry into the innermost secrets of the court, not a few of their interpretations of the royal will were merely arbitrary guesses of their own. This was deducible from the fact that there were in Hulee different schools of philosophers and medical teachers, which, though all agreed in recognising the supremacy of Hulee and Dunamis, were yet divided among themselves as to the precise signification of several of their phases and modes of manifestation; and these divisions were embittered by an amount of rancour and ill feeling which was very inconsistent with the hard language their envoys used to apply to similar divisions of opinion on religious and other subjects elsewhere, and also with the peaceful and peacemaking character they were wont to claim as the peculiar merit of their own investigations.

The officers of state, legislators, in a word those who occupied the most eminent positions in Hulee were, as I have said, professors of medicine and science. The authority of these men was very great, and dated from the very foundation of the empire. Formerly the members of this high caste were chosen indifferently from all classes of the community at the time of my visit, however, they were procured in

numbers corresponding to the needs of the State by a careful system of selection and interbreeding. An Hulean of ancient times having made the discovery that children inherit the aptitudes and excellences of their progenitors, it was thought well to make use of the discovery for the due propagation of professors and legislators, and the breeding of these eminent men was conducted with as much skill and care and attended with as great success as had always characterised similar efforts in Hulee and elsewhere for the production of special kinds of domestic animals.

The system to which these professors owed their origin and transcendant ability was administered and developed by themselves with great ingenuity. They had succeeded in obtaining a considerable insight into the laws of animal and vegetable life. This was exemplified in the new varieties of animals and plants which they were continually producing. One of the first things that attracted my notice in Hulee was the strange forms of many of its animals. In all my travels I had seen nothing like them elsewhere. They seemed to be compounded of the different parts of several animals, somewhat like the fabled centaurs and unicorns of very ancient times. The means by which this variety was produced were, I was informed, mainly three: 1. Selection; 2. Interbreeding; 3. Transplanting or grafting. The last and to me the most novel process of the three consisted in affixing a member taken from a given animal and causing it to grow in the frame of any other animal who might be thought to be the better for its insertion. It is needless to say what immense scope for the practice of this art there was in the whole animal creation. One great limit to the number of varieties producible by this plan was a stringent law of the Government prohibiting any interbreeding or grafting which was shown to be of no utility to the community; another limit was found to be the fact that these new incorporated members could not always be fixed and perpetuated by breeding.

One great scientific feat which had often been attempted by the savans of Hulee, and the accomplishment of which had been anticipated by the more sanguine among them some two centuries ago, was reported to be on the eve of discovery at the time of my visit. This was nothing less than the actual creation of living organisms. I was told that certain microscopic forms of existence, consisting of primal protoplasmic cells, had been created by a celebrated natural philosopher, who had 'artificially brought together' 'the conditions under which matter assumes vital properties.' I had unluckily no opportunity of verifying the truth of the report, which, assuming its correctness, would tend to remove one of those mysteries the solution of which generally I found to be falsely claimed by Huleans, and declared to be impossible by the people of other lands.

I was greatly surprised at the wonderful skill manifested by the savans of Hulee in mechanical science. Hulee was indeed preeminently a machine country. Whatsoever could not be done with the calculated regularity of wheels, pulleys, and screws was always left undone. No task was so trifling and insignificant as not to need a machine for its accomplishment, and on the other hand, no task was so great and (apparently) impossible that machinery was not devised for its performance.

Among their larger machines was one which they employed in dry seasons for bringing down rain from

the sky. This it appears to have effected by producing by some explosive mixture an immense concussion of the atmosphere extending upwards of fifty miles round. The roar of the machine was greater, so I was informed, than the simultaneous fire of a park of artillery consisting of 1,000 of the thirty-five-ton guns about which our forefathers were making a fuss some two hundred years since, but which I found to be a mere pop-gun in Hulec. This machine, as might be supposed, was rather unwieldy to manage, and its value was somewhat abated by the reported uncertainty of its operations. I was told that some of their great men were then occupied in planning another machine (consisting of an enormous magnet) which might serve to disperse the clouds and call forth the sun. That some means of effecting this object were necessary will be seen from the fact that it was sun-power which worked most of their machinery. Centuries ago, as I was told, the Hulecans, like most other nations, used to dig out of the ground a black mineral stone which served to drive their machinery and to give light to the streets of their towns. The supply of this valuable mineral had, however, long been exhausted; it only survived in the form of specimens in their museums. As a substitute, they now managed to store up the heat of the sun so as to apply it to work their machines and to warm their dwellings in cold weather. Similarly, the light of the moon, when it was visible, was laid up in large moon-shine reservoirs, whence it was retailed by Government to give light to their streets and houses on moonless nights. I have not time to describe all the wonders and to me novelties of machinery with which my sojourn in Hulec made me acquainted. I was especially struck with their many machines for travelling either through the air or under the water, which operations were performed as easily as walking along a road in my own country. A curious result, though one which I cannot here do more than touch upon, of the aptitude for machinery which characterised Hulecans, was the immense extent to which machine ideas, so to speak, coloured their language and modes of thought, as well as gave a form to the most common and trivial actions of their lives.

On my first acquaintance with the country I was greatly struck by the rarity of children everywhere. I found that this was to be ascribed to the care of the Government for the well-being of the people, for before any marriage could be contracted the parties wishing to enter upon it were required to satisfy the local authorities of the sufficiency of their means and the complete soundness of their health and organisation. To prove the latter point they were obliged to produce medical certificates, hence only suitable and proper marriages were celebrated. Moreover, the ruling powers compelled all unmarried people who had attained a certain age, and who were not precluded by infirmity or poverty, to enter upon matrimony immediately; and it was one of the duties of the Ministers of State to provide suitable mates for them. Nor did State supervision cease with marriage, the number of children permitted to each family was also strictly defined by the laws, a separate licence being required for each child, and any transgression of this enactment was attended with severe penalties. All the sickly children born, and owing to State selection in the matter of marriages their number was necessarily few, were, upon medical testimony, immediately destroyed. Indeed, there was in Hulec a general contempt for human life, which to

me, a native of a country where its preservation to the greatest possible extent was a fundamental principle of the law, was very painful. No old Hulean, e.g., was permitted to live after he had become incapable of work, and every one taken with a chronic or infectious disorder was in like manner soon put out of the way. In short, human life, like every other kind of property, was regarded as belonging exclusively to the State. As long as a man was considered to be useful to the community he was permitted to live; as soon as he became useless, from whatever cause, he was without hesitation put to death. I need hardly say that, acting up to this rule, there were no rich, and therefore idle people in Hulee, all that a man acquired above and beyond his daily means of support was claimed by the State for educational, sanitary, and other purposes.

The system of education in Hulee was in harmony with its laws and tendencies. I need not say that it was entirely in the hands of the State, and was quite compulsory. The children and young people were especially instructed in the laws of Hulee and Pansania in the structure of their own bodies regarded as machines, and in the formation and mode of working of all the other machines, vital or non-vital, by which they were surrounded. One characteristic of the educational system of Hulee was its eminent patriotism. The literature, arts, and languages of other nations and countries were zealously excluded both from the elementary education and from the higher thought of the country, and hence the young generation of Hulenas imbibed the devoted attachment to it which generally characterised their elders almost with their mothers' milk.

From the low situation of Hulee I expected to find a great deal of disease among its inhabitants. I was, therefore, surprised to find that (owing, perchance, to the short and easy method of treatment customary here) there was little or no sickness in Hulee. All curable cases were promptly and decidedly healed. The few cases which were incurable were immediately given up to the medical authorities, and a series of ante-mortem examinations, conducted for years with the greatest skill and caution, was not the least of the means by which the learned faculty of medicine had attained to its present high position. Besides which they enjoyed other opportunities for improvement from their office of public executioners, for every incurable offender was delivered up to them to be dealt with as they thought fit, i.e. either to be first infected with some disease and then experimented upon with drugs, or to have some new kind of surgical operation performed upon him, it being understood that the conclusion in every such case was to be death. 'It need hardly be pointed out,' as a warm advocate of Hulean institutions once said to me, 'how much this mode of utilising criminals is better than that which is in use in some countries of hanging them up on a scaffold without a thought of those valuable organisations which are thus absolutely wasted, so far as rendering any service to humanity is concerned.'

I have now, I think, sufficiently described those features of Hulee which seemed to me most remarkable during my sojourn there. Although many of the things I saw there filled me with astonishment by their strangeness, I was not long in arriving at the conclusion that neither Hulee nor its institutions were altogether suited to my taste. I perceived that the lowness of the country affected my health, while the manners and customs of the people had an equally prejudicial

effect on my spirits. I therefore made up my mind, as soon as I had seen all that seemed to be worth seeing, to leave Hulee, and journey back again whence I came. How far my distaste for the land and its institutions was owing to the habit I adopted during my stay there of occasionally removing my Hulean spectacles, and looking at things with my naked eyes, I will not undertake to say; but it certainly seemed to me that nearly all those advantages which Huleans had boasted of possessing, and on which they were content to stake the very existence of their empire, were rather imaginary than real. The mystery surrounding and interpenetrating all things, to obtain freedom from which their empire was established, I found, though unrecognised, still existing. It seemed to me to make but little difference whether it was found in Hulee and Dunamis, or whether it was to be attributed to a still higher power, to which, as the men of my own country believe, both Hulee and Dunamis owe their existence; and though I could not but admire the ingenuity of their professors, their intense, but perhaps somewhat narrow devotion to the interests of their rulers and divinities, the skill of native Huleans in constructing and managing all kinds of machinery, yet these excellences were, in my estimation, more than counterbalanced by a strange want of feeling, sympathy, love, and, in short, the softer and kindlier aspects of existence, which we sum up in the word humanity. There was a selfishness, a harshness in their ideas, not unsuited, perhaps, to their conceptions of themselves as organisms or machines, but which to me at least was most repulsive; and though the savans of Hulee boasted of their freedom from mental slavery and prejudice, I could not help inferring that the freedom consisted merely in a substitution of one kind of slavery for another; for the average Hulean professor was just as dogmatic in the promulgation of his theories and opinions as the most bigoted hierarch could be; and that, too, in cases where there was no possibility of demonstrating fully the truth of what he maintained. On the whole, then, I could not but conclude that the advantages which were supposed to belong to Hulee were of a fictitious character, and that neither the country nor its institutions answered to the fame they had acquired in other lands.

After a residence in the heart of Hulee of about twelve months, I resolved to turn my steps homeward; and just as I found in starting for Hulee that I got over the ground more rapidly than I expected, so now, having made up my mind to leave it, I soon found myself verging close on its boundaries. I overtook on my road homewards a few of my fellow-travellers to Hulee. These, like myself, were dissatisfied with the country and its laws, and were wending their way back to the homes they had left. On comparing my own impressions with theirs, I found that we were quite agreed as to the defects of Hulee, whence I was assured that the opinions I had formed were not so strange or erroneous that others did not share them. When I had once more re-ascended the long hill which led homewards, and when I had rid myself of the last trace of Hulean prepossessions by giving up my spectacles to the officers on the boundaries, great was my delight to survey the well-remembered scenery through which I had travelled to Hulee. So great, indeed, was the joy I felt at the prospect of nearing home, that I ran up the steeper parts of the hill without feeling any sense of fatigue. The atmosphere, too, becoming purer,

together with my joyful feelings, produced in me a feeling of buoyancy and exhilaration to which I had long been a stranger. At last my own home was happily reached, where at least for some time to come I was determined to stay. I found, however, that my long sojourn in Hulee had estranged many of my older companions, and thrown some doubt on my patriotism. This I was not unwilling to encounter, being confident that my journey to Hulee had not been unattended with benefits; for, firstly, I had thereby satisfied my traveller's curiosity to see and investigate new lands. I had thereby enlarged my knowledge of men and their modes of thought. I had, moreover, returned with a greater respect for the laws and usages of my own country than I had ever felt before, and with a full conviction that the mysteries underlying all things are the same in every country, and are not affected by institutions or modes of government; and last, though not least, I was now convinced that the fears which some of my countrymen entertained, that the institutions and manners of Hulee were destined some day or other to extend themselves into other lands, were without real foundation. I felt confident that, though Hulee might always attract to it men of a particular disposition, yet, for the bulk of the human race, it could never have more than a mere intellectual and speculative interest.

DEFLECTIVE EDUCATION

THE Elementary Education Bill having been passed, there is room for the happy hope that few of the poorest will seek in vain for a neighbouring school in which their children may, during some part of the day, learn reading and writing, arithmetic enough for ordinary marketing, and possibly as much of physical and political geography as most of the middle class seem able to retain. To educational enthusiasts, indeed, this curriculum appears sadly small; but we must confess our unromantic notion that, having regard to the children to whom it is stipulated that the present State-aided schools shall be limited, viz. those of 'the classes who support themselves by manual labour,' the course is as extensive as we need seek to force them through.

Apparently under a similar impression, the moderate advocates of that compulsion which is so desirable in theory and so difficult in practice, have contented themselves with the wish that as soon as a child might pass an examination in one or other of the higher of the six standards of the Revised Code, his compulsory attendances at school should be restricted in number or should altogether cease. But Mr Fawcett, as reported in the *Times* May 28, 1870, deemed this a fatal principle which would drag all children to a dead level, and would defeat one grand end of education, which is to discover and develop talent, and to enable the clever boy to advance from the National School to the University. The proposition bears a mild resemblance to the Imperial boast, that every French soldier carries in his knapsack the materials for a marshal's baton; but we notice the similarity only to protest against it. The bravery and good conduct by which it is conceivable that this prize may be reached, are virtues which it is not less for the good of the nation than for that of the individual soldier that he should practise throughout his course, as I the hope, however vain, of attaining the distinction tempts him to no deflection from his true path. But to hold out to the children of our national schools the prospect of obtaining university distinctions is to put into their heads a very mischievous notion. It is not simply that the prospect is scarcely less illusive in this case than in the other, but the allurement is thoroughly meretricious. It is not good for the nation that the hope set before these children should be that of passing by examination into a totally different sphere from that in which they are born. It is not good that time and thought, which might be happily and usefully given to the class of work that is open to poor boys, should be wasted by them in an almost hopeless struggle to get into ranks which are naturally already thronged by the children born in them. Short of criminal records, there is no more galling pain than that of many a man who has been educated above the level of the work which his lot is cast, or the requirements of the work which he has to do, book-learning has rendered distasteful to him, but which he can yet only just manage to starve. The grammar-school, which we take to be the representative of many and not the clever boy's institution to give to the masses knowledge gradually, freer feelings and a taste for more reasonable enjoyments than heretofore. If they are only able to turn to their books for an occasional hour or so after a day of manual labour, all this restriction is not without its advantage if they can do so with some of that

clear and boun ling thought which those who spend their lives in incessant mental fag may remember to have enjoyed in their youth, but now covet in despair. The industry and ressuation which make up the published b graphies of the comparatively very few who have raised themselves to a greatly different position from that in which they were born, is not in all cases the whole of the truth, but a considerable (entirely of the unintelligent patronage) there is sometimes intellect that has gone to make up the character of the man and the nature of the course they have taken. There is to our thinking a far greater p[illegible] reason for respecting the man who, instead of seeking to climb with the high probability of a miserable disappointment, has been content to follow the path which was open to him, and which therefore presented a very good prospect of success, and who, while neglecting no reasonable opportunity of mental improvement, has applied his intellect to the better use of his natural work, and has obtained all the [illegible] case by the following process of [illegible] reasoning:

[illegible] with [illegible] has been expressed, irrespectively of the question of [illegible] of the mind to which Mr Bassett belongs. Mr M[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] the approving by the following words of Sir [illegible]:

[illegible]

Yet, regarding it of this [illegible] certainly reasonable estimate of the case, young people are everywhere found to attach such an exaggerated importance to the circumstance of their having received more book-learning than their parents, that the tendency in each class is to seek to move, as a necessary consequence of this book-learning, into a sphere different from that which the parents have occupied. In the educational movement, as in every good work, there is a degree of attendant evil: the leaders will ride their hobbies to death, and this struggle after displacement of classes is the evil which requires correction in the educational movement of our times.

Deluded by a mistaken notion of the purpose which their education should serve, members of tradesmen's sons have crushed into the fearfully overstocked ranks of professions. They have despised buying and selling as vulgarities unfitted for 'educated gentlemen,' much as a girl in a drapery shop could not write to a newspaper the other day to make a reasonable complaint of long hours without speaking of herself and her companions as 'young ladies.' Going a little lower, are there not numbers led by a false notion of the superiority conferred upon them by their participation in education to disdain the rougher manual labour of their parents, and to prefer the starvation pay and confined fag of dressmaking by hand or machine to the better living obtainable in the humbler, though far healthier, and not harder work of domestic service? In this last class, competition is quite disappearing, and those who still take situations behave in them with an independence and distance to which people engaged in shops and offices cannot approach even in thought. It must be remarked that this difference of conduct is owing to the better education of the latter. Independence will be asserted wherever it exists, and education merely varies the form of expression. The independence upon which domestic servants are to be congratulated—we do not for a moment say to be blamed—is the

natural effect of their comparative scarcity. Excepting those families who happen to have had old-fashioned servants in their employ for a score or so of years, there can be few readers whose experience does not furnish them with abundant illustrations of what we have said.

General servants are, of course, the most scarce of all, and for several years past the competition has been wholly on the part of the mistresses. Here in London these servants are advertised for chiefly in the *Clerkenwell News*, each issue of which contains two or three columns of such advertisements, and the following experience was recently gained as to the state of the market:—Three advertisements were inserted for a general servant to do plain cooking in a small family living within three miles of Charing Cross, and offering 10*l.* wages. We are not concerned to show whether the place was a good or a bad one; it is enough for us to state the advertiser's experience of the number of unemployed poor who came to enquire upon this point at a time when the choice of a score of young governesses could be had for the offer of the same remuneration, and when a single advertisement for a clerk brings applications by hundreds. To the three advertisements there was one response; a middle-aged woman called and made the kind statement that she would not mind coming to the family for a week, to oblige them. Three more insertions shortly afterwards, again a single application, by a young woman who did not know whether her late mistress would give her a character, and who called the next day to say that she found she would not. Three insertions more a week after that; again a solitary applicant, a highly-dressed woman, who had been at her last place two days, and for two months previously at a public-house, the landlady of which would not give her a second character.

In stating this impressive result of the nine advertisements, we do not wish to imply that the advertiser had any ground for complaint nor can we excuse his ignorance of those rudimentary ideas about supply and demand which are at the root of political economy. Having failed in obtaining a servant after three times offering 10*l.* wages, he should have offered 15*l.* in the next three advertisements; and if he had also failed then, he should have offered 20*l.* For this he might have obtained what he wanted, and if he did not choose or could not afford to pay 20*l.*, he should have abandoned the idea of keeping a servant, and his wife, who he says has been entire cook and half housemaid for some years past, should have done whatever other work there might happen to be. Nothing could be more simple, in common phrase—pointedly appropriate—any child in a charity school could have told him that. Still, in the worst of cases there is something to be said in palliation. It seems that the advertiser relied upon his personal experience that twenty or five-and-twenty years ago a general servant, who actually knew her work, could be had readily for 10*l.* a year, and that the food, which is paid for by the employer, is now as dear, or dearer whilst dress, which is paid for by the servant herself, has become so cheap, that it is not easy for men to distinguish on Sundays an average servant from an average mistress. And he thought there was an unsatisfactory discordance between the scarcity of [illegible] servants and the widespread destitution of the masses. We have, by the way, heard scores of sermons on behalf of [illegible] and for whom poor-rates are the [illegible] relief, as for those who have work for a time or permanently, in distress; and we have heard one

sermon—just one in which people have been told to try to provide against these calamities by taking out life-policies, and availing themselves in other ways of that system of assurance—so widely and so diversely applicable—in which modern science has, we think, most beautifully adapted to the things of this life the words of Saint Paul—that men should bear each other's burdens, and yet that each should bear his own.

By church and chapel collections and subscription books, by advertisements, by circulars, by pastorals, by distribution collecting-cards, by district visitors, by privately certificated cases, we are, on the one hand, enjoined to give far more largely and more willingly to the support of the poor and the education of their children. Yet we have before us a letter from the vicar of an East-end parish 'overwhelmed with destitution,' in which he confesses that girls need not leave the kingdom to obtain high wages and genteel service, the only servant he can recommend being, however, a widow with seven children, who must all be taken in, and a lady professionally looking for parish schools owns that servants are scarcely to be had, but returns, with a complacency passing comedy, that we must expect this as a necessary consequence of education. The effect of the present poor schools, terribly defective as they are, even in learning, and almost from manual labour, seems to be to teach only the few that they can and ought to pass on to the grammar schools, and the rest are brought up not to the love of country pursuits, good wholesome work, and the ways of it is not surprising to hear, where the hard, young faces, which crowd the London streets, have been brought up as I have sometimes, and are told, too late, that the work in the fields is harder and less remunerative than that which they have left, one can understand the manner [illegible] to which excessive competition has reduced their pay; and to know, on the other hand, young people taught in the parochial schools who are physically constituted for that rough work, but are not set to do it, nor have a notion of how it is to be done, and who will tell you that they were not 'brought up' to housework, or will explain that they have only left home in a tiff or for a change, or will frankly twit you with the relief their families can obtain from the parish and from private charity.

Our last hope is that the Charity Organisation Society may induce other societies to distrust themselves just sufficiently to make use of it; and that in the book education of the poor there may be dealt out more of the wholesome advice that was given not long ago by a Lord Rector to some Scotch students: that they should learn, above all learning, how to honestly win their bread. Even in some orphan asylums it would surely be well if we heard less of the piano and of French, and more of the everyday work of woman's life. At all events, for the poor let us have more sewing, or, if possible, combined with the present school, where some of the untaught girls in towns, strong enough as we see to carry children nearly half their size, may in turn acquire knowledge of the simplest elements of household work. Only do not let them be the 'model' establishments, with all powerful stoves and patent improvements, but be provided with just such utensils as the girls will meet with in actual service. Let these be taught simple cooking at ordinary grates with every-day pots and pans, plain washing at the old-fashioned tubs, and general cleaning up, learning to do properly just that common-place work which would be of the most use to them when wives and mothers, and being

disciplined as far as possible to keep themselves clean and their clothes mended. If we were a 'gutter-child' we would rather be thus trained and started in service in England, with its many safeguards against cruelty, than be consigned to so scattered a population as the Canadian.

Now that a sufficient number of primary schools will be ensured by law, we venture to hope that clergymen here and there will give to such working-schools as are here advocated a real sanction, and even divert to them some of the numerous collections hitherto made for parochial schools, of which there are often two, and sometimes even three, distinct and complete sets attached to a single church. It might be expected that, if once fairly started, such places would be self-supporting, for there must be thousands of housekeepers who would find it real economy to subscribe a guinea or two a year to secure the choice of effective servants taught there, and allowed to register their names when out of work. Wherever such a work-school could be set up as a distinct establishment, so much the better; but the start on a small scale need nowhere be costly. The various parts of the existing school buildings and their furniture present weekly or daily opportunities for teaching poor children (whether attending the day-school or not) how to do properly a little of the scrubbing and polishing which is desirable for their own homes also. Mending, or even washing their clothes, and cleaning the boots and the cooking utensils they might bring, could be practised in the precincts of the school without appearing very scandalous after a time or two. The whole course of this 'technical education' might culminate on Saturday evenings in some kind and clever housewives teaching the girls how to cook (probably in a neighbouring room) skilfully and inexpensively a supper for the parents of one or other of them in turn, the food being for the most part furnished by the parents themselves. We almost fear to have been profane in laying down so materialistic a programme, terminating in the attraction of the tasty cooking of perhaps indifferent meat; we must plead in extenuation the composite nature of every one of us, and can point out that at the annual clerical banquet at the Mansion House they drink to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, and that the most benefficent will have their charity dinners, and the most spiritually-minded their tea. Besides, as with their gatherings so with these, the gustation might be followed by a meeting of an hour or so; this should be strictly limited to the parents or friends of the children under training, and the time might be occupied with a little pleasant reading on general subjects, or on some social difficulty which may have been previously named, or with useful chat about the homes, their prospects, their savings, their recreations, their troubles, and even, at times, on graver and higher subjects.

We know, indeed, that there are already a number of small schools for servants, such as those connected with the 'National Central Office,' but these seem mostly to be homes in which selected girls are trained for those distinct departments of domestic service which are needed in the establishments of the wealthy by whom the schools are naturally patronised. We are concerned with only the homes of ordinary folks; and our purpose being therefore lower, as wider, and it may be less perfect. We do not contemplate the bringing of a comparatively few to that standard of excellence which is justly attainable in a servants' central home, but the making of a great many people a little better and a little wiser than

they may happen to be; and if the girls must go backwards and forwards to their homes, people ought surely to have sufficient faith in the leaven to let it come into contact with the lump. Even if it could be argued that such a plan would produce no more general servants than there are now, still to introduce the girls to the plain work of that position would be no little good. It would give them just the ability that would be of the most use to themselves in after-life, it would be of some immediate service to their parents' homes, where the introduction of ever so little method in house work would economise time and save discomfort; and it would draw some parents from a still lower stratum of life than is known in many churches and schools. It would be to take hold of these people these home heathen, as they are called by some—just in the same way that the Jesuits and other successful missionaries have always influenced the heathen abroad, for it would be to deal first with something that is attractive to them as meeting those every-day wants which, to so many and with so much reason, are, in every sense of the word, their life.

There are many good persons who bewail the absence of the forms of Christianity among the poor, but whose idea of curing the evil seems to be that of at once dragging these people to the worship of this or that relic of the wars of phrases which have so often ravaged Christendom and thrust real Christianity out of sight. It were surely more hopeful for religion to be introduced to them with practical pious wisdom like that of the great Baptist, who told each man to go on in his own walk of life and to devote himself to the continual struggle of eschewing the particular evil that may attend it. The worst which can be said against the educational course here recommended is its being one so little transcendental as to propose teaching poor girls how to get their own living and do their duty in the state of life to which it has pleased God to call them.

JUBILEE IN FATHERLAND. 1871.

Awake! awake! the skies are clear;
Responsive glows the ripening year.
Earth, ever swift our wounds to close,
With endless gifts to Man o'erflows;
And light as air, on rapture's wing,
All hearts spontaneous heav'nward spring.

Sons of the Baltic and the Rhine,
From amber shores to where the vine
Clothes your last hills with living green,—
Old tow'rs aloft, gray rocks between,—
Of kindred race, nay, brethren all,
Before the Seat of Mercy fall;
And now, with summer's morning rays,
Intone your hymns of joy and praise.
For you the God of Battles wrought
A work transcending human thought;
Oh! never since the birth of time
Was march of glory more sublime.
Your pray'r is heard; your native stream,
Of many a lay the darling theme,
From strangers wrung, unstain'd with blood,
Majestic rolls its Alpine flood
Thro' German lands from source to sea,
Type of yourselves,—strong, pure, and free.

Oh! ye who from the mortal strife
Went forth, if not unscathed, with life,
Midst cannon-roar and whirls of flame,
Your only fear the fear of shame,
Whose every step to conquest made
Was deep in gore and noble blood,
Whose every field by valour gain'd
But show'd what labours still remain'd!
While, borne on high with surge of praise,
Your grateful hearts to Heav'n ye raise,
Forget not those who side by side
With you repell'd the fiery tide,
And, falling, earn'd for those to come
The best of treasures, peace and home.
Remember, too, the men to be,—
Fair shoots of many a parent tree
The hallow'd rights of Fatherland
Are not to-day's alone, they stand
From age to age ye are but guest,
And they your children's, held in trust

As when by some broad mountain-steep
The gale-vexed pine-tops bend and reel,
As when the white-maned breakers sweep
O'er some low reef the winds reveal,

There moved a strange, tumultuous sound,
The stir of numbers numberless;
It mounted high, it floated round,
And none the length or breadth could guess.

Nor lack'd there music: far and wide
Its mingling streams, harmonious, ran;
And crowning all, as swell'd their tide,
Rang out the million voice of Man.

Then from that heaving, mist-like sea
In thrilling tones broke forth a song,—
A chasten'd song of victory,
That bore the list'ning world along.

I

Lo! the storm has pass'd away;
Hush'd the battle's fearful din;
On our household shrines we lay
Spoils that patriots bleed to win.
Fresh leaves of oak enwreathe our brows;
High soars the incense of a nation's vows,
And cheers, no more repress'd, the joyous echoes rouse.

Hark! from hill and vale in thunder
Booms the dread artillery's voice;
What! to tear God's work asunder?
No: to bid His world rejoice.
All around, the welkin reading,
Tow'r and steeple, as erstwhile,
Far their merry chimes are wafting,
Hearts rebound with glad surprise

II

Sweet the breath of native air,
Sweet as rest from peril free,
Sweeter home, that it has bought for me:—
Happy, oh! thrice happy we!
Peace, nobly won, our fair land fills again,
On Prince and People pours her blessings down;
The spell, that makes us one, may brave the darkest frown.

III

But with peace while thus we dwell,—
On the combat's blazing line
Sleep our bravest, where they fell,
Far beyond the waves of Rhine.
We bless their deeds, their names revere,
Affection's holy dews embalm them here,
And still for us they live in Fame's eternal year.

IV

Sorrow, too, has homes, where joy
Never, never can return;
Where the helpless, orphan boy,
And the widow'd mother learn
What living death is life, when all
That made it bliss to live, has turn'd to gall,
And shadows deep'ning still on hope and memory fall

A pause,—and ere the anthem's close
To silence faded, soft and slow,
A sad yet hopeful strain arose,
That stanch'd the tears it caused to flow.

Soul of the worlds, sweet harmony
Attuned the notes, and not a heart
Of German beat but swell'd more high
Beneath the charm of matchless art.

It dropp'd on grief the balm of trust
Unchill'd by man's appointed doom;
It breathed of flow'rs that spring from dust,
Of light that wraps the Christian's tomb

All eyes were wet, all bosoms glow'd,
As far the well-known Requiem spread,
Till words on seething billows rode,
As wing'd to reach the distant Dead.

V

Dark the hour, accurst the day,
When the wanton Celtic foe
Made our hapless sires their prey,
Reft of all but wrongs and woe.
'Twas not fair Prussia's grief alone,
Her trampled soil, her King's dishonour'd throne,
Or waste that seem'd to make remotest time its own

VI

Insult heap'd on fortune's spite
Pierced the very core of woe,
Which the Victor in his might
Probed as with a hangman's knife
Away, with bitter taunts, he tore
The treasured glaive our own great Frederick wore;
A beauteous Queen in tears but stirr'd his malice more.

VII

What but vengeance and the sword
Ever could that shame efface?
What but hate in memory stored
Could have built on such a base?
We felt as sons were bound to feel;
No rust could blunt the noble's glitt'ring steel,
And faith in justice nursed the peasant's humbler zeal.

VIII

Silent all together toil'd;
Slowly time the years uncoil'd;
Hark! a voice in every ear,
'Rise, my sons! the hour is near.'
It came, that hour;—in fierce array,
We rush'd, we flew, and with a whirlwind's sway
For conquest's goal struck in, nor ever miss'd the way.

IX

Ye that count it joy to die
For the land your childhood knew,
Who, where'er its banners fly,
Stand around them firm and true;
Your manly virtues, train'd to meet
Th' extremes of peril, scorn a base retreat,
And rest not till the foe lies vanquish'd at your feet.

X

Guardian Spirits! Arndt and Stein!
Snatch'd from earth, but never dead,
Sure, ye gave the battle sign,
Sure, the foremost ranks ye led.
Afar, with clear prophetic sight
Ye kenn'd from ruin's depth the force of right,
And found in lowly breasts your country's latent might.

XI

Fatherland, the loved!—with Thee
Long we cannot hope to stay;
Swift the feather'd moments flee,
Youthful hand will force its way.
'Tis ours to store the precious seed,
To guard from taint the springs of thought and deed,
And keep for times to come the yet unsullied creed.

XII

Hand in hand and voice to voice
Sing we now, triumphant sing;
Glory not: Rejoice! Rejoice!
Heav'n-ward let the chorus ring.
We blew not first the trumpet blast;
Assail'd, on wind and wave our lot we cast;
What God has giv'n we hold, and swear to hold it fast.

XIII

Mourning weeds, dumb signs of woe,
Due to many a dear one lost,
With a sigh we now forego,
Clasp the prize, nor heed the cost.
To-day is ours: let pleasure reign,
The flowing cup 'twere folly not to drain:
Long live the Chiefs who shar[illegible]—and crown'd our great [illegible]

XIV

Halleluiah! Praise on High!
Halleluiah! Peace below!
Praise to Him who heard our cry!
Peace alike to friend and foe!—
The festive guns have ceased to roar;
Their last grand peals the quiv'ring atmosphere pour
Farewell!—we part.—Farewell!—Our Jubilee is over

VOLUNDUR, A SCANDINAVIAN LEGEND

[illegible]

IVISMARK is a land which lies far up towards the icy North. Plants are few, and the herbage scanty, only stunted guarlic tree and dwarf ash grow sparsely on the treeless fells, which for the greater part of the year are wrapped in a shroud of mist and snow. The inhabitants too are low of stature and retarded in growth, and the reason is not far to seek—the desolate barrenness. During half the year the sun is invisible, but the long tongues of living streamers of the Northern lights, and the veins of metal in the mountain's heart, afford a kind and ghostly illumination. What the country lacks above the earth is compensated for by the treasures hid beneath the surface. In like manner the people, though mean of aspect and low of stature, are strong of limb and generally gifted with good sense and keen wits above. Their chief business is to bring to light what the great Nature hides in her bosom, to the wonder and admiration of the people living farther South: they are skilful miners and clever smiths. Living, as they do, their whole time in a strange and startling intimacy with the hidden powers of Nature, their minds are open to weird and wonderful things, and they have strong faith in the mystic arts of prognostication and divination, and all kinds of sorcery.

The three brothers Slagfidur, Egil, and Volundur were of the Ivismark race: their father was a King, but his name is forgotten, and is not mentioned in the ancient Sagas. These three brothers were wise and strong, but they were also tall and handsome, and had nothing in common with the rest of the Finns except their cunning and sagacity, and their wonderful skill in forging metal as well as in finding it in the bowels of the earth and preparing it for the anvil.

Now it once happened that these three brothers were at work in the mountains getting out iron ore, when they unexpectedly came upon a vein of gold. Joyfully they laboured away to extract the pure metal from the rock. One piece especially excited all the others in size and beauty. Imbedded in it gleamed three large gems of different colours, one red, one green, and one blue. Hastening home they showed their treasure to the Queen, their mother, who was also a prophetess and very wise.

No sooner had the Queen cast her eyes upon the gold nugget than she began to weep bitterly, and was for a long time incapable of speech for grief and consternation. Recovering herself at last, and upon being questioned by her sons what it meant, and whether any danger was to be apprehended by themselves and their race, the Queen replied: 'Alas! my dear sons, to you a great fortune is vouchsafed.' To her sons' enquiries why she wept and sorrowed when nothing but good luck was in store for them, she an-

swered: 'Forgive me, dear children, that I weep and grieve; but my heart is sore to find that you must leave me, although I had believed that nought but death would have separated us.' After another minute and anxious examination of the golden nugget and the three radiant gems she chanted slowly:

Green means grass.
Blue: the pure sky.
Ruby: rose.
Gold: fair maids.
Further South
The Norner beckon,
Where azure heaven
O'er flowery mead
Benignantly arches.
Maidens pure,
With yellow hair,
Shall press you there
To their snowy breasts.

When Slagfidur, Eigil, and Volundur heard that, they were almost overcome with joy, because they had often pondered how they should procure suitable wives, for the women of the country were puny and ill-favoured, and their hearts yearned towards the beautiful women of the South, of whom their mother, the daughter of a Swedish King, had so often spoken. They had frequently expressed their wishes to journey down thither, but the prayers of their parents had held them back. It was, therefore, high time that this happy omen occurred, for the three young men were consumed with longing; often had they traversed the bleak snow mountains, their locks white with hoar frost, and their cheeks wet with tears, in which were reflected the pale rays of the Northern Lights.

The mother having thus by means of her strange gifts been enabled to predict this coming fortune to her three sons, and both parents perceiving that it was the will of the Norner, the fatal three, who sit beneath the ash Ygdrasil in Asgard, and rule over the fate of men, they submitted to their fate, but not without direful forebodings and the shedding of many tears. Thereupon the three brothers arrayed themselves in splendid coats of mail, girded their loins with bright battle swords, and put upon their heads golden helmets fashioned from the big lump of gold they had found. The three precious stones which the lump had contained had been skilfully inserted into the helmets, and strangely enhanced the noble aspect and bearing of the young warriors. Slagfidur had chosen the green, Eigil the blue, and Volundur the red. Attaching to their sleighs teams of strong and fleet reindeer, they left their home and drove gaily southward.

Truly it was a goodly sight to see the three handsome youths, glowing with health and joyous longing, in their shining mail, and singing cheerfully, rush over the glittering plains of snow; the branches of the sombre pines shaking their snowy loads on the plumes of their helmets as they passed beneath.

Away rushed the rapid reindeers. It was midnight, and the stars peeped forth as if curious to see whither they were bound. As they now flew across the plain, past the mountain where they had been in the habit of delving for ore, they became aware, in the bright moonlight, of a host of tiny beings swarming out of the mountains and running towards them, lest and lightly and airily that no traces of their feet were visible. They were dressed in gray working, and wore on their heads red caps; their long black tongues protruded from their mouths; their fiery eyes twinkled and sparkled. The little folk were Swart-elves, who, eagerly gazing on the sleighs, danced around them in more and more narrowing circles, chanting all the while beautifully but faintly this

Stagfel Eagl.
And Vandler.
[illegible]
Why [illegible] make us?
[illegible]
[illegible]
The green emerald
Is fairer than grass,
[illegible]
Is fairer than the rose,
[illegible]
More [illegible] than the leaves
Why will you [illegible]
The craft of the [illegible]?

The impatient Eagl goaded his team, so that it bounded forward, and upset one of the Swart-elves; but the other elves checked the rush of the animals, and continued their chant thus

[illegible] with the earth
[illegible] of the Fire,
[illegible]
With you possess within,
[illegible] the warring
[illegible] Swart-elves.
We will [illegible] the way
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
And [illegible]
Oh stay, oh stay!

Stagfel now struck his reindeers so that they bounded forward and overthrew still another elf, but [illegible] themselves again stayed the speed of the sledges, and chanted:

[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible] them
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible] Swart-elves,
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]

Surging thus, they flitted across the snow-covered plain and disappeared into the mountains. Their voices had a strange sound as that of a fierce night-wind sweeping through a grove, and like to the fluttering leaves scattered about by the wind was their light and airy dance.

The three brothers were strangely affected by this weird delusion, but still they placed more faith in their mother's prediction than in the ominous confused song of the Swart-elves, and they continued their journey southward. Their mother had supplied them with ample provision of food and drink for their long journey, and when they were tired they wrapped themselves in their furs and slept in their sleighs. After many a day's travel they at last reached the kingdom of Sweden, and came to a halt in a valley called Wolfsdale, because of the many wolves which there abounded. Determining to remain there, they built themselves a timber-house near a lake with plenty of fish in it there they passed the remaining part of the winter, fishing and hunting the wolf and bear, whose skins supplied them with garments and bed clothing.

As the spring advanced they were greatly amazed to behold the sun ascending so high in the heavens, and when innumerable flowers decked the warm earth in bright and glowing colours their hearts gladdened within them, and they felt that the prophecy was approaching its fulfilment.

Having from boyhood been accustomed to delve in the earth for metal, they were unable to resist the old habit, accordingly they went one day to explore the mountains which girt the valley of the wolves for metal, and being experienced in their craft they soon discovered veins, which they worked at intervals between their hunting and fishing.

Descending into the valley one evening, on their way home, laden with ore from their mine, a strange but beautiful sight met their astonished gaze. Sitting near the

margin of the placid lake were seen three beautiful maids with distaffs in their hands, upon which they were spinning; their hair, more yellow than the flax between their fingers, was gathered up and confined behind by a silken cord, whence it descended again in waving locks over their snowy shoulders and swelling bosoms. Of stature they were tall and slender, and their large blue eyes were fixed softly on the three brothers. Slagfidur, Egil, and Volundur were seized with an overpowering love for the three fair women, and with exceeding amazement also; for the three maids in their red, blue, and green robes seemed to them the counterparts of the three precious gems; and as the sward upon which they were sitting was almost a mat of yellow flowers, the whole appeared to their eyes like the great lump of gold with the three gems which they had found in Finmark, save that what they now beheld was still more beautiful. Doubting no longer that their mother's prediction was now to be fulfilled, they went up to the three maids to tell them what had been foretold; but as they stood before them under the spell of their excessing beauty, their speech forsook them. Then sang the maidens three:

> N[illegible] sons of Kings,
> Sagfid, Egil, and Volund!
> We greet you brave warriors.
> Swanhvide, Alrune, Alvide
> Are sent hither by the Norns!
> Let the joy of the gods be
> Of the Finn Kings.

Whereupon the brothers took them in their arms and carried them to their house, where their nuptials presently took place. Slagfidur received Swanhvide, Egil Alrune, and Volundur Alvide.

After a happy union of nine long years it came to pass one day that the wives, pale, tearful, and with dishevelled hair, presented themselves to their husbands and addressed them thus: 'Beloved husbands, although we dearly wish, we cannot remain any longer with you. We are *Valkyrier*,[2] and are bound for nine years to follow the warriors to battle, after having, for the same space of time, enjoyed the embraces of our husbands. We do not control our own destinies, over which rules a superior power. It behoves us then to suffer our separation in patience, which we also counsel you to do for your own good. After the ninth year we will again return, ready and willing to submit to all your wishes as becomes true and loving wives.' Sorely grieved and amazed were the three brothers at this speech. Said they: 'After nine years our lusty youth is passed: we shall then have as little enjoyment of your society as ye of ours.' Answered the Valkyrues: 'We never grow old, and strong hardy men like you do not soon wax old and feeble; but that your hearts may not be too heavy within you we give you these three keys: with these ye can open the mountains, which will yield you metal in plenty to forge and fashion on your anvils, which will serve to pass your time, and to make you rich and renowned if ye be so inclined.' Thus saying, they placed the keys on the table, kissed their husbands, and vanished out of their sight.

The three brothers were smitten to the heart by this unexpected and grievous affliction. From that time gloom and silence reigned in Wolfdale. In the daytime they haunted the forest and the mountains, and in the evening they sat each in his corner, staring silently at each other until midnight, when they sought their cold beds, thinking upon their dear departed wives

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[1] The three maids of Fate.

[2] [illegible] the choosers of the slain the maids of Odin hovering over the battle-field

At last Slagfidur and Eigil resolved to go out in the wide world to seek their wives again. But Volundur, the youngest of the brothers, dissuaded them with wise words, saying, 'What boots your wanderings? In what corner of the earth do you expect to find them? Peradventure they are flying invisibly through the air. You will surely be lost and perish, and will then never enjoy the happiness of living with your wives again, which well may happen if you await in patience the passing of the nine years.'

But his brothers paid little attention to his earnest advice, being wholly carried away by their love and irrepressible yearning, and persisted in their purpose.

Having filled their wallets with food, and two large golden horns with old mead, they bid their brother farewell, and sallied forth. Volundur's heart was very sore, and the tears coursed down his cheeks, for he felt a foreboding that he should never see his brothers again. He prayed them once more to have patience, but they answered him: 'We cannot endure the consuming longing, which leaves us no peace by day nor rest by night.' They bade him take care of the house and guard their property, according to his own best judgment, until they again should return to Wolfdale.

Volundur, perceiving that no persuasion of his could shake their purpose, wished them a prosperous voyage, and begged them that if they should meet his dear spouse Alvide, to implore her to return to him, as he still thought of her with unabated longing, although he would not break her injunction. He then accompanied his brothers to the outer verge of the forest, where he bade them good speed and farewell. Whereupon Slagfidur said, 'Although I cherish a good hope that I shall see you again, I will nevertheless leave a mark here, and pray that the gods will grant it power to show you whether I am alive or dead.' Making a deep impression with his foot, he continued: 'As long as this footprint remains distinct and dry, I am safe: if you find it filled with water, it is a sign that I have been slain in battle; but if covered with black mould, be assured then that I have died of sickness and have been laid beneath the sod.' Eigil made a similar impression with his foot a few paces beyond, after which they cut themselves two walking-staves in the forest and commenced their journey. Volundur followed his departing brothers with his eyes till they disappeared beyond the hills, whereupon he returned slowly, in a sad mood, to his lonely dwelling.

Towards evening the two brothers lay themselves down on the bank of a rapid stream, near the outskirts of a great forest; and it was now in the midst of summer. There they ate their evening meal, and drank to each other out of the golden horns. They unfastened their mail and took off their helmets and laid them at their side. The rays of the emerald in Slagfidur's helmet seemed to blend with the hues of the grass and foliage, and to give them strange effulgence. The helmet of Eigil was lying close to the stream, and the sapphire in it served to enrich the colour of the blue river and the azure sky overhead. And the moon rose above the forest whilst they sat talking and resting. Then Eigil became suddenly serious and said, 'It is strange, but the moon appears to me like a bluish headsman grinning in my face.' Slagfidur bade him speak no such words; but Eigil said, 'Where is the sapphire in my helmet?' Answered Slagfidur, 'It is there yet, but the darkness of night and the shadows of the trees have extinguished its colour.' Said Eigil, 'Yes, and the colour of

the river and heaven also. And see the gem in your helmet; the green tint of it has faded out with the colour of the grass and trees. But the blood-red moon yonder is the red gem of Volundur; it has conquered ours and survives them both.'

They drank from their horns. Their hearts warmed, and they forgot their grief and trouble, but once again determined not to rest until they had recovered their lost wives. Said Slagfidur, 'If I do not find my lost Swanhvide, I am indeed a lost man; she is the most beautiful swan that ever soared in the sunny sky. No swan breasts herself more haughtily in the flood than my Swanhvide. She is the most beauteous woman the sun has ever shone upon and man has ever embraced.'

Said Eigil angrily (for now both were in part drunken with mead), 'Thou liest! One woman I know who is named Alrune the peerless; not Odin in Valhal embraces Frigga with such joy as Eigil his Alrune.' Replied Slagfidur, 'Never have I yet told a lie; woe and grief be to him who thus charges me therewith.' Answered Eigil, 'No more than a deep-planted banner-spear trembles Eigil when he says "Thou liest!"' Whereupon they drew their mighty falchions and cut away at each other in blind fury, forgetting that the same mother had borne them. At last Slagfidur clove the helm of Eigil, and the blue gem was shattered in many pieces. Wounded unto death Eigil fell backwards into the torrent, and at the same moment the moon lost its blood-red tinge and became pale and ghastly as a corpse. Struck with remorse stood Slagfidur for a long time, motionless, and leaning on his bloody sword, his eyes glaring on the foaming torrent which had engulfed his ill-fated brother. Then there was a rustling behind him in the forest, and, borne on the night-wind, faint voices sang mockingly.

Good time!—evil time!
Weeping time!—death time.

Instantly the warning of the Swart-elves occurred to him; he turned round quickly, but the voices had ceased, and he only heard the roar of the torrent in the night. Trembled the heart within Slagfidur.

'Ah woe! my hand is red with my brother's blood, and I wander lost and alone in a strange unknown country. Shall I return to Volundur or shall I throw myself into the rushing torrent?' The night was now coalblack: only a lone star glittered with an unusual bright light. Then it appeared to Slagfidur as if it approached nearer and nearer towards him. Leaning on his sword he awaited the result of the portent. The star, as it neared, lost more and more its round shape, and its radiance. At last the dim outline of a human figure became discernible, and Slagfidur recognised his beloved spouse Swanhvide, who soared above his head in a halo of misty light and robed in a flowing green garment. As he extended his arms towards the beloved one the apparition sang in weird and wild accents thus:

When the torrent's wave
Foams where I broke thee,
In my fear
Gather up your strength,
Swim as in fate
As a swan.
Rest [illegible]
On the [illegible] peak.
In the [illegible]
There we will repose
Crested in the purple clouds,
And the [illegible]
Of the [illegible]
And wander on the rose
Of the [illegible].

Slagfidur kindled with courage and hope, which poured, as it were, into his heart with the tones of the song. The misty shape beckoned him with her shadowy hand. Throwing his wallet and sword to the ground, the easier to follow

the beloved form, he forthwith began to breast the mountain side with joyful ardour. But every now and then he was conscious of something which strove to hinder his ascent and to push him back again. Pausing once, the spectre of his mother flitted past, chanting mournfully:

Value the life
The gods have given thee,
Strive not with the Norner
Nor with Odin.

Let not madness
Delude thee,
Or what is evil
Deceive thee.
Turn back! turn back.

Slagfidur hesitated. Beckoning wildly, the airy shape of the Valkyrie chanted again with ringing voice:

Fear not, and follow me:
Obey my behest;
Break the fetters
That bind your fate.
Follow, follow,
Fear not, and follow me!

Singing thus, the shape bounded forward, and Slagfidur followed after with swift foot and eager glance. At times he had to ford mountain streams, and climb over enormous boulders, and to leap over wide clefts. As he made his way higher and higher up towards the distant peaks it appeared to Slagfidur that the shape grew dimmer and fainter, and that her features grew ghastly and contorted. A great fear overcame him, but an irresistible impulse urged him ever upwards. Panting he stood at last on the highest peak, when the form that had lured him to his doom changed into its true shape—that of a mocking Surtr *sic*. Bewildered and helpless, the fated Slagfidur gazed down from the dizzy height. Beneath him rolled a vast verdant plain to the verge of the horizon. Its dewy verdure, sparkling in the level beams of the rising sun, seemed to woo and beckon him; and a fierce desire to throw himself headlong into its soft embrace took possession of his soul. The elf turned and whispered '*Death time!*' and immediately Slagfidur plunged down into the green abyss, where his body was miserably crushed to pieces.

Next morning Volundur rose early and examined the three keys which the Valkyrier had given him and his brothers. One was of copper, the second of iron, and the third of pure gold. Taking the copper key, he sallied out in the mountains, his mind harassed with gloomy thoughts. Walking along the margin of a mountain stream, he came to a place where the rock rose perpendicular from the tumbling waters. Thinking this a favourable spot, he placed the copper key against the naked precipice. Instantly the mountain burst asunder, revealing a great cave formed of copper ore. A strange greenish light illumined everything, and embedded in the green masses of copper sparkled innumerable gems of various sizes, and similar in colour to the jewel set in the helmet of his brother Slagfidur. Above him depended huge crystals of the same hue, in form like icicles, which frequently reached down to the ground, forming rows of green pillars. Near the top, where the rock had split asunder, a dense mass of green foliage effectually shut out all view of the blue sky beyond. Having loosened as big a piece of ore as he could lift, he carried it out of the cave. Hardly had he got outside when the mountain again closed, swiftly and noiselessly, the smooth mountain wall rose before him, with not a trace visible of an entrance; and he would have held the whole to be a dream but for the heavy load on his back.

After cleansing the metal from dross, Volundur wrought a large copper helm, in which he set three of the finest of the green gems. This work engaged him for several

days; and having completed it, he again went to the mountains, this time provided with the iron key. Placing it against a rock wall, the mountain opened in the same way as before; but the cave which this time was revealed was of different aspect and colour. The walls of iron ore gave forth a bluish sheen, as of steel which has been touched by fire. Imbedded in these steely flakes sparkled numberless blue gems, like the blue brilliant Eigil wore in his helmet. Through the centre of the cave rushed a swift stream, reflecting the tint of the clear blue sky, which spanned the gaping cleft above, on whose sides grew thick tufts of blue flowers. Volundar hewed out a piece of ore studded with some of the largest gems, lifted it on his shoulders, and left the cave, and the rock closed at once.

Of this ore Volundar forged a sword, whose hilt was formed entirely of sapphires; it was so flexible that he could bend it around his waist, and of such temper that it could cleave a rock.

Having accomplished this work, he went forth with the gold key, and with the same result as had attended his previous expedition. But what he had seen before was as nought to the sight before him now. The rock was not split in two as formerly, from above down, but a vaulted corridor, at the end of which a long vista a glimpse of the ocean and sky was obtained, opened before him. Near the entrance grew beautiful roses, and the walls were ruddy with gold, and glowed with thousands of rubies interwoven with pearls and crystals of every imaginable tint of red and gold. From the cleft of the rock sprang vines purple with grapes, which hung in clusters, laden with glowing ripeness. So entirely to enchant the unpossessed beauty of the cave, the sun rose above the horizon at the distant end of the corridor, and its level rays illuminated the cave with an almost overpowering splendour.

Volundar detached a great lump of gold, and when he came forth the rock closed behind him as before.

Of the gold Volundar wrought a splendid corslet, ornamented with gleaming rubies. This work occupied him a considerable time. When it was finished the thought of how his poor brothers fared occurred to him. Remembering the signs they had set near the forest, he went thither to examine the two footprints. He found that of Eigil entirely filled with water, in which the blue sky was reflected, but Slagfidur's was filled with black mould, from which green grass was already sprouting. In a birch-tree near by sat a thrush, and each time the wind curled the water or lifted the tender grass-blades the bird warbled low and softly. From this Volundar became convinced that both his brothers were dead. With grief in his heart he returned to his solitary home and passed the whole day in tears and lamentations.

Next day he again returned to the mountain and brought home with him another load of gold. He then built himself a covered stall, wherein he intended to work at his craft until the end of his existence. He now fashioned all kinds of precious articles and [illegible], and the fame of his skill soon spread all over the land. When he was tired of other work he made gold rings of various fashions, which he then strung on a cord and suspended from the ceiling. Whenever he had finished a ring he thought of his dear wife Alvor, and how well they would become her delicate arms and fingers, however many there were, it never occurred to him to stop. The number of these gold rings amounted at last to seven hundred.

At that time King Nidudr reigned in Sweden. He was a weak, puny man, with a sour face, and the eyes deep in his head. He had an ill name in the whole country, on account of his envious and rancorous disposition. Whenever he learned that one of his neighbours had distinguished himself by good deeds and hospitality, he instantly conceived a grudge against him. Thus he had with his own hands slain three Skalds, because they had failed to praise him sufficiently. Nidudr was in heart naturally womanish and vain, much desiring to be accounted a brave and wise ruler, though he was equally weak and powerless in soul as in body.

No sooner had this wicked King got news of the great wealth of Volundur than the blood rose in his cheeks and his limbs began to tremble violently. He felt, namely, a sudden and craving desire to despoil him of his property; but being at the same time a dastard, the risk of executing his purpose affected him with exceeding faint-heartedness. However, after a while he took heart and summoned to his presence one of his first men, and said to him: 'I have been told that a certain man named Volundur is living in my kingdom, who has become known far and wide for his great store of gold and silver. Likewise I have heard that he excels all others in the forging and fashioning of arms and precious ornaments. Now, being well aware that he came hither as a poor Mountain-Finn, I am certain that he has procured these treasures by robbery or by Finnish sorcery. My royal will is, then, that you order out some of the best men-at-arms to attend us, that we may in the darkness of night surround the house of Volundur, possess ourselves of his treasures, and take him captive.' Answered the courtier: 'That thou, King Nidudr, should be anxious to apprehend a sorcerer or robber is natural enough, but I marvel that you summon a host to seize upon a single man. For if no supernatural powers are his, any two or three of your good servants may well be equal to the task, but if, on the contrary, he be a wizard or possessed of magic power, then, be we ever so many, we shall be unable to overcome him.' King Nidudr, not knowing what to reply to this, yet furious, grasped his sword with both hands, and struck the *Finn* on his forehead, but the King being weak of arm, and the forehead of his servant very hard, the sword glanced off his pate, recoiled, and no great harm was done. King Nidudr then seized his spear and pierced the entrails of the presumptuous Berserk, so that he instantly fell to the ground and expired. The King then soon called his men and told them his purpose, at the same time pointing to the dead man to make them understand what they might expect if they presumed to oppose his will. They all promised accordingly to stand by him to the last man. After sunset they drew their mail. Mounting their chargers they took spear in hand and rode towards the house of Volundur, in the Valley of the West. King Nidudr was very uneasy on the road, for it was moonlight, and wherever the spear-points flashed his heart leapt fast with fear of betrayal. Arriving at last at Volundur's house, they found the gate open. They entered cautiously, but found none within. Elated with the great prospect of gold he had in view, King Nidudr bade one of his men at once to climb the wall from the saddle upon which the second had

rings were strung. After gloating upon the treasure, he put one of the best of the rings on his finger, and ordered the cord to be tied up again, and then to hide themselves in the corners until Volundar should return home.

They had not waited long before they heard the heavy steps of a man entering the yard. Said the King: 'Now I hear Volundar coming. His tread proves him to be a man of weight and strength. Be wary and restrain yourselves. Your King and lord bids you remain quiet, and not to move until I give you the sign, or your life shall pay the forfeit.'

Volundar now entered, with the carcase of a bear on his shoulders and a spear in his hand, from which the blood still trickled. He had been engaged in the chase the whole long day, and now returned home at midnight, hungry and tired, to cook his supper. Having skinned the animal, he kindled the coals on the hearth again to life, and, adding some more fuel, soon produced a bright and sparkling blaze. He then filled a gold horn with the blood of the bear, and threw it on the fire as a libation to Thor. He next removed from his helmet a wreath of birch twigs, interwoven with sprigs of rowan, and laid it on the fire as an offering to Freya, after which he put a bear ham on his spear and roasted it to his liking. Before he commenced his meal he drank a beaker of mead to the memory of his dead brothers Slagfidur and Egil, according to his usual custom. Having eaten his fill, he then stretched the skin of the bear on stakes that the wind might dry it. Then, untying the cord from the ceiling, he counted the rings. Greatly astonished was Volundar when he discovered that one, and that the best, was missing; 'Has, peradventure, my wife Alvilde returned?' he mused, 'and does she signify her presence by this token, that the sudden joy of meeting her may not kill me?' With these thoughts he stretched his weary limbs on the skin-covered couch and remained for a while in still expectation. As nothing stirred, he said 'Until Freya sends me her joy-bringing maid Hrossa,[1] I commend myself to thee, soft-armed Sioth.[2]' With these words he closed his eyes, and soon fell into a deep sleep.

When now King Nidudr ascertained that his slumber was deep and unbroken, he commanded his men to bind him. Great was the amazement of Volundar when he found himself thus dealt with and surrounded by so many armed men. Believing them to be robbers, he said: 'If you come to get my treasure, take what you wish and let me again be a free man; for I promise you that I shall not lift my hand against you, which, indeed would but little, seeing you are so many against one.' Answered King Nidudr: 'Of great prowess and cunning words was *Loke* prodigal in *Loke's*[3] but I deceived the *Loke* at last. No robber am I, but Nidudr, your King and master.' Said Volundar: 'My humble house is honoured by the presence of such a royal guest, but why fetter ye my hands like those of an evil-doer?' Replied Nidudr: 'I know thee well, Volundur. Poor then camest from Finmark to my kingdom, but now thou hast costly drinking-cups and more treasure than Nidudr in his hall. How is this?' Said Volundar: 'If I have been accused of the "Theft" of money and treasure, then it is meet that you carry it

[1] The laughter-of-heart, or goddess of Love.

[2] [illegible] [illegible]

[3] Loke, the last of the gods [illegible]

captive to the *tower*; but if I am innocent of any crime, why do ye thus ill-treat me?' Niduḍr replied: 'Riches come not from nought: if thou hast not become rich by robbery, then thou must needs be a foul sorcerer, whom it behoves me to keep a sharp eye upon.' But Volundur said: 'Were I indeed a sorcerer, it would be an easy matter to break these chains. I am ignorant of having wronged anyone; but if so, I am willing to restore it tenfold. But as to the gifts it has pleased the gods to bestow upon me, let no man envy me; for as little as I can impart them to others, as little can others take them from me. I therefore pray you, O King, that you let me free, and I will purchase my liberty at the price thou deemest fitting.' But Niduḍr turned to his men and said: 'I will no longer listen to his cunning and presumptuous speech. Remove him from my sight.' Whereupon the men-at-arms carried off Volundur, who quietly submitted to his fate, being conscious that it would be useless to contend against such odds. The treasures of gold and precious stones were likewise removed and brought to the Queen, according to the King's command. But the unfortunate Volundur he ordered to be thrown into a dungeon, fifteen fathoms under the earth.

The eyes of the Queen had well nigh become blinded with gloating on this great treasure and the effulgence of these radiant gems. The King told her to select what she chose, and to his daughter Bandvilde he gave the ring he had first taken from the cord in Volundur's house; but for himself he kept Volundur's sword, whose belt, fashioned in the likeness of Mjoḍur, the hammer of Asathor, was covered with the blue sapphires, as before mentioned.

As the Queen was sitting one evening in the ladies' bower, playing on the harp, the King enquired of her what she thought it was best to do with Volundur. He said that he was loth to kill him, but would prefer to keep him alive to make all kinds of precious work for him. In reply the Queen struck the harp and sang thus:

He must with Hvesser's water
It [illegible] the sword
When [illegible] the giver's head
He [illegible] his ring
His eyes will flash with fury,
As if he was a wild beast.
Never his arm retrains
And keep him home forth in Sevarstad.

This counsel suited the King. *Sevarstad* was a holm (islet) in a bay, at the head of which was situate the King's castle. The only building on the holm was a tower of great strength, hoary with age, and almost covered with moss and lichens. Hither Volundur was brought, after having been previously ankle-strung according to the Queen's advice. They restored to him his forging tools, and also the chests of gold and other metals which had been found in his house.

Volundur now laboured incessantly from morning to night, and wrought a great many drinking vessels, helmets, and arms of every kind for his cruel master. The King permitted none to land upon the isle except himself, and he likewise brought away the finished work with his own royal hands, fearing to entrust the treasure to the hands of others.

Confined in this gloomy tower Volundur did his work faithfully, for it was only by unremitting toil that he could combat the misery and despair which otherwise would have driven him to frenzy. The King had commanded him to finish within a certain space of time a splendid suit of mail of pure gold. He had for some time been engaged on the shield, upon which he had engraved some of the deeds of the *Aser* (the gods of the North); thus in one place might be seen

Odin, sitting in Hlidskjalf (the high seat of Odin), from which he overlooks the whole world; in another place he had portrayed Frigga, accompanied with a train of Disir (the maids of Freya) entering *Valhal*, where the *Einheriar*[1] were sitting on long benches quaffing mead from their enemies' skulls; then again in the third quarter of the shield he had cunningly represented Thor fishing in the ocean, and how he frightened the giant Ymer by hooking the Midgard serpent,[2] but when in the last quarter he represented Freya seated in *Folkvangar*[3] among the dead and departed lovers, and had in Freya's face portrayed the mien and features of his beloved and long-mourned Alvilde, his feelings overwhelmed him, and the tears starting from his eyes blinded him, so that he was compelled to lay down his graver. After brooding long and bitterly he cried aloud in his agony: 'Alas! my beauteous and well-beloved wife, if not on earth, may I hope to clasp thee in my arms at the side of Freya in Folkvangar? Where art thou now, my Valkyre? Were art thou now, should I know it? I fear thou wouldst not love me any more. Here I am sitting, grimy with coal and dust, my eyes blurred and sore of smoke, my arms drooping with toil, and chained to a stone, with severed ankle-straps. My dear brothers have both perished miserably. With impotent rage I must see King Nidudr enjoy my riches, and harvest the fruits of my labour. Nought but hope of vengeance has hitherto kept me alive, but this hope fades more and more away: therefore will I at once put an end to my miserable life and despair.'

Thus lamenting he seized a sword he had forged, and turned its point against his broad and hairy breast. Suddenly a little bird began to warble outside the bars of his window. The summer evening was clear, and the setting sun shot its scarlet rays through the barred loop-hole in the wall. Volundur rose and mounted the stone to which he was chained. In this manner he reached the level of the window and gazed out. The water came close up to the base of the tower, and straight before him the sun was sinking into the sea. This was the fair and pleasant land which had lured the captive away from cold Finmark, and had, as it were, been the cause of his brothers' and his own destruction. With his head lying on his arm, he remained brooding for a long time before the window, his eyes riveted on the scene before him till the sun had set and the moon arose. Far away on the glimmering sea his attention was drawn to an object rising and falling on the swell of the waves. It approached nearer and nearer. It proved to be a mermaid, who to the waist had the aspect of a beautiful naked woman. Her long sable locks were interwoven with sea-weeds, her eyes were blue as the sea, and her full breasts white and soft as its foam. In her hand she held a harp, upon which she played. Volundur involuntarily beneath the tower also struck his harp and sang:

[illegible]

[1] The combined spirits of heroes slain in battle.

[2] An enormous serpent which encircles the globe, and by whose agency it is one day to be destroyed.

[3] Freya's abode, to which the goddess welcomes all heroes and lovers who have died a death of honour.

Having ended her song, the mermaid swam away, then suddenly dived down and disappeared. At the same moment the bird flew away from the window, and the moon hid itself behind the forest. Then Volundur lay down with peace in his heart and his courage wonderfully strengthened by the song of the mermaid.

One day when King Nidudr visited Volundur's dungeon he discovered accidentally the three keys. Volundur refusing to satisfy the King's curiosity in respect to their purpose, the King lifted his battle-axe and threatened to cleave the head of his chained captive, and Volundur was compelled to explain their peculiar and wonderful properties. Highly pleased, the King carried the keys off with him, and made at once preparations for a journey up to the mountains. In the course of a few days he was on his road thither, attended by a numerous train. After reaching the spot which Volundur had indicated he divided his people into three parties, two of which he kept back as a reserve. At the head of a select body of men he now proceeded to the rocky wall Volundur had indicated, to test the virtue of the magical key. Faint-hearted himself, he ordered one of his bravest followers to apply the key to the rock. No sooner was this done than the rock parted asunder from the top to the bottom. But when the men entered, according to the King's command, it had nearly proved fatal to the whole party; for the beautiful greensward, which seemingly carpeted the floor of the cavern, was in reality but a treacherous bog, in which several of the party were hastening precipitated and perished miserably. Those who escaped drowning in the treacherous pool were destroyed by the venom dropped upon them by huge adders pendent from the roof in the form of green crystals. The King and those of his men who had kept most in the rear narrowly escaped with their lives. They withdrew just in time before the mountain closed upon them.

King Nidudr swooned, and his men laid him under an oak-tree. Recovering his senses after a while, he said: 'It is well that neither of the two other parties has witnessed the result of our first attempt. I cannot overcome my curiosity to learn what will ensue when the other two keys are applied. Take therefore these keys, my trusty friend Storbjorn, and give one to each of the remaining parties, and tell them to do what I have done; but manage it in such a way that the one does not become acquainted with the result of the attempt of the other.' Answered Storbjorn: 'Give me the keys, my Lord King, and I shall do my best. I defy the "trolds" and all their devices. I fear them not, and will lead the attempt in person.' All which pleased the King greatly.

Whereupon Storbjorn repaired to the spot where the two remaining parties were encamped, and informed them of the King's pleasure. Bidding one party to remain behind, he led the other to the mountain. Here Storbjorn ordered one of the men to place the key against the precipice, which opened in the same manner as before. He now commanded his men to enter; but hardly had the half of them entered the cavern when a raging torrent, like a blue foaming serpent, rushed forth and engulfed most of them in its seething waters. The few remaining survivors the cunning Storbjorn commanded to join the King, and report to him the result of their undertaking, but he went himself to the third party, which he also led to the mountain. Handing the key to one of the men, he bade him apply it boldly, and not to fear; but he took care for

himself to be among the hindmost.

The mountain wall having opened in the usual manner, he ordered his men to advance, which they did boldly, not suspecting any danger. The walls of the huge cavern seemed to be one solid mass of gold and precious stones. The sight of these enormous treasures excited the cupidity of Storbjorn, and, forgetting all his fears, he entered the cave eagerly with the rest. Suddenly a blood-red flame, accompanied with smoke and a hissing roar, shot forth, like a fiery dragon, suffocating and devouring every living thing, save one single serf who had not dared to follow the rest, but who now hurried back to the King, and brought him the tidings of the last disaster. No sooner had King Nidudr heard the evil tidings than he mounted his horse and rode in hot haste to his castle, his heart overflowing with spite and rage at the utter discomfiture which had overtaken his enterprise.

Meanwhile Volundur had been hard at work in his smithy in Savarsted. The King having ordered a complete suit of mail of pure gold, he had been compelled to toil at his forge both day and night. The result of this incessant labour was a breastplate, a helmet, and a shield, the like of which had never before been seen. The King had also commanded to his castle a number of his greatest Lords, whom he intended to astonish with the booty of treasure he expected to bring home. For the same purpose he had ordered the golden mail to be ready at the time appointed.

As the King was approaching the royal castle he was met at some distance beyond the gate by the Queen and his daughter Bathild. They informed him that the hall was full of lords and men of high degree waiting to do him homage, and many and eager were their questions as to the result of his journey, and the amount of treasure he had brought home with him. They informed him also that the suit of golden mail was lying ready for him in the armoury, where he might assume it ere he appeared before his assembled guests. The King was chary of his words, saying briefly he would follow them presently, and afterwards acquaint them with all that had happened. Whereupon the Queen and her daughter re-entered the great hall, and served with their own fair hands their lordly guests. The King in the mean time repaired to the armoury, where he donned his new and gorgeous armour and placed on his head the helmet, so heavy with gold and ornaments that the weakling almost staggered beneath its weight. He then girded around his loins the splendid sword with the sapphire hilt, proceeded to the hall, and assumed his place in the high seat. All wondered greatly at the splendid armour and at the ornaments and jewels which covered the persons of the Queen and daughter, who was a very beautiful woman, but proud and cruel as her mother.

Having partaken of a bountiful meal, and quaffed deeply from the mighty horns of mead which incessantly circled, the guests grew merry, and begged the King to name the author of all the rare splendour. As now King Nidudr, by his deep potations had lost something of his better natural wariness, and was longing also to wreak the vengeance on Volundur for the disarmament of his expedition, he delivered the key of his prison into the hands of a Jarl, Egwald, and giving him two men as an escort, he commanded him to bring Volundur into the presence as speedily as might be.

Egwald and his men took a boat

and rowed over to Sævarsted: on their way one of the crew fell into the water, being drunk; but the earl took the oar in his place and left him to his fate, so that no time might be lost in picking him up. In the old tower they found Volundur, as usual, hard at work; they forthwith laid hands upon him, threw him into the boat, and brought him directly to the castle, and placed him before the King, black with smoke and dust. Said Jarl Eywind to the King: 'As we have now done your bidding, we will at once return and pick up Gutthorm, whom we left in the water, in order not to delay the fulfilment of your wish.' But Nidudr said: 'Let him remain where he is: if he is not drowned by this time, he never will be; but as a guerdon for thy loyalty and devotion I bestow upon thee this token of my royal favour.' Thus saying, he hung on his arm and his neck a costly chain of pure gold.

Greatly astonished were the guests when they learned from the king's mouth that this wretched cripple was the author of all these wonders. Said Nidudr: 'This dwarf has once been a stately warrior, brawny and strong, but I have made him tired of standing on his legs for the remainder of his days to come.' The Queen and her daughter mocked and gibed him still more, saying: 'Scant favour thou now wouldst find in the eyes of the Lanish maids, O Volundur! and could wouldst thou now have to battle with thy slendered ankle-bones.' Volundur contained himself and suffered all their scorn with patience, until one of the King's sons hurled a knuckle-bone at his head, enraged beyond endurance at this wanton and foul outrage, Volundur seized the bone and flung it at the King, so that it struck his helmet, and his head-gear fell to the floor. All the guests exclaimed that the deed was bravely done for a dwarf, and they prayed the King to let him return unmolested to his dungeon.

But the King rose and said: 'Evil enough has he done in his time, and it is meet that he now receives his punishment.' He then gave them an account of his journey to the mountains, all the sorcery he there had been expected to, and the grievous disaster which had overtaken his followers. Hearing this, the guests thought it right that such a foul wizard should suffer punishment. Said Nidudr: 'It would be easy to take his life, but this would be only a boon of grace to such a forlorn cripple; and as I still have a goldsmith of no mean abilities, I will let him live in order to use his rare skill for my purpose. But that he may at least feel that he has wrought his King and master this harm and despite with impunity, remove him from my presence, sever and hamstring one of his eyes; the remaining one must needs suffice him to do my work henceforward.'

Volundur pleaded hard, but to no avail. Bavarde, the King's daughter, was so incensed at the indignity she had suffered at his hands, that she insisted on having the task of executing his sentence, being a skilful leech and an adept in the use of herbs.

Volundur was accordingly removed to a distant cavern and bound in such a way that he could move about freely within a space upon which the prisoners were allowed to put out their arms. As now the maiden Volundur saw her coming, and felt a dread of her full purpose, he bethought him how he might escape the power of King Nidudr, but the maid, distracted at Freya, who followed them with her beauty, by doing a deed worthy of the blackest witch in

Niffheim.[1] It suits thy white hand far better to hold a rose or some other flower than this murderous steel. Let me soften thy heart by my prayer, for it disgraces me not to sue to *thee* for mercy. I am a pitiful cripple already; do not maim me any more. I am innocent of all your father's tribulations—I swear it by Odin and Valhal's Aser.'

His words and accent might have moved to pity the bear or wolf of the forest, but they appealed in vain to the stony heart of the cruel Princess, who, like a venomous adder, approached with threatening sting to inflict an agonising and ignominious wound. Having ordered one of the serfs to cover the other eye with his hand, as she could not endure its firm and burning glance, she put out the eye and let it drop in a little gold cup, which she brought to the King, and applied a healing ointment to the bloody socket. Volundur suffered his cruel punishment with mute endurance. After a while the serfs unbound him and carried him back to his tower in Sevarsted.

When Volundur again found himself in his old solitude, but now with only one eye, and a bloody wound where the other should have been, sore despair seized upon his soul. 'Far worse,' he lamented, 'than heretofore is my lot now, and my anger is of no avail. The song of the mermaid lifted up my soul with hope, but the wicked deed of Nidudr and his daughter has darkened it again; and my only wish is now, by a speedy death, to go to Valhal, or, if unworthy, at least to join the company of the reclaimed serfs with Thor in *Thrudheim*.[2] But first hear my prayer, ye three all-knowing maids' Thou *Urd*, thou *Verandi*, thou *Skuld*![3] vengeance on Nidudr and his whole dastard race.'

Now it happened one night as Volundur was sitting brooding over his miserable thoughts that his attention was drawn to two red lights far out on the sea, which seemed to move slowly towards his tower. Said he to himself: 'Surely this is again some nocturnal delusion sent to move me with weird and obscure song to continue to bear the burden of my life, and thus to prolong my misery.'

After a while he heard the key turning in the lock of his prison-gate and somebody talking in the ante-room. He recognised the voices of Gram and Skule, the sons of King Nidudr. Skule whispered to Gram: 'We will first demand from him the key to the treasure chest; and when we have taken out what we wish, we will then kill him lest he should betray us to our father when he returns home.' As soon as Volundur heard that, he seized a keen-edged battle-axe and hid it behind his stool. The sons of the King now entered the dungeon. Said Gram, the eldest, to Volundur: 'Our father is on a journey up in the country. As his exceeding stinginess will not suffer him to give us, his lawful children, what is justly our due, we have come hither in the dead of night to possess ourselves of part of his treasure, the key of which we demand from you, and also that you swear not to betray us, or we will slay you instantly.'

Answered Volundur: 'Dear Lords and sons of Kings! well nigh have toil and exceeding misery destroyed my powers of soul and body, but still I have sense enough

[1] *Niffheim*, the hell of Norse mythology, the place of torment for miscreants and cowards.

[2] The dwelling of Thor.

[3] *Urd*, *Verandi*, and *Skuld* the Norner, the three maids of Fate.

left to show me the folly of refusing your reasonable demands; to resist which, in my present plight, would indeed be useless. I therefore render up the key of the chest, and solemnly swear, by the names of the dread gods, that I will not betray you.' Handing them the key he added: 'Behold the chest at my side: its contents will supply your wishes in full measure.'

The brothers took the key and opened the chest, which was almost full of gold. Fascinated by the great riches they beheld, they went down upon their knees and thrust their heads eagerly over the edge of the chest, feasting their eyes on the wealth before them. Quickly Volundur lifted his axe and struck off rapidly the two heads, which dropped into the chest, while the trunks fell prostrate on the floor immersed in a pool of blood. Volundur then closed the chest, saying grimly: 'Satiate now your eyes to the full!' upon which he dug a deep hole beneath the clay floor, in which he interred the two headless trunks.

Volundur said to himself: 'I hope that this is only the first proof that the Norner have at last lent an ear to my ceaseless cry for vengeance,' and he opened the chest and took out the heads, from which he removed the flesh. Having bleached the skulls in the sun, he ornamented them with gold and precious stones, and fashioned them into two rare drinking vessels. Having taken out the eyeballs, he knew how to harden and burnish them in such a manner that they looked like splendid opals; these he set round with precious stones, and made them the centre ornaments of two beautiful bracelets. The teeth he filed round like pearls, and made of them a necklace.

As soon as King Nidudr had returned home from his journey he paid a visit to Volundur, who then presented him with the two drinking vessels, telling him that they were two rare shells which had drifted to the isle right under his window, and which he had managed to secure with a great deal of trouble. To the Queen he gave the bracelets with the eyeballs, and to Banvilde the tooth necklace.

As Gram and Skule still failed to make their appearance, and as some fishermen one day brought their boat, which they had found drifting about out on the sea, King Nidudr said: 'They have been drowned while out boating.' Duly to celebrate their '*Grand*,'[1] or funereal libation, he invited to his castle the first and best of the land. At the feast the precious drinking vessels were made use of for the first time. The Queen and Banvilde wore also their ornaments; the former the bracelets, and the latter the necklace, and in addition the beautiful gold ring which her father had presented her out of the store he had found in Volundur's house. The guests admired the new ornaments of the Queen and her daughter. The new drinking vessels charged with strong mead circled round the table unceasingly, and the carouse lasted far into the night.

But when the cock crew at midnight the revels came suddenly to an end; for just as the King brought one of the vessels to his lips, he was seized with such terrible agony in his head that he was forced to desist. The Queen likewise, who could not withdraw her admiring gaze from her splendid bracelets, felt all at once an excruciating pain in her eyes, seemingly caused by the sparkle of the supposed gems, shooting forth baleful gleams like arrows in the dimly lighted apartment. Banvilde, too,

[1] *Grand*, literally grave-ale—the wake of the heroes of the North.

who wore the necklace, became afflicted with a terrible toothache. The banquet came to an end, and the guests took their leave without much ceremony. The royal three went to their beds in the hope of obtaining relief from their torments, but they passed the night in restless agony.

However, in the morning their sufferings suddenly ceased, and with the recovery of their ordinary state of health they felt disposed to ascribe their last night's affliction to the carouse and the late hours. Banvilde, however, continued to be in low spirits through the day, the cause of which was this: In the hurry of undressing last night she had neglected to remove the gold ring from her arm. In the agony of her toothache she had struck the arm with the ring against the wall, by which she had irretrievably damaged a part of the beautiful setting. The ring being of great value and of most cunning workmanship, she dared not tell her father, who was a man prone to sudden anger, nor did she like to acquaint her mother with the mishap. Towards evening she went down to the grove which fringed the beach opposite which Volundur's tower on the island reared black against the evening sun. 'Alas!' she thought, 'had I not done this serf such grievous injury, he would, perhaps, have served me in the matter.'

She hesitated for a while, but, being by nature of a courageous disposition, she finally resolved to row herself over to his dungeon while it was quite dark, and prevail upon him to repair the ring. If he refuse, she thought, it will not be a hard matter to cow a chained creature like him. Accordingly at dusk the fearless Banvilde launched her boat from the shore and pulled lustily out on the deep. Midway between the shore and the isle an arm of sea-weed lifted his head tangled with sea-weed and sang, while with one hand he attempted to stay the progress of the boat:

> The sea is treacherous,
> But the form of the captive
> More treacherous still.
> He seeks to rejoice
> Thy maiden heart:
> Beware lest thou mourn
> Lost joys of more precious.

But the reckless Banvilde struck him with her oar, saying: 'Down with ye, old Grass-beard!' for neither she nor her parents had faith in the gods, nor in the omens through which they often warn human beings of impending evil. Heedless of the premonition, she continued the journey, and landed a short while after at Solvarsted. A short walk brought her before the ancient tower, the gate of which she opened with a key she had secretly appropriated beforehand. Hardly had Volundur become aware of her presence when a thought flashed through his brain, the carrying out of which would indeed grant his craving of vengeance to the full. Concealing his fierce joy, he spake to Banvilde in a friendly way, bade her to be seated, and prevailed her to repair the ornament in all haste; but to facilitate the work he requested her to lift the lamp.

Said Banvilde, 'Whence comes it that these hollows are spattered all over with blood?' Answered Volundur: 'It is the blood of a couple of seals which vexed me for a long time, but which I at last succeeded in capturing when they least suspected it.' He then bade her to blow the lamp steadily. When she now had become tired and thereby her tender lips fatigued, he offered her a beaker of ale, previously charged with a potent sleeping draught, which she eagerly drained, whereupon she threw herself on the bed, and soon fell into a heavy slumber. Fearful was her awaking, in vain she shrieked, too late she wept bitterly. Volundur

said: 'Go to thy father, and say to him that Volundur is ready now to die, having found the means of wreaking vengeance on him and his house. Let him know that the drinking vessels he fills with mead and offers to his guests are made of the skulls of his own sons Gram and Skule, whom I have slain with my own hand and buried here beneath the clay floor, and that the blood which stains these bellows flowed from their headless trunks. Still they were but insignificant men, nor was his love for them so great that their death should appease my vengeance. But thou, who didst rob me in spite of my piteous prayers of the half of my sight, weepest now at thy own loss. Hardly, I trow, will any of your kingly suitors incline to marry thee, who hast been dishonoured by thy father's meanest serf.'

Banvilde smiled grimly, and said: 'These thick walls have tongues as little as they have eyes. What has passed remains a secret, which I seal with your death. A secret vengeance is no vengeance: go then to Niflheim, and unavenged, thou base traitor!' So saying, she grasped a spear and made a furious thrust at Volundur; but, evading the assault, he seized Banvilde, bound her hand and foot, and flung her through the door into her boat, which, with the shock, slid away and went adrift. Then he engraved on a large plate of gold an account of all his achievements and of his vengeance, and placed it in such a manner that it would at once draw the attention of King Nidhoir. Having accomplished his task, he seized a spear, and, placing its point against his naked breast, he cried with a loud voice: 'Odin, welcome to Valhal thy poor maimed serf!'

At that supreme moment the distant tones of a song blending with the strain of harps fell softly on his ear, and, although it was broad daylight and the heavens clear and cloudless, he beheld in the east a great sparkling star, whose radiance the very sun could not dim or abate. To his further amazement he saw in the transparent air a mighty rainbow, glowing with colour, spanning the firmament from the point where the star shone to where it dyed the waters with its many coloured tints immediately opposite his dungeon. This strange and glorious sight caused Volundur to abandon his purpose. Mounting to the window-sill, he awaited the result of the awful portent.

The bright luminary, after traversing the vast sweep of the rainbow, was nearing its terminal point when Volundur discovered that what he had deemed a star was in reality the radiant chariot of Freya. Seated in it was the divine Asynia herself, in her full glory and splendour, attended on either side by two beautiful maids as yet unknown to him. Around the white shoulders of the goddess undulated an ample azure robe, flowing behind her in many a wavy fold, until it merged in the blue ether. The maiden on the left side was robed in a strange garment made of freshly plucked green leaves, whereas the robe of the other was of bright scarlet.

Volundur's heart beat tumultuously. Intuitively he felt that in the three divine beings seated in the golden chariot he beheld the symbolisation of the gold lump with the precious stones found by him and his brothers in distant Finmark. The chariot was drawn by two large wild cats, in size and aspect almost like panthers, typical of Desire being controlled by Love, while it at the same time urges it on.

When the chariot reached the end of the rainbow, it seemed to Volundur that it would presently plunge into the depths of the sea.

Upon it touching the surface, an ancient man and woman emerged from the sea, surrounded by a great many beautiful mermaids. The old man was the sea-god Ægir, the woman his wife Ran, and the young mermaids his daughters. Ran, although ordinarily of forbidding aspect, and habitually provided with the net in which she draws the bodies of drowned men, looked mild and placid, and was without her ominous net on this occasion.

The golden chariot was now rapidly nearing Volundur's tower. Overcome with emotion, he recognised in the woman with the red robe his own beloved and long-lost wife Alvilde. With tears streaming down his wan cheeks, he stood motionless with outstretched arms, dumb with the weight of his exceeding joy.

The goal was reached. Descending from the chariot, Freya took the hand of Alvilde and led her to Volundur, saying: 'Thy days of trial are past and gone, O Volundur, son of the Finn! Of the grief and ignominy which have wrung thine heart thou art thyself the avenger, but the happiness to come thou shalt owe to Freya. Behold thine Alvilde, whom Odin grants thee for thy mortal life, upon my intercession; and when thou at last depart this life, she shall take thee in her loving arms and lift thee with her to *Valaskjalf*,[1] there to ply thy cunning trade in fashioning curious drinking-horns and splendid arms for the gods and Einherjar.'

Thereupon Freya beckoned forth the beauteous woman in the green garment of interwoven leaves. In the one hand she carried a root freshly torn from the earth, and in the other a keen-edged knife. Cutting some small slices from the root, she applied them to Volundur's severed ankle-strings, and to the socket of his extinguished eye; she next took some fresh leaves from the skirt of her robe and laid them over the wounds, breathing upon them a while. Then said the glad Volundur: 'Assuredly I know that the gracious "Eir," mild Dísa (nymph) of the healing art, has touched me with her blessed hand.'

Smiled the goddess in the azure garment, and said: 'When the soul wholly cherishes a beloved object, then *Eir* has power to heal and Freya to crown the heart with happiness; otherwise they are, like Swanhvide and Alrune, but stern Valkyries, who do not content themselves with merely slaying on the battle-field.' Having thus spoken, she beckoned forth her maid, the blithe Siofn with the soft glance, the half-closed eyelids, and the poppy-wreath circling her sable tresses. She touched the eye of Volundur with her finger, and he fell presently into a deep slumber. The elves transported the unconscious sleeper across the water, and laid him down on a mossy couch in a green natural arbour in the heart of the forest.

Sweetly slept Volundur, but towards dawn he dreamt a strange dream. It seemed to him that, while he was reposing happily in the arms of his dear wife Alvilde, his two brothers Slagfidur and Egil appeared before his bed, unutterably sad, with pale cheeks and bloody hands, gazing mournfully upon him. But perceiving how happy he was, a smile dawned upon their pale lips, and he was conscious of their loving sympathy. Slagfidur, the eldest, who was standing nearest to him, bent his head over the couch, beckoning continually as if he wished to tell him something. Egil was more reticent: he had seated himself on a stone at the entrance to the arbour, and spoke unwillingly, but as

[1] That part of heaven where Valaskjalf stands

low and confusedly that Volundur could not distinguish a single word.

When Volundur awoke he found himself indeed in the arms of his dear Alvilde; but, glancing upwards, he perceived a branch of a tree bending above him swaying to and fro, and seemingly motioning him as Slagfidur had done in his dream. The low confused words of Eigil still sounded in his ears; but, turning his head towards the entrance of the arbour, he discovered that what he had thought to be the speech of Eigil was the murmuring of a little brook, which found its way through the grass and bushes near the door. As he pondered over this strange dream the tears came in the eyes of Volundur, for he had loved his brothers dearly, and their untimely fate contrasted sadly with his own great happiness.

Now Alvilde awoke also, and, after having lovingly embraced him, spoke to him thus: 'Undoubtedly, my dear husband, thou feelest thyself strengthened after this soothing sleep, and possessed of thy old vigour. Go thou therefore at once to Nidudr's castle. He still sleeps, and knows not what has happened. And in order that none may recognise thee and hinder thy entrance, but deem thee one of the King's servants, throw this cloak over thy armour and enter boldly into his presence. Then tell him that Volundur has broken his fetters and escaped from his dungeon, and demand what is to be done.'

Much pleased with this advice, Volundur donned his armour, over which he flung the cloak, and made his way unhindered to the King's sleeping-room, the guard at the door believing him to be one of the King's attendants.

Strode Volundur up to the bed of the King. Nidudr was still asleep, but his slumber was haunted with ghastly dreams, and he trembled visibly. Cried Volundur with a loud voice: 'Awake, King Nidudr!' The King opened his eyes with a start and said: 'Who dares to disturb the King's sleep?' To which Volundur replied: 'I crave thy pardon, dread lord, but a strange thing has happened which thou oughtest to know: hadst thou killed Volundur long time ago, this thing could not have occurred.' Said Nidudr: 'Speak not his name. I fear him in the midst of his misery, for ever since he sent me the curious drinking vessels a burning fever has seized upon me which racks my body with intolerable pains.' Said Volundur: 'Rare and precious indeed were the drinking vessels he gave thee, for they were made of thy sons' skulls; their carcases rot beneath the bellows in Volundur's smithy, and your daughter drifts about in her boat on the wild sea, every wave of which shall not suffice to cleanse the blot which sullies her honour.' Then, flinging aside his cloak, he lifted his brand on high and cried fiercely: 'And now behold Volundur himself, who has come hither, thou dastard, to take thy life.' But before he could execute his purpose the King had already died of fear, and was on his road to Nastrond, there to receive the punishment awaiting miscreants and cowards. Then strode forth Volundur in his shining armour, and all the people gazed with wonder and awe. But the Queen took poison when she heard what had happened, and died.

As for Banvidje, in her despair she flung herself into the sea, and *Ran* caught in her net her beautiful corpse.

Soon the nobles and the people proclaimed Volundur King over the whole land of Sweden. He reigned for a great many years, and proved himself a wise ruler as well as a mighty man of war. He lived to a hoary age and was buried in a hill in the Valley of the Wolf, where

his house is said to have stood. Inside the hill is still found a square chamber formed of rough blocks of granite; on the rock which faces to the north the rude figure of a man with fettered legs forging a sword is still plainly to be seen. Divine honours were conferred on Volundur after his death, a general belief obtaining that his wife Alvilde had, according to the promise of Freya, taken his soul with her to the halls of Valhalla. It was of yore customary for all the smiths in the North, whenever they engaged to do any important work, to invoke the aid and good will of Volundur. It is said that the royal armoury in Sweden contained formerly the sword with the sapphire hilt wrought by Volundur, a blade ever thirsty for blood and a terror in battle; but it has disappeared ages ago.

Here endeth the Saga of Volundur.

ENGLISH REPUBLICANISM.

By a Working Man.

[Half the world is said to know nothing of the feelings and the rights of the other half. We insert this article as an assistance towards removing so peculiar and dangerous a form of ignorance. Ed. *F. M.*]

ON March 24 Mr. Gladstone was asked, in his place in the House of Commons, whether his attention had been called to the report of a meeting at which a resolution, declaring that 'a Republican form of government was the only one capable of developing the great resources of the country, and worthy of the confidence and support of all true democrats, was reported to have been carried by acclamation; whether, if the report was correct, it was his intention to ascertain whether, in the opinion of the law officers of the Crown, such language was of a treasonable or seditious character; and whether, in the event of such being the opinion of the law officers, the Government was prepared to take any steps for dealing by law with those who held this language.'

Mr. Gladstone replied that his knowledge of the subject was confined to the matter of the resolution as quoted by the member asking the question; that, whether the report was correct or not, it was not the intention of Government to take any steps whatever in the matter; that such opinions as those embodied in the resolution were 'wrong and foolish,' and needed but to be left unnoticed to sink into 'that oblivion which was their destined and their proper portion.'

As during the portion of the session that had elapsed up to that date Mr. Gladstone had evinced a decided inclination to verbal quibbling, it is, perhaps, not going too far to suggest that possibly he took advantage of the word 'only' in the resolution referred to. To assert that only under any one form of government can the resources of this country be fully developed is an assumption of final knowledge in politics not only presumptuous, but wrong and foolish, and it must have been to that view of the case, we take it, that Mr. Gladstone applied those epithets. At any rate, it is scarcely possible to conceive that anyone, with even a tithe of his claims to be considered a statesman, would stigmatise as wrong and foolish the abstract proposition that a Republic is the best of known forms of government. That surely is a fairly debatable question, as it is undoubtedly one on the affirmative side of which weighty arguments can be adduced.

That in its theory and possibilities a Republic is a better form of government for the working population of a country than either a monarchical or autocratic one may be taken as an admitted truism, and as a natural consequence there has, in England, always been a considerable degree of instinctive Republican feeling among the working classes, and a certain measure of philosophical Republicanism among scholarly and speculative politicians untrammelled by the exigencies of practical statesmanship. The latter phase of this feeling was, however, regarded as nothing more than a political dilettantism, while with the working classes the feeling was known to be merely latent under ordinary circumstances, and liable, pass. tate, and self-harmful when-ever under the prompting of political or social excitement it attempted to assert itself. The possibility of a Republican party in English politics having practical power to enforce concessions to their views would have been regarded as an absurdity.

These are still pretty much the ideas entertained in upper and middle class circles with regard to Republicanism in this country, and until very recently they were substantially correct. At the present time, however, such views are a dangerous mistake. Republicanism has reached a new, an advanced and advancing stage—has become an important though a little recognised or understood actuality of practical politics. For years past Republicanism has been spreading among the working classes *doctrinally* to such a degree that now it may be safely said that it is—in some more or less modified form—the political creed of ninety-nine working men in a hundred, having any political feeling or belief at all. The last extension of the franchise made the practical assertion of this creed a possibility, and the tone of recent legislation has given a start to the one thing needful for the realisation of that possibility—organisation.

The fact of such a meeting having been held as that at which the resolution already quoted was passed, need not in itself have been taken as a material evidence of a Republican feeling among the working classes at large. Any petty, notoriety-seeking agitator can get up a meeting to pass resolutions upon almost any conceivable subject, and newspapers making an unthinking use of a stock heading will report it as a meeting of the working classes, though more frequently than not it has about as much title to be so described as a gathering of a dozen discharged soldiers would have to be cited as a meeting of the British army. Though, however, the particular meeting referred to was in no way an authorised representation of the general body of the working classes, the resolution carried at it was, *as happened*, in full accord with the prevailing opinion of those classes. The few avowedly Republican meetings held in the Metropolis of which notices have got into the papers are not the only or most important ones that have taken place. There have been many such, and a considerable number of Republican associations have been formed, and are increasing in extent. More significant still, similar meetings have been held and societies formed in the large manufacturing towns of the provinces, where such things when they do occur have a graver meaning, and indicate a more deep-rooted conviction, and greater firmness and tenacity of purpose, than they do among the (comparatively) mercurial Londoners. These clubs make only a small fraction of the numerical strength of the working classes, but they embrace a large percentage of the *actively* political, while the latent sympathies of the bulk are with them. In short, whether right or wrong, foolish or wise, English Republicanism has grown to be a great political fact—a thing that will not only not sink into oblivion by being left unnoticed, but will be increased in extent and embittered in quality by any high-toned affectation of ignoring its existence. It is a thing for statesmen to grapple with, and certainly a thing the causes, character, aims, and alleged justification of which are worth being looked into.

Republicanism as it now exists in England is founded less on personal admiration of its own professed principles than upon hatred and contempt for royalty and its concomitants. It has been selected as a creed rather as the broad antithesis to monarchy than from any immediate reference to or detailed knowledge of its working. Take away the fact that every one up the political aspirations of the working classes, that would have summed them up at any time for many years past, and in their opinion royalty is not only a [illegible], but the prime cause

and support of the great amount of injurious bumbleism that characterises the Government of the country throughout—of an hereditary legislature, a State church, an unfairly privileged aristocracy, and a gross system of sinecurism. They regard the royal office as worse than useless, believing that its formalities impede the work of legislation, that its costliness tends to impoverish the nation, and its very existence to degrade true self-respect by making 'loyalty' consist—in language at least—in fulsome adulation. To their thinking the Sovereign is the mere cipher of an unnecessary function, or at the best an ornamental official whose services judged on the most liberal scale would be amply paid by the salary of a master of the ceremonies.

These views and the feelings arising out of them were entertained by the present generation of working men with respect to royalty when it had to be considered in the person of the Sovereign only; but as demand after demand came to be made upon the public purse on behalf of the royal family, the ill feeling was more and more intensified, until at last over the question of the dowry to the Princess Louise it broke out in bitter protest and reviling, and assumed the shape of an organised and formidable opposition. For though the formal opposition to it in Parliament appeared a fiasco, the opposition in the country was formidable. Though neither those who had to combat and overcome this opposition, nor any save those inside the working classes, could be fully aware of the extent and intensity of the feeling of which it was the outcome, it is tolerably evident that they knew the matter to be much more serious than they cared to admit. When, in asking Parliament to vote the dowry, the Prime Minister spoke of the opponents to it in the country as 'rare exceptions,' he was rather arrogant than ignorant: he would not have adopted the defensive and explanatory tone he did, had he really believed that the anti-dowry party had been rare exceptions. The attitude of the leading newspapers upon the question was in close keeping with that of the first Minister. They, too, affected to believe that the objectors to the dowry were a singular few; but side by side with rhapsodical leaders setting forth the overflowing and unanimous delight that the nation would feel in granting the dowry, were notices of anti-dowry meetings, and of members of Parliament having been put to the question on the subject by their constituents. These papers must have known from details in the provincial journals that the meetings to protest against the dowry were of a more important character than would fairly be gathered from their brief intimations that such meetings had been held; and while they eagerly seized upon the slightest opportunity for making the opposition appear weak or divided, they persistently declined to insert letters explaining or defending its views. This mode of procedure upon the part of the monarchical portion of the press has, however, been chiefly detrimental to the cause of monarchy.

It is these papers that have been mainly instrumental in giving rise to the existing Republican movement. They stung latent feeling into passionate activity, furnished Republican journals and speakers with the best 'points' they could possibly have for purposes of agitation! and by the diversity of their justifications of the dowry, made palpable the weakness of the case for the defence. Some of them based their support of the dowry simply on sentimental grounds: the Princess was young, amiable, pretty, and was making a love match;

therefore to grumble at her being dowered by the country was unchivalrous. Others pleaded precedent: her sisters had received dowries, then why should she be refused one? To object in her case would look like a desire to punish her for marrying the man of her heart. Others, again, taking a bolder tone, said that to object to the dowry was nothing more or less than dishonest, since its payment would only be the stipulated fulfilment of the terms of a contract between the country and the Crown. This being to many people an astonishing statement, enquiries naturally began to be made as to where the writings of the contract were to be seen. Such enquiries were doubtless considered 'too blessed particular,' but they had to be answered in some fashion; and so these papers, modifying their tone, said: 'Well, the writings were not to be seen at all; the contract was not a written, but an implied one'—though the alleged implication was certainly not self-evident. The straits to which the defending journals were driven by the inherent weakness of their case are perhaps, however, most strikingly exemplified by a statement in the *Pall Mall Gazette* for December 10, 1870. All the other papers taking the same side on the dowry question were at one with each other and the anti-dowerists in taking it for granted that the 30,000*l.* wedding portion and 6,000*l* a year asked for were regarded as a substantial matter by all parties concerned; that the income was to be granted *as an income*, on the understanding that it was required for the usual purpose of an income—the support of those drawing it. But according to the *Pall Mall Gazette* this was not only a mistaken and unworthy view of the case, but the working classes in particular were aware that it was so. Speaking of a resolution of the Land and Labour League, the *Pall Mall* observed that the working classes 'Know that the dowry to a royal Princess on her marriage is neither given nor accepted on account of its money's worth, but rather as a tribute of respect and affection to the family of the Sovereign.' To point out that this is sheer nonsense would be a work of supererogation. That any person writing in a high-class journal like the *Pall Mall Gazette* could have really entertained such a belief is not for a moment to be credited. Many assertions and arguments of this kind were palpably aimed at the working classes, and in some cases, as for instance that just cited, 'fathered' upon them; and it should therefore be no matter for wonder that the fact of their finding themselves considered to be so easily gullible by self-evident nonsense should have aroused in them a strong feeling of antagonism.

The simulated ecstasy, slavish tone, and meaningless, unmanly drivelling of the daily papers in reporting the Lorne marriage upon which the *Saturday Review* commented with such contemptuous scorn at the time, need not be dwelt upon here; but it may be mentioned that these 'gushing' articles were especially effective in intensifying the ill-feeling towards royalty. 'To-day,' said the *Times* on the morning of the wedding, 'a ray of sunshine will gladden every habitation in this island, and force its way even where uninvited. A daughter of the people in the truest sense of the word is to be married to one of ourselves. The mother is ours, and the daughter is ours. We honour and obey the Queen; we crown her and do her homage, we pray for her, and work for her, and fight for her; we accept her as the dispenser of blessings and favours, dignity and honours; we share her joys and are cheered by her consolations.'

Now the assumption of the universality of such a tone of feeling as that embodied in the above 'loyal' outburst was not justifiable by even the most liberal interpretation of literary licence. The assertions were untrue not only in the letter, but in the spirit. In hundreds of thousands of 'habitations in this island' the marriage was regarded as a gloomy, not a sunshiny matter, so far as it concerned the dwellers in the habitations—a thing which saddled the country with a further large payment to the idle rich, though millions of the industrious poor were in a state of semi-starvation. By the working-class section of 'the people,' the Princess was not held to be in any sense their daughter, but rather a daughter of the horse leech, of whom they had chiefly heard in association with a cry of 'give, give,' and they certainly looked upon her husband more in the light of a vampyre fastened upon them than as one of themselves. Being unused to making fine distinctions, they connect the office-holder with the office; and speaking in this sense they do not honour and do not pray for the Queen; and though they do work for her and hers, they are very decidedly of opinion that it is more the pity that they should have to do so. And however unorthodox the belief may be, their idea is that not she, but a higher, is the 'dispenser of blessings.'

These were the real feelings of the working classes with regard to the marriage and royalty generally. By means of meetings, protests, and such press organs as would make known their views, they had given expression to those feelings; and that after this they should find themselves represented as going into ecstasies of joy over the event naturally enraged them. To them such misrepresentation seemed a scornful challenge, and the answer to it has been the organisation of a Republican movement, which, however much pooh-pooh'd in its earlier stages, will ultimately make itself felt. Taking the dowry question in the light of a political contest, the technical victory of the monarchical party was one of the kind that are more disastrous than defeat. If, when it became evident that there was a strong feeling in the country against granting the dowry, the demand for it had been withdrawn, that, combined with the fact that the marriage was one in which natural affection had been allowed to over-ride the unnatural Royal Marriage Act, would have made royalty more popular with the working classes than it had been for many years; now it is infinitely more unpopular than it has ever been before, with the present generation. Those immediately concerned in the dowry business were not well served. Had they been allowed to know the extent of even the public opposition, it is only fair to them to take it for granted that they would themselves have insisted upon the withdrawal of the claim made upon their behalf; while, could they have known how they were talked about in thousands of workshops and by tens of thousands of firesides, they would have shrunk from touching a penny of the money as though it had been the price of blood. Curses both loud and deep were heaped upon them as callous despoilers of the poor. 'The rattle of the royal begging-box,' 'Out-door relief,' 'Able-bodied paupers,' 'Royal leeches,' 'Royal spongers,' were the mildest terms of contempt employed in speaking of the subject. It became a stock workshop joke to speak of setting up the Marquis of Lorne as a greengrocer, or teaching him this or that handicraft to enable him to earn an honest living for himself and wife without coming upon the public. Men — decent, steady artisans, and not at all the fearsome kind of creatures whom it

pleased 'loyal' caricaturists to depict as the only objectors to the dowry—speaking amid applauding circles of shopmates, wished that 'the whole tribe of royalty were under the sod,' while women, mothers themselves, prayed that its women might be made unfruitful, so that the race of royal paupers might not be increased. All this may seem both very trivial and very coarse, but it is both broadly and literally true; and though the task of telling it is an ungrateful one, we think it is a state of things which should be made known and faced, not slurred over. The spirit that prompts such ill wishes may be an evil one, but, bad or good, it is the one that is abroad among the working classes. With them, at any rate, the name and fame of the country's royalty has become a thing of scorn. Nor does the feeling end at that point. In connection with the subject of the dowry the question passed from mouth to mouth, 'Why should we, who can scarcely find bread for ourselves, be forced to contribute, in however small a degree, to the sumptuous maintenance of others whom we have never seen, and who are not doing and have never done us or the State any service?' As might have been expected, such questioning, once started, soon went beyond the point out of which it had immediately arisen. 'Why,' working men went on to ask themselves and each other, 'should they be forced to contribute to the support of royalty at all? What use was it? what return did it make to the country for the money it drew from it?' It was admitted upon all hands that it performed no part whatever in the practical work of government, and for what else should the nation be called upon to pay it an annual sum far exceeding in amount the aggregate salaries of the entire executive? The story of its life from day to day and year to year was to be found in the columns of the *Court Circular*, and to a common understanding it was hard to see how anything recorded of it there could be construed as being of service to the community at large. To men looking at it in this utilitarian spirit the whole thing appeared an all too costly fetish, the extinguishment of which would be a blessing.

Even in the overwhelming numerical defeat of the parliamentary opposition to the dowry the Republicans hold that there was a comparative moral victory for them. They point to Mr. Gladstone's laboured justification of the demand, and to the noticeably large number of liberal M.P.s who were conspicuous by their absence on the night of the division with the purpose, it is reasonable to conclude (from the evasive answers given by some of them when questioned by their constituents as to how they would vote over the dowry), of being able to say that they did not vote *for* the dowry; though that plea will avail them but little when the time for another election arrives.

In discussing the anti-dowry agitation, the *Saturday Review*—which, though strongly monarchical, did not descend to the petty twaddling of the other papers on the same side—observed that there was no room in England for a semi-royal caste. This was a remark that went very much to the heart of the business. In the existing state of public opinion there is not room for such a caste, and the working classes have instinctively seen this all along. To persevere in forcing that caste upon them beyond the point at which they showed their patience was exhausted was a mistake in the interests of royalty. Monarchy centered in the Sovereign alone and guarded by a policy of non-intrusion might have passed without serious challenge for many years to come, but royalty breeding a caste and

constantly asking for money on behalf of its members was a thing which the 'responsible advisers' of the Crown might have known would lead to the whole institution being brought into question, and critically examined in regard to the proportion between its cost and its utility to the country. That it could successfully bear examination on that ground its most enthusiastic admirers would not, we suppose, attempt to maintain; and its advisers are therefore responsible for thrusting it into a false and dangerous position. It is on this ground that the working classes have weighed it, and they believe they have found it utterly wanting. Their unanimous verdict is that its cost to the nation is very great, its usefulness *nil*. Further they are of opinion that it is worse than merely negatively useless. As they read certain facts, it seems to them that the nominal constitution and policy of the State are prostituted to give still more of the public money to royalty than is avowedly voted to it. In the House of Commons the Minister for War gravely defends the maintenance of sinecure colonelcies on the ground that they are reserved as prizes and rewards for specially meritorious and distinguished officers; and yet they are bestowed upon the Prince of Wales, the Duke of Cambridge, and other more or less close connections of royalty simply because they are such connections, since it would puzzle even a courtly minister to point out their special merits or distinguished services as soldiers. A Government calling itself liberal, and taking office with retrenchment and economy as their watchwords, answers unemployed and starving workmen who apply for aid to emigrate, that they have no money for such a purpose, while at the same time they give thousands to fit up royal yachts and pay the travelling expenses of royalty's relations

In proof of the argumentative strength of their case, the Republicans refer to the manner in which those who profess to answer them evade the point really at issue. The advocates of monarchy do not say that royalty is useful, or is not costly. What they say is, that practically we have the best Republic in the world; that, even with the expense of our royalty, the total cost of our government is probably less than that of America, since, under the system of the latter, every member of the legislature is paid; and that, even if the cost of royalty was abolished to-morrow, it would not relieve the taxation of the country to any appreciable extent. Or else they ask: 'Would you, by attempting to subvert monarchy, bring about such a state of affairs as we have lately seen in France?' To this the Republicans reply, that though, as compared with other monarchical governments, ours may be considered as of a Republican character—that though the sinecurism which is fostered by it may perhaps be less costly and injurious to the country than the extensive jobbery perpetrated by political wire-pullers in America, and though under it there is as great liberty of the subject as in any country—that though all this may be it is altogether beside the question if brought forward as a justification for continuing to burden the country with the expense of a royalty whose part in the work of government is a legal fiction. If the fact of our members of Parliament serving for nothing brings the entire cost of our government within that of the great Transatlantic Republic, the English Republicans reply, that it is only to money being paid to non-workers that they object. If our present scale of expenditure, or even a greater, were necessary to secure efficient Prime Ministers, Chancellors, &c., they would not have a word to say against it. As to the non-payment

of our members, many of the Republicans are of opinion that it would perhaps be better for the nation if we did pay them. Some of our present class of members treat their office as an honorary one, valuing it only as giving them a handle to their name; while it is quite an understood thing that others use their position to promote some sectional 'interest,' rather than—and if need be at the cost of—the interests of the nation. And for such neglect or dereliction of duty, a conscience-salving excuse is, that members are not paid. That the remission of the money-cost of royalty would not afford any sensible relief to the individual taxpayer is, say the Republicans, no answer to the economical argument for its suppression. That plea, if admitted, would put an end to all attempts at economy in State management. Because you cannot cut down expenditure by millions at a stroke, that is no reason why you should not retrench upon a smaller scale if there is an opening for doing so. Besides, the Republicans further argue on this point: if the money now paid to royalty were applied to organise State-assisted emigration, or some other scheme of that kind, thousands of the poor might be immediately, sensibly, and permanently benefited; our colonies or waste lands made more valuable; and tax-payers *ultimately* relieved to an extent that would be worth considering individually.

To the question, 'Do you want to bring about a revolution in this country?' the Republicans generally would reply: 'Only a political revolution led up to and carried through by political pressure and agitation.' This would in substance be the answer of the grand majority, but there are some within the body who would probably give a more extreme reply. Here and there among the working classes will be found men whose political ideas are summed up in the exclamation, that a 'thundering good revolution is what is wanted in this country,' and that if 'there was one to-morrow they would throw down their tools and join it.' But these are simply ignorant, self-willed, violent-tempered men, who would talk in the same fashion on any other subject on which they happened to feel strongly. Though they talk explosively, it is exceedingly doubtful whether, if it came to a practical question, they would be found to have even the will to make a revolution; and it is abundantly certain that in any case they have neither the knowledge nor the power necessary for doing so. They have not the slightest idea of warlike organisation; they are too hot-tempered and open-mouthed to be members of secret societies; and as they generally manage to exhibit their violent and intolerant character in connection with workshop or trade or benefit club affairs, their class know them too well to let them become leaders.

Then there are the stagey, flag-flourishing Republicans who hoist red flags, address each other as 'Citizen,' and indulge in high-sounding revolutionary talk. Taking advantage of the spread of Republicanism among the working classes, this melodramatic clique has of late obtruded itself before the public rather conspicuously, and by many has been taken to be the whole instead of a very small part of the Republican movement. If asked whether *they* aimed at a revolution, these theatric Republicans would likely enough answer that they did, but their doing so would be of no material consequence. If they really have any revolutionary aspirations, they are impotent to carry them out. They are few in number, uninfluential, have no man of mark among them, and, so far as any idea of revolution is concerned, stand alone and out of sympathy

The Republicanism existing among the general body of the working classes—and it is only that we have had in view in all we have been saying—is *not* of a revolutionary character in the warlike sense of the term. It is not of an ultra order even politically. Indeed Republicanism is scarcely the proper name for it. Utilitarianism would be more accurately expressive of its meaning. The best informed among the working class Republicans, those best qualified to form a judgment, and whose opinion and example will have the greatest weight in influencing the action of their fellows, are not inclined to cavil about a word. They know that in many respects our constitution is as beneficial to the country as any Republic could be, and they would not care what the government was called provided it was purged of the (costly) fictional and hereditary elements. That, however, if by any exertion or pressure upon their part the thing can be effected, those elements shall be eradicated, they are firmly resolved. Until they see some fair prospect of their removal they will be thoroughly dissatisfied, and their discontent will be increased, and their Republicanism made less and less moderate in tone, by delay. Before the dowry agitation many of those who are now labouring to establish Republican organisations among their fellow-workmen took no personal interest in politics, while the few who were actively political had no notion of being anything stronger than Radicals. The conduct of Ministers and the press over the Princess Louise dowry brought a wide-spread Republicanism to life as if by magic; and should monarchical Ministers insist upon quartering the semi-royal caste upon the public purse to the bitter end, it would be hard to say to what it might not lead. This matter of semi-royalty is the sorest point of all with the Republicans. It alarms as well as irritates them. They see how prolific are the children of the Sovereign, they know that their offspring stand in closer relation to the throne than some who are pensioned solely on the ground of such relationship, and they ask themselves, Will it not be an intolerable burden upon the country to be forced to provide incomes for such a number? And, to judge by late proceedings, they argue that only by completely disestablishing royalty can the nation hope to escape from being saddled with such a weight. At present the more moderate Republicans would be quite agreeable to disestablishment being coupled with equitable pecuniary compensation, but under another turn or two of the dowry screw they would probably incline to some more high-handed mode of procedure.

Though English Republicanism exists chiefly among the working classes, and is only openly avowed within those classes, traces of it are to be found in the middle classes, and the direction of the spread of its doctrine is upward. That some of the ablest writers and thinkers of the day are essentially Republicans is well known. In short, all the elements of a great Republican party lie ready; and were a Von Moltke in political organisation to arise among the Republicans, he could make them the most powerful section in the State. Even without the aid of a supreme directing genius there is every probability of their speedily becoming a political party that will enforce consideration from others, if only on account of its strength. Stung by the tone of their opponents upon the dowry question, the Republicans spoke out with what many of their number now consider an unwise bluntness. 'Let us,' say these, 'have some of the wisdom of the serpent in our proceedings. Let us not talk of a Republic, though we aim at the

thing. Let us, if we can, make royalty as an old man of the sea around the neck of Ministers. Let us chop, and lop, and pare at its branches, and so weaken even if we cannot cut down the stem. Let us strain every nerve to return to Parliament a clique sufficiently numerous to form a "balance of power" between the two parties who now make a see-saw of government, and therefore also sufficiently strong to wring concessions from either of them by threatening to join the others on any closely-fought party question. Let us do in a political Rome as political Romans do. Let us be trimmers and intriguers. Let us aid the Liberals of the period so far as their ultimatum is a step in our direction; let us join with the Radicals as far as they will go with us, and carry ourselves as much farther as we can force a way single-handed.' This is the counsel that is being given. As, under existing circumstances, it is the most practical, the line of action indicated in it will, in all probability, be adopted in substance. Whether, however, such a comparatively 'mild' policy will be adhered to for any considerable length of time is another question, since, so far as may be judged from 'precedent,' Ministers will soon be making further requisitions upon behalf of royalty.

That among those whose political cry is now Republicanism there are some who have wrong and foolish ideas upon the subject—who think that under a Republic all things are necessarily pure, and every man sure of constant work and a comfortable living—that there are English Republicans holding such ideas as these, no candid person having a knowledge of the opinions existing among the working classes will for a moment attempt to deny. Nor would one with such a knowledge deny, either, that others, though calling themselves Republicans, are really hoodwinked men who, if they had their own way, would not be content with merely stopping the granting of State pensions to non-workers, but would likewise try to annex portions of self-earned incomes; who profess to be at a loss to understand why any other man should have more than them, and to consider it a perversion of the laws of nature that other men do have more than them. It is equally true, too, that the weekly newspaper which is the chief 'organ' of Republicanism is often blatant and scurrilous, and habitually shows even a greater disregard than newspapers generally for the courtesy that should characterise honest political discussion. In short, English Republicanism, while having its good points, has also its blots, of which these are the chief. But they are only its blots: they do not, as many people suppose, constitute the thing itself. Among the working classes Republicanism has superseded Radicalism. Those who form the bulk of the Republicans do not expect impossibilities from a Republic, and are not so foolish as to hold levelling doctrines, while the better educated among them, even when agreeing with the arguments of the newspaper referred to, deplore and condemn its bad taste—not only as bad taste, but also as being an injury to the cause of Republicanism, since there can be little doubt that the coarse personality, violent invective, and bombastic tone of Republican journals and orators hitherto, have been instrumental in causing the higher class of Republican writers and thinkers to hold aloof from any movement for practical organisation.

Even with all its present imperfections on its head, however, English Republicanism is not a thing to be contemptuously 'daft aside.' On the contrary, anyone acquainted with the real facts of the case, and at all skilled in reading the signs

of the times, will understand that it is a thing that it will be dangerous to treat with either real or affected contempt. In so far as Republicanism means Utilitarianism in Government, the spirit of the age in this country tends towards it. In time it *must* become the predominating opinion practically, even if not nominally. Any danger to the State that there may be in it would lie in its being goaded into premature attempts to assert its supremacy. It has great thinkers in its ranks, and hosts willing to serve its principles disinterestedly; but as yet it has not statesmen capable of carrying on the practical work of Government, and until it has them it would be a disaster for it as well as for the nation at large if by any *coup* or fluke it was able to seize the reins of power. Acting statesmen are bound in the interests of all concerned to resist the too rapid advance of Republicanism, but they are equally bound not to oppose it in a manner that is calculated to urge it to extreme courses. The rate and manner of its progress is in a great measure in their hands. The Republicans do not expect any great or sudden concessions. They have no notion of anything in the shape of dethronement. They do not aim at taking away or reducing the present payment to royalty. What they seek—looking at matters practically, and having regard to the spirit of compromise that so largely enters into English politics—is to prevent the cost of monarchy being *increased*; to keep it strictly within its openly and directly avowed limits; and generally to pave the way to such a state of affairs and opinion that when another than the now reigning Sovereign came to be dealt with, a materially different arrangement—possibly an amicably settled abdication—could be effected. If they find themselves making reasonable advances in this direction, all will be well. If they find that they are defied, and their views set at nought, there will be a repetition of such work as there was before the repeal of the corn laws—perhaps worse.

In conclusion we repeat that to believe that the anti-royalists in England are 'rare exceptions' is a dangerous error. Republicanism is now practically the universal political creed of the working classes—the classes who, when they had not a tithe of the political power they have now, forced free trade and reform from the obstructives who stood in the way of those measures as long as they dared.

ON ARCHITECTURE AND ITS RELATION TO MODERN LIFE.

By an Architect.

An examination of the theory of Architecture, which can only imitate the *principles* of Nature, would lead to an investigation of the causes of beauty itself—a quality which always accompany it. This is the most subtle and difficult enquiry connected with the Arts.

Sir Charles Eastlake.

Parmi les arts, l'art de l'architecture est certainement celui qui a le plus d'affinité avec les institutions, les idées, les mœurs, les progrès, les besoins des peuples. Il est donc difficile de se rendre compte de la direction qu'il prend, des résultats auxquels il est amené, si l'on ne connaît les conditions d'existence des populations au milieu desquelles il s'est développé.

Viollet-le-Duc.

FROM whatever causes, it is certain (and everyone who has given attention to the subject will bear us out in the remark) that for twenty persons capable of taking an enlightened and intellectual interest in music, painting, and sculpture, we scarcely meet with one who has any interest in architecture, any knowledge of its principles of design, or indeed any suspicion that there are principles at all concerned in the matter. It is true that the tide of revived mediæval feeling, which has of late years flowed over this country, has rendered fashionable among non-professional persons a certain interest in one particular phase of the art of architecture. But even this has in reality amounted to nothing more than the acquirement of a superficial historical knowledge of certain facts connected with this one style, combined with a free use of what may be termed 'Gothic slang,' and our popular writings on the subject, in the shape of 'manuals' and 'hand-books,' are nearly all the work of amateurs—chiefly clerical *dilettanti*—who confound Archæology with Architecture.

On one point, however, all persons will probably concur with us, namely, that something called 'architecture' has involved, and will probably continue to involve, the expenditure of no inconsiderable proportion of the public and private revenues of this country; and on this ground alone it is surely desirable that both public bodies and private individuals should have some distinct ideas on the matter. But there is a higher reason than this for inviting a little attention to the subject.

Architecture differs from other arts in this, that its productions are not, except in a legal sense, private property. A bad volume of poetry soon dies a natural death; a bad picture may be laid out of sight, or at most is not necessarily obtruded upon others than the owner. But a large building is no such innocuous creation. It can neither be laid up in a garret, nor even 'reviewed' out of existence. Once built, there it stands, an accomplished and stubborn fact; cutting off from us a certain proportion of light and air and blue sky, for which, as Mr. Ruskin says, 'it is bound to give us something in return.' It may exist as an expressive, picturesque object; an evidence of thought and originality in the selection, collocation, and decorative treatment of materials; a friend whose aspect, changing with the changing seasons, becomes interwoven inseparably with our daily associations, and is hailed with delight after a long absence; or it may be, as too often happens, a shadow upon our daily life, a grim mass of lifeless stone or brick oppressing us with its tedious and persistent gloom, or a great fantastic meaningless jumble of angles, and points, and chimneys exercising on us a constant irritating

influence not the less real and annoying because its source may not always be distinctly traceable. And which of these aspects our collective buildings shall assume—how far we may extract anything of pleasure or grace out of the multitudinous erections which the needs of our crowded modern life call into existence—depends not alone, or even in chief part, on the body of persons called architects, but in a very great measure on the amount of feeling for and knowledge of the subject, and the degree of importance attached to it, by those who employ (or who do not employ) the aid of the professional designer. In architecture, as in most other matters, the law of supply and demand operates largely; and so long as the art of architecture, in the real sense of the word, is a subject entirely ignored even in the most liberal of our educational programmes, and either slighted or misunderstood by the public and the press generally, so long is there little probability that what is so lightly valued should be forthcoming, or that any of the best heads among us will give their thoughts to a profession so little likely to afford them any worthy occupation or recognition.

What, then, is Architecture? At the commencement of this century, the answer would have been that the art of architecture lay in the employment of certain patterns of columns and capitals, each with its appropriate base and superstructure, known as the 'five orders,' the precise proportions of which in all their parts were indubitably fixed by able theorists as well as by measurement from Greek and Roman examples, and were as the law of the Medes and Persians, which altereth not. The application of these features to the exterior of a building, without reference to its internal arrangement or objects, constituted it a work of architecture: 'very fine for a Greek god,' as the late Lord Dudley (he of the *Quarterly*) said on seeing the drawings for his new house, 'but a modern gentleman must have offices.' In general, however, the wealthy amateurs stood by the five orders very consistently; there is indeed a story that a gentleman of the period, seeing one of these sacred features treated with unbecoming license under the hands of

> that very great master
> Who found us all brick, and left us all plaster,

in Regent's Quadrant and elsewhere, took on him to interpose, enquiring of the foreman 'what order he called *that*?' and was brought up with the reply, 'It's Mr. Nash's positive order, sir.' Of late years positive orders have taken another turn, and everything must be an imitation of some feature of mediæval architecture, even down to the grotesque heads of devils and other monstrosities, which were a natural outbreak of the half-savage humour of the Middle Ages, but which glare at us from our new churches and town-halls with an absurd incongruity of sentiment. At the present moment very few of the leading architects of England or France entertain this view of their profession, as the art of copying; even those in this country who sanction it by their practice, seldom defend it in theory. But the idea has become so rooted in the minds of a large proportion of the public, that it is often impossible to satisfy people with a design until they are assured on reliable evidence that it resembles, not only in general aspect, but in the treatment of all its details, something that has been done some hundred years ago; and therefore it is necessary to state, most emphatically, that 'architecture' is not 'archæology,' that the two things are perfectly distinct, and that the reading of books giving

an account of the various periods of Gothic architecture, which is so fashionable with certain people just now, no more constitutes a study of the art of architecture than reading a history of Italian painters and their works constitutes a study of the art of painting.

Architecture is simply the art of building with constructive and decorative expression. It consists mainly in so arranging and grouping the principal portions of a structure as to form an agreeable and well-balanced outline or composition of a definite and consistent character; in so emphasizing and marking the main constructive portions of the building as to increase its apparent stability to the eye, and to render its external aspect expressive of its internal purpose, arrangement, and construction, instead of being a mere dull and lifeless screen or protection from the weather; and lastly (though this is the least important branch of the art), in applying suitable and expressive decoration to enliven those other portions of the structure which, unless relieved in such a manner, might appear too dull and monotonous to the eye. The reader will be kind enough to notice the order in which these three requirements of an architectural building are named, which is in accordance with their relative importance and priority of consideration. Let it be remembered that architecture is essentially based upon practical and constructive necessities, and that a building is architecturally truthful or sound in exact proportion as it shows itself as a result of an honest endeavour to meet and to illustrate the requirements of its special case. Consequently the plan is always the first consideration, and upon or along with its general distribution arises the general composition of the design, the question of what form and what relative position the leading feature (tower, dome, or whatever it be) should take, so as to emphasize and call attention to the central point of the plan, and indicate the internal arrangement of the building.[1] In a similar manner the general construction of the building and the provision for light, ingress and egress, ventilation and such requirements, become a part of the design. If, for example, our edifice be a lofty apartment in one height, we treat it accordingly, with lofty windows, and with a generally vertical predominance of line; if, as in a mansion, we have one floor over another, this becomes the key for the division of the design into corresponding stages, marked externally by horizontal mouldings ('string-courses,' as they are technically termed). We must have openings in the wall for light; we surround these with mouldings, or crown them with canopies as a weather screen. It is essential that our walls have a firm and solid base. By the thickening-out of the walls near the ground we get the basement or 'plinth,' giving both a real and an apparent stability, which we may still further emphasize by multiplying the lines and mouldings which mark and define this additional thickness. Wherever there is a sloping roof (which in this climate is nearly always), it is an essential of really good building that the roof overhang the walls, so as to throw off the wet from the latter. We introduce mouldings to break the abruptness of the angle of roof and wall, and so we have the origin of the 'cornice,' which is nothing but the

[1] The [illegible] features [illegible] design [illegible] their [illegible] the [illegible]

projection of the roof artistically treated. On the important effect of the mechanical structure of the building upon its style of design, we shall have occasion to touch farther on; but even the above brief summary of some of the relations between practical requirements and architectural design may serve to indicate how absurd it is for any one to set about building, as many do, with the intent to imitate some previous architectural model and adapt their practical requirements thereto; thus exactly reversing the common sense and logical method of procedure, besides incurring risk of other inconsistencies, both practical and æsthetic, which we shall have to allude to. Our third step in design, decorative detail, is the only one which can be called arbitrary in its application. We may almost entirely dispense with it, and still have a very fine and expressive building, as in some of the finest early Gothic work of France and England,[1] or we may carry it to the highest degree of elaboration, provided that we do not obscure or weaken the constructive design; provided also (which is a very important principle) that the ornament is confined to the decoration of features which already form a portion of the main design, and play an obvious part in the building. Architectural truth of design is violated whenever a feature is introduced purely as an ornament; it then becomes an excrescence. This principle, to which we shall again refer, has received practical illustration in all the most admirable monuments of architectural style which remain to us. This restriction, however, does not apply to sculpture of a high class and possessing artistic interest of its own; such work passes out of the domain of architectural ornament, and is to be viewed as a separate art in itself; and the recognition of this distinction between sculpture and mere ornament leads us naturally to the most important and interesting consideration with reference to the theory of architectural design, but the most difficult to render intelligible to those who have not specially studied the subject, viz. the nature and degree of expression which architecture as an art is capable of, and the difference of principle lying between that and sculpturesque or picturesque expression.

The nature of this distinction is broadly indicated in the first of the two quotations placed at the head of this essay. Architecture, it is assumed by Eastlake, can only imitate the *principles* of Nature. Such a limitation, it is evident, places it at once on ground quite distinct from that occupied by what are sometimes called the 'plastic arts.' Not only do sculpture and painting possess, as we all know, the power of imitating the outward forms of Nature, but this imitation is almost a *sine qua non* towards the realisation of their special objects. They influence our minds either through the mere reproduction of scenes or objects in Nature, which possess beauty or interest for us, or (in their higher efforts) by using such forms or aspects as the vehicles for the expression of the artist's own feelings and imagination, or of his rendering or translation of historical or imaginary scenes. Architecture has no such power of reproducing or depicting the facts and forms of Nature, or of

[1] One of the largest parish churches in England, of comparatively late date, that of Spalding in Lincolnshire, is a good instance of an internal effect obtained entirely by proportion and disposition of parts, and without any aid from decoration. Few parish churches can boast a finer or more effective interior than this, with its five aisles and long perspective of pure and simple lines; for (with the exception of the roof) there is not an atom of decorative carving, and scarcely any moulding even, throughout the interior.

making use of these for the expression of definite facts or ideas. As an art it is removed farther back, so to speak, from the plane of intellectual vision; its references to Nature are metaphysical and abstract rather than physical and concrete; and it seeks not, like painting, the distinctions and *differentia* of natural objects, but their affinities and points of resemblance, whereon to found its own general principles. In variety, vividness, and intensity of expression and of human interest, architecture can never compete with sculpture and painting; but its lack of definite expression is compensated for by a proportionate degree of breadth and universality. In all true and consistent architectural styles, whatever their diversities of construction and aspect, the same fundamental laws will be found illustrated, and the same adoption of the principles rather than the forms of Nature; the resemblance to Nature appearing most purely metaphysical when we contemplate a style or a representative building as a whole, and approaching more nearly towards physical imitation in proportion as we direct our attention to details. This will perhaps be rendered more clear by a brief reference to the characteristics of the two most perfect and consistent styles of which we have any record: the Doric Greek and the Early English Gothic.

Looking at any of the typical structures of these two styles, we recognise in them certain broad characteristics which are common to every production which can claim the title of architecture. Such are *symmetry* or balance of parts, and *rhythm* or regular recurrence of features and divisions of equal proportions; properties which, however exemplified, we know and feel to be by a law of our nature pleasing to us, though we cannot define or comprehend the origin and *rationale* of such pleasure. So also the necessity, instinctively felt and universally responded to in architecture, for a solid basis to the superstructure, and a crowning member to complete the composition, is one of those deep-seated principles which underlie not only architecture, but music[1] and poetry also; and is based on considerations common to all these arts. When we look more into detail, we become cognisant of those special qualities which distinguish good architecture from bad, and afford more definite and marked examples of the imitation of natural principles. Take, for instance, the most perfect and consistent architectural feature, probably, that has ever been invented—the Doric column. This is a feature intended for the support of a superincumbent weight acting vertically upon it. A plain cylindrical post, with a square block or abacus at the top to distribute the pressure a little more, would have answered the purpose practically. But this was not enough: the column must indicate its properties and office; and every part of it is designed with the view of expressing power to sustain vertical pressure. Its bounding lines are slightly convex, giving greater apparent strength and substance than a perfectly straight line would have ensured. Its appearance of rigidity is intensified by the hard sharp vertical lines formed by the edges of the 'fluting,' which, converging together at the top, are there bound round by the necking or 'astragal,' above which the column expands into the broad shallow curved moulding supporting the square 'abacus,' which, in turn, forms the seat for the superstructure. We cannot say exactly why this peculiar treatment should have

[1] For some remarks on the æsthetic resemblances between music and architecture the reader may consult an article in the *Builder* for March 18, 1871.

the aspect of strength and fitness for sustaining weight, but we may see that the same general treatment is followed in Nature. In the case of a man's hand and arm resisting a pressure vertical to it, we find the same characteristics — the slight curve or swell in the outline, the tapering and binding together of the muscles at the wrist (the 'necking' being emphatically the *wrist* of the column), the subsequent expansion beyond this point into the flat surface of the hand prepared to meet the opposing surface—are all the counterparts of the columnar design; which, while avoiding the slightest hint of imitation of form, reproduces most faithfully the principle of the natural feature. We do not assert that the designer of the Doric column had such imitation absolutely in view; whether he had or not is nothing to the purpose; the fact remains that, in working out the most successful of all architectural features, he followed, whether consciously or unconsciously, the same principles as are exhibited in nature, while strictly preserving the rigidity and symmetry of form essential to the durability and stability of expression required by architecture. As we descend to minuter and more strictly ornamental details, we find that we may safely approach a grade nearer to natural form without losing architectural expression. Thus the well-known Greek 'honeysuckle' ornament, as it is called, approaches in form very nearly to something like a real product of vegetation. It is, nevertheless, no imitation of any flower; but it is an imitation of that principle of growth from a central stem which is common to nearly all flowers, treated with that stiffness of line and absolute symmetry of parts which are required to bring it into harmony with an architectural design. If we turn from the Parthenon to a Gothic cathedral, we find a similar imitation of natural principles, though in a somewhat different direction. The Greek architect recognised *weight* in his design, and even emphasized it. The mediæval architect, piling up buildings of far greater real massiveness, would fain eliminate altogether the appearance of weight, without concealing structure: and so there arose in time, and after multiplied experiments, those structures which are the admiration even of those who do not appreciate the constructive and artistic problems grappled with, where the weight and mass of the supporting piers is made to put on a face of airy grace and lightness, from which the vaulted ceiling appears to spring in a natural and inevitable outgrowth. And how is this lightness mainly achieved? In reply we have but to observe that in nature it is only stems which have little or no weight to support that can arise straight, slender, and upright for their full height. The conditions are the same, the order only of our reasoning is reversed: the flower-stems are tall and slender because they have no weight to support; the Gothic vaulting-shaft appears to have no weight to carry because it is tall and slender in proportion: the lines of the vaulting carry out the same principle of lightness, the vaulting-ribs appearing to spring from, rather than to rest upon, the heads of the shafts, and by their thin lines, falling over in a curve to the centre, calling away the eye from the contemplation of the masses of stone between them, and cheating it into the belief that there is really no weight at all to be carried. So that here, simply by the method of treating the surface of the masonry —of so managing and handling it as to suggest and emphasize the idea of verticality and upward tendency, the mediæval architect was able to remove from what was in reality a collocation of ponderous

masses of stone all idea of downward weight and pressure, and to represent his building as a growth from the ground, on natural principles, though without any imitation whatever of natural objects. The Gothic vaulting-rib is perhaps one of the most remarkably successful instances of architectural expression, since it increases both the apparent strength and lightness of the stone ceiling; for, could we pare off the mouldings which form the vaulting-rib, and leave only the bare line formed by the intersection of the different planes of the vaulting, the latter would positively appear heavier through this actual loss of material, because the attention would then be directed only to the broad masses of the masonry, instead of being concentrated on the comparatively narrow lines of the moulded rib. The imitation of principle rather than form is again to be seen in the ornamental detail of Gothic as of Greek architecture; with the difference that the former style comes altogether somewhat nearer to nature than the latter; a nearer approach being made to natural forms in some of the larger features of Gothic architecture than was permitted in any but the smaller decorative details of Greek; and thus we find early Gothic ornament approaching so near to natural form as to throw aside symmetry, and exhibit, in the carving of capitals, &c., much of the freedom and irregularity of nature. But even here the instinct of the early Mediæval architects kept them clear of mere imitation of form, and the early Gothic carving (the superior beauty of which is now universally recognised) has its own forms and its own conventional methods of treatment purely architectural. It imitates the principle of irregularity of growth, but not the growth itself. It was only in the rich and fascinating decadence of the style that the architectural carver forgot his true office, and attempted a literal translation into stone of the delicate crisp forms of natural vegetation, as in the latter Gothic capitals, when the foliated ornament no longer appears as part of the architectonic growth of the structure, but as a mere application of imitative carving, in a material too coarse and granular to give any but an imperfect rendering of the fibrous delicacy of nature; the effort resulting in *tours de force* of execution beautiful in their way, but which have lost all that metaphysical beauty and fitness of expression which rendered the earlier Gothic ornament so satisfactory to the judgment.

We alluded just now to the effect of mechanical structure on style and expression in architectural design. Without troubling our readers with questions of practical construction, a word must be said in illustration of the general relation of the principles of construction to those of design; the latter being, in all true styles, the outward expression of the former. We may still go for our illustration to the two styles already alluded to; for Greek and Gothic architecture represent respectively, in the purest and most unmixed form, the two main divisions of construction in architecture; viz. the *trabeated*, or (as the word implies) that in which openings or apartments are roofed by a beam or lintel (*trabs*) laid from wall to wall; and the *arcuated*, in which the arch alone is used for roofs and window-heads, &c. One important practical distinction between these two typical modes of construction will be perceived at once. A lintel construction is limited in the size of its openings and apartments by the cohesive strength of the material used as a lintel, and the lengths in which it can be made available: for example, we cannot procure stones in one block of more than a certain length,

and consequently our walls or columns cannot be farther apart than the greatest distance across which the stone lintel will carry.[1] There is no such limit in arch construction; the arch consisting in the collocation of separate stones in such a way that by their mutual pressure they shall uphold each other, all superincumbent vertical weight being transmitted laterally through the arch stones or *voussoirs* (as they are termed) to the base or abutment on each side from which the arch springs: and, so long as this abutment is immovable, almost any space may be bridged, and nothing but absolute crushing of the materials can cause the fall of an arch. But a still more important distinction, in its influence on architectural design, is that between the manner and direction in which the weight of the superstructure operates on the supports. A moment's reflection will render it evident that in a building of the beam or lintel construction, the whole of the weight of the superstructure operates by a directly vertical pressure on the walls or columns, and that the latter are mechanically independent of each other; we might remove all the building except two columns and the lintel across them, and the stability of the portion left would remain theoretically unaltered. An arched building is in a totally different case. It stands entirely by the balancing of one pressure against another. Each arch exercises a lateral pressure against its abutments, tending to thrust them outwards; a pressure which must be counteracted either by a massive abutment or by a counter thrust from an adjoining arch. Thus, in the long arcades of our cathedrals, the arches are all balanced against each other; and were the end 'bay' removed, there is nothing but the adhesion of the mortar to prevent all the rest following suit. Now, look at the effect of these constructional principles on architectural design. In the Doric Temple, the perfection of the trabeated style, every feature is expressive of vertical pressure; the heavy horizontal lines of the lintel or 'entablature' have no lateral sway or tendency; the column is, as we have pointed out, the perfect expression of resistance to weight acting in the line of its axis. When the Romans, who were great engineers but bad artists, came to deal with architecture, they introduced the arch in their constructions, but with no corresponding change in the principle of external design. They could only borrow the features of Greek architecture; they applied (or misapplied) the column and capital to the exterior of their buildings, either as a mere decoration independent of the construction, or they used it to thicken and strengthen the wall at the points where the thrust of the vault impinged, thus using, for resistance to lateral thrust, a feature whose every line told only of resistance to vertical pressure. As long as there was such a contradiction between internal structure and external design, there could be no true architecture. It was only when, about the tenth century, the idea of the *buttress* was struck out, that the arcuated style found its natural and consistent expression. The Romans, who in their earlier arched buildings had used what is termed a 'waggon-vault'—i.e., a continuous arched ceiling running the whole

[1] It is worth observing, *en passant*, that lintel construction has the disadvantage of employing the lintel in the position in which nearly all materials are the most unsafe, are weakest, viz. where they are subjected to cross or transverse strain acting at right angles to their longest axis. The arch construction, on the other hand, subjects the materials to their best expression, the force to which all crystallised or granulated materials oppose their greatest resistance.

length of the apartment, and requiring a continuous and uniform thickness of wall to form an abutment for it—had subsequently given the hint of what was afterwards expanded into the Gothic vault, the principle of employing cross arches obliquely so as to collect all the thrust of the vault on to detached points in the external wall. At these points were placed the buttresses of the mediæval builders; masses of masonry projecting at right angles from the main wall (which, between these points, was a mere screen), and receiving the collected thrust of the vaulting ribs; while their form and outline, sloping gradually away from the top to the bottom, and spreading furthest at the ground level, exactly expressed their use and office, as abutments or counterforts leaning towards the building and counteracting the outward thrust of the arched vault. Thus consistency of expression was restored to architecture, which forthwith blossomed abundantly into those marvellous productions of mediæval masonry which the most ignorant admire, and which have been regarded by rhapsodical *dilettanti* as springing from the desire to reproduce in stone the splendour of forest scenery, but in which, grand and romantic as their total effect is, all the main features can be traced back, step by step, to their purely mechanical and constructive origin.

The principles we have endeavoured briefly to elucidate, though most completely illustrated in the two styles selected for reference, may be equally exemplified in every class of architectural design. It may be that few really original designers are conscious always of deliberately following out such principles; but they do so by instinct, while to the public, who are the critics of the architect, a general idea of the principles on which architectural design is based should certainly be of value. If, for example, the classic column were understood as a feature expressive of resistance to vertical pressure, we should see no such absurdities tolerated in our towns as the use of a single such column, with a small statue hid away on the top, for a monument: it would be seen that such an erection is an absurdity. So of a hundred other misapplications of well-known architectural features, which stare us in the face in every street, without exciting a suspicion as to their fitness in the eyes of most of the passers-by, and which attain their most unhappy and grotesque development in some of the great engineering works which are the pride of the present generation. As a nation we are (at present) good engineers and bad architects, and our engineers who have carried out, with equal energy and ability, some of the most important practical work of the present day, have taken (like the Romans) to borrowing stereotyped architectural features, and applying these to their structures in the vain idea of thereby making the latter 'ornamental.' We will mention one instance, familiar to most of our metropolitan readers, as it forms a singularly apt illustration of what we mean by the misapplication of an architectural feature; we allude to the new bridge over the Thames at Blackfriars. Standing on the Embankment and looking along this bridge, we see that the outer face of each pier consists of a huge cylindrical granite pillar, of very thick and massive proportions, carrying a Brobdignagian overhanging capital. Now, the evident expression of such a feature, of such proportions, and of such material, is that of power to sustain an immense vertical pressure. What does it really mean in this case? A light bridge, thrown out from the footpath over each pier, for the

convenience of loungers on the bridge. Let the most unarchitectural spectator once look at the feature in this light and he must see its absurdity. Observe, the mass of material forming the column may be a necessary addition to give greater stability to the pier, but it has been added in the wrong form and with the wrong expression; it should have taken the form of a buttress, or shoulder, leaning towards the pier and adding to its apparent stability, not that of a ponderous vertical pillar sustaining next to nothing. This is only one out of many instances of the total and absurd ignorance of architectural design displayed in some of the largest and most expensive engineering works which are being carried out in this country, and which will remain as phenomena for the criticism of a better educated generation.

While, however, architectural design is governed, as we have attempted to show, by certain broad and universally applicable principles, there are other influences, the nature of which is concisely indicated in our quotation from the great French literary architect of the present day. Unlike the purely ornamental arts, architecture is based in the first instance on the practical requirements of every-day life; unlike them, too, its productions are exposed to all the vicissitudes of seasons and weather. Hence its local characteristics will be influenced both by the social and political habits and creeds of the various nations who cultivate the art, and by the climate under which it is developed. And a little consideration will show that the former class of influences assert themselves most in determining the general arrangement and style of a building, the climatic influences acting, in general, more on the character of the ornamental detail. Underlying both, indeed, there is that subtle connection with national character and feeling, perceptible in both the general design and the ornament of every independent and unforced architectural style, which is felt by every educated observer, but which evades all attempt to describe or define it in words. We see in the Grecian temple, 'of small and delicate proportion,' the outward type of the Hellenic mind, in its clearness, its serenity or blitheness (*Hellenheit*), its freedom from passion; in the Gothic cathedral, the fervent flame of mediæval religious fervour and gloom and aspiration, as it breathes through the sacred Latin poetry of the period; in the fanciful exuberant ornament of the Saracenic style, the material counterpart of the Oriental mind in its voluptuousness and wealth of imagery; or even in such a less pronounced style as that of our own Queen Anne period we can recognise the aspect and spirit of the prim, *fin de siècle* gentility of those 'teacup times.' But such relations between architecture and national character evade definition. Looking, however, at the more practical relations between national manners and architecture, we can see that where a nation is eminently ecclesiastical in its government and theory of life there will arise temples, planned with more or less regard to the convenience of the general crowd of worshippers, as there are less or more of the emphatic mysteries in the celebration; that under a secular despotism costly palaces and mausoleums will form the staple buildings of a country; that in a commercial community, where no private rank as 'princes,' exists and all offices will assume a palatial aspect, that where social and domestic life is above all valued, a corresponding impulse will be given to the erection of buildings in which superior comfort and cheerfulness will be the predominant characteristics; and so forth. The character of

ornament and treatment of detail, on the other hand, is, as we observed, mainly (though for the most part unconsciously) determined very much by climate, a clear air and bright sunshine giving effect to a delicate relief of surface and moulding which in a more dull and misty climate would be tame and ineffective; while the bold shadows and sharp contrasts of line and surface rendered necessary (as in English Gothic) under a northern sky would appear too heavy and *pronounced* in a stronger sunlight and clearer atmosphere.

These relations of architecture to climate and national customs and polity have been fully exemplified in all genuine and unconventional architectural styles throughout the world, even in those which, like the Chinese, are artistically worth little notice. Till a comparatively recent period of history the buildings of nearly all nations were the natural outgrowth of the influences of their respective climates and habits of life, and therefore were almost necessarily suitable to, and characteristic of, the purposes for which they were built. It was in the course of this period that the movement arose which was to revolutionise architecture, for a long period at least, in this respect. From this time architecture was regarded, more or less, not as the art of building suitably and expressively, but as the art of reproducing and imitating architectural features belonging to a former period. The Italian Renaissance, which it has become the fashion recently to talk of as the death-blow of architecture, does not merit all the obloquy it has received on this head. The movement in Italy was a genuine enthusiasm for a great intellectual past in literature, carrying with it a corresponding enthusiasm for the architectural forms of the same epoch, which it must be remembered had originally grown in the same climate and on much the same soil whereon it was proposed to reproduce them. Moreover, the Renaissance architects, the best of them at least, were no servile copyists: they invented new combinations of the old forms, and produced a style to be commended both for artistic effect and suitability to the climate and circumstances of the country. Domestic splendour and luxury could hardly be better expressed than in some of the Florentine palaces of the period. It was the transportation of the Renaissance to climates unfitted for it, and where also it received less delicate and refined treatment, which made it the bane of architecture in our own and other countries. Since then, as was observed at the commencement of these remarks, we have had in England two separate 'Renaissances' of our own, under one of which the land now groaneth and travaileth. Our Grecian Renaissance was almost a purely architectural one, brought about by the publication of certain ably got-up works illustrating the remains of Greek temples. The mania was almost universally prevalent for a short time, and a Greek temple was the 'front' for everything, from a church to a lottery-office, only one or two able artists, such as the late Mr Cockerell, achieving something like an original adaptation of the style. The Gothic revival here, however, is almost the precise counterpart of the Renaissance in Italy, it being as it were a mediæval flutter on external grounds, the revival of mediæval myths and literature, and the broader grounds of ecclesiastical architecture, just as the Italian Renaissance in part led to a revival of Platonic philosophy and Ciceronic Latinity, with the difference that in the English revival of architectural movement, which in Italy was only a secondary result of the Renaissance, severe reflection have taken the lead, and given rise, in further development, to

mediævalism which have followed in its train. Of the two modern English revivals, the Greek one was absolutely without excuse; it was the transplanting here of a style suited, practically and artistically, only to a bright, sunny climate and to special materials,[1] and totally opposed to all the habits and requirements of English life. The Gothic revival in England has, like the Italian Renaissance, the merit of being a resuscitation of a style indigenous to the climate, and precisely suited to the materials which we have at hand; but here the suitability, for the present day, pretty nearly ends. While our climate is almost unchanged, manners and habits both of thought and life have been nearly revolutionised among us; and the mediæval style—the offspring of a *furore* of religious asceticism no longer existent in the nation at large, and showing, moreover, in its grotesque adjuncts, and in what Ruskin has happily termed its partially 'wolfish' expression, the impress of a rude though powerful age—is no representative of the more civilised manners and broader culture of the present day. Apart from climatic considerations, the Italian Renaissance style reflects more truthfully the modern feeling and tone of English society. It is to an intuitive perception of this that we must attribute the phenomenon, which has much puzzled sundry indignant Goths, of the general sympathy of the liberal or 'progress' party in politics with what is called 'classic' architecture. The conservative and ecclesiastical party, on the other hand, are nearly all ranged, by a similar instinct, on the side of mediævalism. It is well that the public mind should be brought to see the true state of the case on this head, and that the present mediæval revival is no less a passing fashion, has no more element of permanence in it, than any other of the architectural fashions of the last three or four hundred years. It has the same radical defect as the others, viz., starting with the assumption that a certain style is to be imitated, instead of considering first what are the circumstances and needs to be provided for, and building accordingly. The mischief is more than a mere æsthetic one. A building once erected represents an outlay of money which cannot readily be replaced. Consider the cost of labour and material employed of late years on the building of churches alone. The total for twenty years back must be a very large sum; and when the present ecclesiastical mania subsides, what will there be to show for it? A set of buildings, imitations (many of them bad ones) of other buildings of the same class erected five hundred years previously, and which can apparently be of no possible use when the sentimental impulse which demanded them has passed away. That the said impulse should prove a permanent one is surely of all things the most improbable, considering the variable tendency of human thought and feeling in the present day. Such temporary revivals of the religious forms of a past age are familiar enough to students of history, though they have not often got themselves embodied in stone and mortar to such a wasteful extent. We are about, too, to erect an immense building for our Law Courts, under the direction of an eminent architect whose talent no one would

[1] Greek architecture, especially in its earlier forms, is essentially a *marble* style, and is only in such a hard and bright material that its delicate variations of surface and colour can be done justice to. To reproduce the Parthenon in terra-cotta, in its original perfection, would involve an expenditure of more than half a million sterling, though the building is not larger in area than some of our parish churches.

question, but whose sympathy and connection with the ecclesiastical party have been conspicuously made known, and under whom the whole exaggerated ecclesiasticism of the day is to be stereotyped in visible form and feature in this great civic building, which will last as a piece of important national property long after even the memory of the present attempt at clerical predominance has passed away. It is probably too late to protest; but it is really a matter for regret that a great public work should thus be made the sport of a passing fashion, of which it ought to be totally independent. Of course we are not advocating a return to the Classic Renaissance, which would only be passing from one sham to another. All we plead for is to see the true principle of architectural design restored that of making the requirements and purposes of our buildings the basis of their design, instead of starting with a certain class of design as a foregone conclusion, to which the building is to be made to fit. This, as we have already hinted, is the principle lying at the root of all true architectural styles. So with the use of material: the most important distinction (very little comprehended) between the Gothic and the Renaissance is, that the former uses and moulds its materials in the most natural and suitable manner, and makes the colour and arrangement of material really a part of the picturesque of the architecture; whereas the Renaissance ignores the nature of the material and the manner of working it, and most Renaissance designs, such as our modern clubhouses, would look just as well as to have carved in the wood or alabaster as they do in the reality. What we called very 'characteristic' buildings can be made in this way when there is plenty of money to spend, but for every moral and unpretending structure this style is nowhere. On the other hand, a style which depends for effect upon the truthful and expressive use and picturesque collocation of the materials at hand may be as effective, in its way, in a humble street dwelling-house as in a mansion or a town hall; and this, which is really and truly the Gothic principle of working in architecture, may be exemplified *à l'antique*, without any copying of the ordinary figures of mediæval architecture, or any assumption of the ecclesiastical character. How this may be accomplished it would be perhaps difficult, certainly out of place, to point out here in detail. But one thing the non-professional public may do towards giving fair play for such a system of architectural design. Let them give up, once and for ever, the popular idea that a building must needs resemble something else belonging to another time or country; let them no longer go to their architects with requests for schools and churches in the 'Gothic style,' for theatres and banks in the 'Classic' ditto; but then state their requirements to an architect in whom they have confidence, and leave him to give appropriate architectural expression to the building which is to meet those requirements, unfettered by precedent, and there will then be some chance of a truthful and characteristic modern style of architecture gradually growing into shape among us.

Concerning the influence (before hinted at) of political systems on the architecture of a country much might be said, and to the point, but the subject would carry us too far afield. It is enough to suggest it, however, without remarking how uniformly architecture seems to have attained its greatest development under some more despotism of one kind or another, ecclesiastical or monarchical. The cathedrals and abbeys of religious orders, the palaces and

cenotaphs of kings, and other great works undertaken to glorify a reign —such are its chief trophies. We will not say, therefore, that architectural splendour necessarily depends on such despotism, powerful to labour for its own fancied aggrandisement. We will rather say that power and education are slowly passing from the hands of the few into those of the many, and that architecture is likely in future to be less concerned with great and isolated works, more with the amelioration and adornment of the mass of structures rendered necessary where human families most do congregate. We are, to be sure, at present in a state of transition, and little enough has been done in this direction as yet. In one class of buildings, which have multiplied of late years, and where there would seem to be scope for much of appropriate delicacy and grace of architectural treatment—country dwelling-houses—we are lamentably deficient; meanness and vulgarity of design, or more often absence of all that can be called design, characterising a majority of such erections. That this is so is at least as much the fault of the public as of the architects. The author of an able and voluminous work on the 'English Gentleman's House,' whose professional practice has led him specially into that branch of architecture, has recorded his experience, that in nearly all cases the said English Gentleman has a rooted objection to all attempts to give individuality of style and character to his mansion or its adornments, apparently from a confused notion that it is 'vulgar' and 'pretentious' to aspire to differ from your neighbour in such matters. We fear the statement is only too correct; nor are matters mended if we appeal to the English Lady.

Surely that is no vulgar or commonplace ambition which seeks to render the home, round which all tender and pleasant associations are to cluster, itself an object of pleasurable contemplation and suggestion; to make it, not a mere harbour against the weather, with a neat and respectable exterior, but a thing of gracious and inviting aspect, with its lights and shadows, its corridors of 'graceful gloom,' its gaily lighted and decorated festal apartment, or its retired angles for meditation. We may take a lesson in such tastes from our little people: it is pleasant and interesting to see how children, taking possession of a new house, hail with delight any little bit of out-of-the-way invention therein—any bay, arcade, or balcony, which gives them a point of interest to cluster round, breaks the monotony of dead walls and square apartments, and becomes to-morrow a part of their daily life. It is good not to lose all our childish tastes. Nor shall we forget the passer-by, who will give us their benediction for placing in the midst of their favourite landscape a dwelling which, instead of being a blot and an eyesore thereon, a manifest intruder, shall rather seem, from its position and nature, the one picturesque feature to complete the view. An 'English House' may be all this, and yet be none the less, in Tennyson's exquisite phrase—

> The haunt of ancient peace.

And our towns? By what magic are we to evolve anything of rest or pleasure to the eye or mind from these dreary ranks of brick and acres of slate, with a dense canopy of smoke overhanging the whole? We have at last a national style, which is really the style of the people: architecture in towns has got into the hands, as we remarked, of the many, and they are, unluckily, not educated or refined enough to care to do anything with it. Our streets are, as the case may be, at the mercy of the speculating builders,

whose ideas of architecture range no higher than those of our old friend Balbus in the Latin Exercises, who 'built a wall.' If Balbus had knocked a few oblong holes in his wall besides, he would then have realised the modern ideal of street architecture. Surely we may be justified in enquiring whether it is not possible for human beings to congregate together in communities, without of necessity surrounding and environing themselves with such an aggregate of utter and unredeemed ugliness, making day hideous. Can we not attain the pleasure and convenience of living in societies without paying the penalty of spreading desolation and gloom around our steps, as if in fulfilment of the denunciation, 'Cursed be the ground for thy sake'? How far it may be possible, with time and thought and science, to render the regions where men assemble ('the meeting-place of souls,' as Mrs. Browning called our chief city) abodes not only of healthfulness but of beauty and dignity of aspect, we will not undertake to say; probably much more may be done in this direction than most persons at present would imagine possible. But at least there is no need that we should be subject to such dire monotony, such utter absence of interest and expression in our street houses and shops, as at present exists. Improvement in this matter will not, certainly, be attained by flanking doorways with 'pilasters,' or daubing over the front of a 'property' with pernicious ornament, of a degraded type, in stucco. Permanence, stability, and truthfulness are among the first requirements of architectural expression. The more unpretending employment of the best and most durable materials available, put together in the most substantial manner, and with a certain picturesque variety (not too quaint or forced), in the outline and arrangement of roofs and windows, would do wonders with the aspect of our streets, in comparison with what it is at present. The class of buildings which form the bulk of town streets—shops—offer in their usual arrangement and requirements at once an opportunity for architectural expression and effect. The characteristic feature of a shop—the open ground storey, with plenty of light for displaying the goods—is now made the occasion for the most absurd possible falsity of design, the rage for an expanse of plate glass being such that every apparent support for the superstructure is scouted, and our shops present the appearance of being built on a basement of glass, the only real support being the concealed iron column in the rear, which often very inadequately sustains the superstructure. If there be one instance stronger than another of the extent to which architecture is an index of social character and manners, it is in the coincidence between the spirit of hollow profession and puffing and ostentation characteristic of our trading classes, and the flimsy dishonest structures which they erect to recommend their traffic from. Were shopkeepers, as a class, once content to rest for success on real excellence and honesty of work, instead of ostentatious rivalry in display and advertising, we should be able to have a shop architecture in which the ground storey devoted to furnish sufficiency of light without ignoring stability, would afford scope for much new and picturesque treatment. Those who are familiar with the 'Rows' of Chester can conjecture one form which such street architecture might assume—a form which might be a source of pleasure to all with an eye for the picturesque, for (to borrow Browning's phrase) 'we are made so that we love' contrast and play of light and shadow, in buildings as well as

in nature.[1] There is room too for architectural effect of the highest kind in our larger and more ample thoroughfares, were it attempted in the right way. There would be few architectural effects finer, perhaps, than might be afforded by Regent's Quadrant, were it flanked by a really fine design instead of by commonplaces in stucco. Such *ensembles*, however, are not likely to be attempted until the public and the Government of this country awake to the idea that mere beauty in public streets and buildings may be something worth having and worth paying for as a national possession. We are a good way from this now, if we may judge, among other things, from the feeling and expressions evoked during a parliamentary discussion a year or two back with reference to the sum to be expended on the greatest building of the day, before alluded to—the new Law Courts. On that occasion not only did persons high in office scout contemptuously the idea of spending any more money than was just necessary to make a habitable building, but all the speakers in the debate, without exception, though among the most cultivated of our parliamentary representatives (including one or two who are supposed to take a special interest in art), thought it necessary studiously to disavow any interest in the architectural aspect of the question, and to repeat, with 'damnable iteration,' their solemn declaration that they only wished to consider the subject 'as ratepayers,' and 'from a practical point of view.' In other words, when a great building is to be erected, which, if worthily carried out, would be one of the glories of our capital, a '*crême de la crême*' for the nation, and a centre of interest for foreign visitors, we are to haggle over the attempt to cut it down to the bare necessities of walls and roofs; and those who think the architectural aspect of such a work a matter of some importance actually dare not avow their feeling, for fear of being ridiculed. That is what we have come to.

It is in the hope of inducing a more adequate appreciation of the subject on the part of some at least of those who have not hitherto given any consideration to it that the foregoing attempt has been made to indicate, in a very brief and general manner, the leading principles and object and bearing of architecture, or the art of expression and character in building. We look on the amelioration of town architecture in this country as the problem of the modern architect. We have had the age of palaces and of cathedrals—of the feudal and ecclesiastical type of social organisation. The age of the cathedral is past, and we have now to provide, not a feudal or ecclesiastical, but a federal architecture—to bring the art home 'to men's business and bosoms,' to adorn and dignify the every-day commercial and domestic life of the people at large

[1] If we remember rightly, a suggestion was made at the Institute of Architects for the adoption of this or some such system, that the fronts of all new buildings should be set back from the line of the footway to the extent of an upper story of the height of the ground floor, so as to provide a wider space for street traffic without unduly curtailing the building space. The proposal is well worth consideration.

RAMBLES.

By Patricius Walker, Esq.

IN THE LAND OF THE KYMRY.

DOLGELLY looks old as Baalbec. Cottages solid and firm as though rock-hewn, built of huge gray blocks, and roofed with gray flagstones, crouch among their valley woods, under the shadow of the Giant's Chair. Through the irregular cluster of human dwellings go various crooked lanes, with unexpected bye-passages. In one of these passages is a low, solid, simple old gray building, where they say Owen Glendower held a Welsh Parliament as King of Wales. I liked it better than that wilderness of fripperies called the New Palace of Westminster. Several watercourses —here a rocky brook, there a swift runnel accompany or traverse the devious ways, and are crossed on a flag of rock or stepping-stones. At length some crooked path leading upwards brings you out on the slope of the wooded hills, mountain-tops peeping above, green vale spread below, with groves and winding river. 'Dolgelly,' I am told, means 'Hazeldale.'

These fortress-like Welsh cottages must often be cleaner, no doubt. They have not the English trimness, but neither do they attain the characteristic squalor of Irish poverty. Amid fresh air, broad space, bright water running from the hills, their sanitary defects must be of an easily removable kind. Small slate-paved grooms are probably their worst feature; and it is very hard to persuade people of the advantage of an open window. At worst, how incomparably better are the lot of a child born in one of these, to that of one whose first experience of earth is the smoky, wet, and polluted air of a Liverpool or London alley!

As to scenery: is a human being any the better or happier (surely this is tautology) for living his earliest years in view of fair or noble landscapes—mountain, moorland, lake, river, forest, brook and meadow-land, sea-shore? The question, to my mind, answers itself. It is true that, as a rule, you do not find the peasant, when left to himself, praising any scenery, or even consciously noticing it. He is not accustomed to reflect, and much less to express reflections, save on the most practical matters; and besides he, like the rest of us, takes for granted what has always been around him. Still his life, I hold, is the better for the beauty, as for the pure air which he breathes without knowing it. He would soon miss both. I heard once of an old woman at Ambleside, who was born and had lived sixty years in that village, and who used to wonder what brought so many gentlefolk from distant parts. A son of hers, living in Staffordshire, in 'the Black Country,' took ill, she went to nurse him, and on her return the old lady remarked to one of her neighbours, 'Ah! now I ken why fowk come this way for pleasure.'

The immense joy and curiosity of childhood can keep even the gutter-child merry; but I would fain supply those sources of simple and innocent pleasure so lavishly and perennially provided in the broad, subtle, endless variety of natural beauty, and offers in their stead artificial and unwholesome stimulants which drug the mind against the surrounding loveliness, and mean ruin and its freshness. Old age, gentle and contented in a humble

state of life, carrying at threescore and upward a certain unspoilt child-like sweetness in face and in mind; this I find in the cottage or secluded hamlet, not in the great city.

There are compensations, you will say. Peacefulness of heart: is there any compensation for the loss of this? I do not believe that the beauty of the mountain-range, of every ripple in the brook, and every leaf in the wood, is related to man's spirit in vain. That child has the worser lot (whether he ever suspects it or no) who is born and bred in a great modern town. But I do not say that scenes of remarkable beauty are necessary to every one's education, or that those who live among these must gain the most. All natural beauty has an infinite quality; and something very quiet and moderate (if unspoilt) is enough to fill most cups with satisfaction. Let us all see, if we can, the astounding beauty of which Nature, at her best, is capable, and receive thence what we can of joy, reverence, and hope. But we are not all of us fit, we are none of us at all times fit, to meet these higher degrees of Nature's manifestation with due power and fineness of reception.

Sweet to me seems this poor grass-bordered village lane in the morning sun—enviable the children coming along to school under the rustling leaves, and across the stepping-stones of the brook, the little ones helped by the elder. One of these maturer persons, of the age of about seven, a little girl, is half coaxing half towing along a littler brother, perhaps four years old, he sobbing and bedabbled with tears. 'What's the matter?' I ask; for the Welsh children now-a-days all learn English. 'Oh, she's a dreadful bad child!' says the little girl, speaking of her brother; 'she do always cry going to school.' The principles of English grammar have not sunk in here very deeply as yet. But the mistake is not surprising when we know that the Welsh for 'she' and 'her' is *hi* (pronounced 'hee'), which naturally causes some confusion in the mind of a child of two languages. The little girl associated the sound 'hee' now with feminine, now with masculine, but most with the former. *Ef* is Welsh for 'he.' But though the children are learning English, the public is still Kymric, and must be appealed to in the old tongue. Here at the little stationer's shop in the market-place is a newspaper placard bearing, in large type, among announcements still more unintelligible to the foreigner,

GRYNHOAD Y PAWSIAD AT Y FRANCO O'R DOSBARTHIAD Y LLWYFAN.

And in the railway waiting-room a poor's text admonishes the native:

NOSTA SIRA.

'*Aces a ŵyr eu cad—a'i gwers ai'n—*
Ga'n ...'

Iago, v. 13

'Iago'!—but know, ignorant Saesnach, this is not a quotation from Shakespeare.

I declare, after all I have said against difference of tongues upon the earth (like Isaiah), the ancient speech does all much to the pugnacity of a Welsh ramble. As to the natives; that they should cling fondly and angrily to their mother-tongue is no wonder, that love has even deeper roots than the love of fatherland. Let Kymric, let Gaelic, fade away from men's use, as fade it must, gently, quietly, unreproved, not ungrieved. Nay, I admit it to be the poignancy, but that the acquisition more or less of two languages tends in itself to educate and stimulate the mental powers. It would be hard to find on the round earth a human creature of less vivacity of mind than the ordinary English lowland peasant, and doubtless the dull monotony of speech reacts upon his intellect.

And yet I must hold to my creed: it is best that mankind be drawn together, and first those that are neighbours.

Road, field-path, moorland and heather, steep stony ascent, bare plateau, final climb among rocks to the culminating cairn or heap; and here I sit in the seat of the Giant Edris, and the guide informs me, with a smile, that if I pass the night here I shall be a poet in the morning. This is an old saying of Snowdon, but also perhaps fairly belonging to Cadair Idris, as one of the noted summits of the land of Bards and Prophets, and in which commonly

the name
Of Bard and Prophet was the same.

The rhymed prophecies attributed to Merdyn—whom the Saxons call 'Merlin'—and those of later-born rhapsodists have always taken fast hold of Welsh memories and imaginations; enthusiasts and plotters used them largely in keeping alive the national spirit of opposition to the foreigner and the hope of his final expulsion; and wandering minstrels and reciters helped to carry the seeds of insurrection after insurrection through the old mountain-land.

The incidents of the climb and the prospect from the top were not notably distinguishable from many other similar experiences of mine in the mountainous parts of the United Kingdom. The day was overcast; all round spread a sea of dark-swelling barren hills; northward, in the gray clouds which dimly curtained the horizon, stood the ghost of Snowdon; southward, the phantom of Plynlimmon; these and Cadair the three chief landmarks of the Kymry. Dark woods in the distant valley, the estuary winding down to Barmouth sands (but the sea was mingled with the gray skies), at our feet a precipice with vast semicircular sweep, a mournful solitary tarn below—this is what I recollect. 'The land of Merioneth,' says Giraldus, 'is the roughest in Wales, so full of steep mountains and deep valleys that the shepherds can talk to one another from summit to summit; yet, would they meet, a whole day would scarce suffice for the journey.'

We descended by 'the Fox's Path,' very steep, the shingle slipping and rattling down at every step, and an alpenstock highly desirable, and saw the place, at foot of a high rock, where my guide about six weeks ago found a gentleman lying with his leg broken. He was an Oxford tutor, who walked all by himself to the top of Cadair from Barmouth, where he was reading with some pupils, and tried, too adventurous, to descend by a tempting cranny near the summit. I saw it on my way up. This was late on a summer's evening. The seeming path led down at last to an impassable face of rock: he fell, and was caught on a ledge lower down with a broken leg, and lay there till near the middle of next day, when my guide, taking a party up, saw a handkerchief waving and made his way to the spot. The learned but rash gentleman was carried to Dolgelly, where I am told he now is, convalescent and walking about with a stick. Moral, though you be a member of the Alpine Club itself, despise not even a Welsh mountain, or you may find 'twin do, 'twill serve,' as Mercutio says.

I found next day, for my own part, a certain pathway called the Precipice Walk, in the grounds of Nannau Park, quite enough for me in the way of 'fearful joy'—in fact a little too much. It runs for some miles round a vast hillside, not a mountain, but with sheer steep slope to the valley of, I should guess, five hundred feet at least—an inclinable slope of rough grass sprinkled with stony debris, down which, your step once slipping from the narrow and often broken path, you must

roll with furious and fatal rapidity. The path is cut across the slope, a slender horizontal band following the ins and outs of the huge hillside, and here and there passing round rocky corners on bits of causeway built up of loose shingle.

Several of these I passed without liking them very much, for the rough little slaty heap, only a few inches wide, and half of it already fallen, rattled and slipped in the most 'onsatisfactory' manner. But, hang it! thought I, have I not walked in the Alps? This is one of the regular easy little things, for ladies and children. Murray recommends it in that tone. At all events, I must now have got over the worst bits? By no means: here is a corner about thrice as bad as any behind me, and what may lie beyond it? perhaps some absolute impossibility. Now I abhor turning back—giving up a resolve; but I had felt low and megrimish at starting; the pathway was probably the worse for some recent slips; there was evidently a real chance of my breaking my bones; I thought of the Oxford Tutor at that moment limping about Dolgelly; and, in short, turned back in no happy humour, crept over the ugly little dangerous piles of slate, and lay at last in a ferny field, viewing, but not enjoying, the noble landscape of the estuary winding down to Barmouth sands, mountains right, and mountains left, rising out of rich woods:

> I see, but feel, that it is far.

On my way up the long and shady avenue of Nannau Park I had overtaken a decent woman carrying a basket, who directed me to the Precipice Walk aforesaid. 'You are not Welsh?' I observed. 'Oh no, sir' English.' Her husband (employed at Nannau) and she had come hither some years ago from Shropshire, and she would fain be back there. She had no good word for the Welsh; they were deceitful; they disliked all English folk, made no friendship with them, and cheated them when they could. She could not even buy things in a shop without paying more than the natives did, for she could speak no Welsh. How persistent are national characteristics and prejudices! Here is a woman from the next county who feels herself to be an exile in a strange and unfriendly land. I have had many other evidences of the same fact, that the old jealousy between Saxon and Kymro survives, and is influential throughout the Principality to this day. 'Deceitful' was a favourite English epithet for the Welsh many centuries ago. Shrewdness in money, another quality assigned to them, seems of modern acquirement, putting them farther in character from their Irish cousins and nearer to the canny people north of Tweed. Perhaps it came in with Methodism, whose ingenuity is well known in dealing with the problem 'How to make the best of both worlds,' as the tract puts it. The Methodism and the 'canniness' of Wales make an odd mixture with the Celtic warmth of mind and manners, which are also certainly there.

I like the manners myself, the tone of voice, the formally accented English, dwelling on the last syllable of words. There was a Welsh girl of fifteen to-day, with a companion, in the train to Barmouth, a bright, happy looking creature, who entered into conversation with me, as to scenery, &c., with a noble, obliging frankness and ease which the highest breeding could not have improved. 'Did she speak Welsh?' 'Oh yes.' 'As well as English?' 'Far better.' Then she read at my request a paragraph from *Y Gwyliedydd*, the newspaper I had bought in leaving Dolgelly, and translated it.

Finally, she directed me on which hand to turn after going out of the 'sta-tion'—(I remember that word especially, with its prolonged last syllable,—but not French-like; broader and sweeter), and I wished we could have been fellow-travellers longer.

From breezy little Barmouth, with the steep bank at back of its houses and the sands in front, I walked across the endless wooden bridge over the estuary and waited a while in the queer little wooden station overlooking the sea, listening in vain to the people talking and vainly trying to read the placards in the same unknown tongue which were hung upon the wall. Then the fiery horse drew us swiftly away, sea-waves ever on the right hand and barren brown mountains on the left; with now and again some dull little slated village, built usually where the dell of a river or brook opens to the shore. Dusk was come by the time we turned inland at Aberdovey, and the lights of Machynlleth gleamed among the dark hills as we paused there and dropped several passengers. 'Machynlleth?' Did I ever hear of it before? Yes, 'tis a famous old name; Owen Glendower was crowned there as King of Wales; but it might have been an owl-haunted ruin now-a-days for aught I knew. Yet a town it certainly is, with streets and gas-lamps, and people live there to whom it is the most important place in the whole world. A native of Machynlleth, a little boy, is peeping in at the station door; I see him, he sees me; and then away we dart into the night for Shrewsbury, and the little boy goes home into Machynlleth. Plynlimmon Mountain is close at hand on the right, but, to my grief, invisible in the gloom of darkness. Llanbrin, Montgomery, Welsh-Pool, flit by unseen, and about ten by Shrewsbury clock we sweep in among the wall and lights of that famous old border town on its broad hill (like a cow's back), nigh enclosed by the winding Severn. Uphill crawls the 'bus and lands us in the unknown High Street at an inn-door. But they are full. 'Stay, there's one bedroom.' 'A quiet one?' 'Very,' says the housekeeper. A handmaid shows it—small, with one window giving on a narrow court. 'Is it really and truly quiet?' said I confidentially, perhaps plaintively, 'no noise early in the morning? I'm but a poor sleeper.' The housemaid looked at me: she was a mild, thin, quiet-faced woman of thirty or so. 'Well, there's a brazier's shop in that court, sir, and they begin at daylight: you'll not mention that I told you?' It was a bit of true kindness. I think she was an Englishwoman; and might generalise boldly on national character, after the manner of Count Smorltork and other celebrated travellers.

I tried two other inns before I got in at the George, opposite that huge new Market House which looks so raw and ugly in the old street. Supper ordered, I set out for a stroll, late as it was. It must be very late, or I must be very tired, when I forego this first ramble in a new place as soon as possible after arriving. There was the very long narrowish old High Street, with ups and downs, cross and bends, and off it many cross streets and bye-ways, with ancient gable-fronted houses, and dim church spires lifted among the stars. On the corners were quaintly delightfully quaint names Mardol, Dog-Pole, Frankwell, Murivance, Wyle Cop. A passage led me out on what I guessed to be part of the old walls (useful many a year against the Welsh), the battlements long grown first on parlours and front gardens—but we must away to silver Severn to-night—and there on the dim valley spread with

lights, some of them reflected in a winding of the river, else unseen.

Next morning from my bedroom window I heard two men talking in the stable yard below. They spoke English, and this actually gave me a little shock of surprise, after four days in Wales. I reflected with some pain on my ignorance of Welsh history. Who, what, when, were these princely Howels and Davids and Llywelyns? and Llywarch Hen, and Iolo Goch, with many another famous bard?

Welsh history and literature are to me like the dark landscapes through which I travelled last night; full of things more or less worthy of note, but unseen or dimly glimpsed. Go to! I said; when I get home I will learn something of Wales and Welsh, and afterwards, please Heaven, peregrinate the land north and south to better purpose. And so I have been working at the *Brut y Tywysogion*, the *Annales Cambriæ*, the Laws of Howel Dha, and Giraldus of Cambria, and Matthew of Paris, and Rymer's *Fœdera*, and the Myvyrian Archæology, &c. &c., and tried to make out for myself something distinct about the people and course of events in Wales. May I try in turn to put before the patient reader (if such there be) some more of my historic notes, from which perhaps a clearer glimpse or two may be caught? Possibly 'every schoolboy' can discriminate between Llywelyn ap Iorwerth and Llywelyn ap Griffith. I confess I could not; but I can now; and that is some comfort, however small. In the last Ramble we brought King Henry to St. David's, on his way from Ireland to Normandy.

King Henry II. and his Dealings with the Welsh. (1172-1175.)

King Henry Fitzempress on his return from Ireland summoned[1] a Welsh chieftain, Iorwerth, son of Owen, to come to him 'to discourse about peace,' giving a safe conduct to himself and his sons. But either on the way or while they were preparing to start, 'a man of the Earl of Bristol' slew one of Iorwerth's sons, Owen, 'a finely grown and amiable young man.' Iorwerth sets this down to the King's treachery, and 'with his brother Howel and many others . . . destroyed by every means the territory of the King as far as Hereford and Gloucester, by killing and burning, and laying waste, without mercy.' One case among a thousand more or less like it. 'The King proceeded to France, after appointing the Lord Rhys to be justiciary over the whole of South Wales;' which was a politic move of Henry, making one of the ancient princes his legal officer. This Rhys was 'the most beloved friend of the King'[2]

'In 1174,' says the Chronicle, 'David, son of Owen, got possession of all Gwyneddd (the north realm in Wales) after he had expelled all his brothers and all his nephews,' to which the poets have added this, that one of David's brothers, Madog by name, 'went to sea with three hundred men in ten ships, and it is unknown whither they went,' and thus Madog became 'one of the three missing ones of the Island of Britain,' some conjecturing them to have discovered the great land of the West and settled there. A modern poet also (Robert Southey) has made Madog the subject of song or recitative, but history yields little or no trace of this Welsh voyage into 'the vast unknown.'

At this time King Henry Fitzempress and his son Henry le Jeune at war in Normandy, Lord or Prince Rhys, the lately-appointed Viceroy of South Wales, went over a body of Welshmen led by his son Howel to King Henry's aid, with a good

[1] All this from Brut anno 1172.

[2] Ibid. 1173.

service as light infantry at Rouen, then besieged by King Louis. In the north realm of Wales also King Henry gained footing by policy, giving his sister Emma in marriage to David, Prince of Gwynedd, and the English princess carried English ways into the provincial court of Aberfraw—Aberfraw in the south-west of Anglesea, once the royal residence of the rulers of Gwynedd, now a poor village in a rabbit-warren, the very ruins of its old greatness lost in the mounded sand.

Henry and his son being now reconciled, eating at the same table and sleeping in the same bed-chamber,[1] and the King back in England and holding his court at Gloucester (year 1175), thither comes his Welsh friend the Lord Justiciary Rhys, on the feast of St. James the Apostle (June 25), and brings with him 'all the Princes of the South who had been in opposition to the King'—I spare you their names—who doubtless did homage and then 'returned peaceably to their countries.'

Of William de Braose, an Anglo-Norman Baron in Wales. (1175-1210.)

At this time William de Braose, a man of great power and mark, who was Lord of Brecon, did a notable thing against the Welsh, among whom he lived. According to the common accounts, Seisyll and his son and many other chieftains were slain by De Braose and his men in the castle of Abergavenny, whither they had been invited as guests,[2] 'and then the French [or Anglo-Norman] repaired to the court of Seisyll,' seized his wife and killed his son. 'And on that there was most miserable slaughter of the good people of Gwent [territory in the south-east, Monmouth way], and after that none of the Welsh dared trust to the French.'[3] Ranulf Poer, the King's sheriff, and behind him the King himself, are by Giraldus[4] named as the instigators of this treacherous massacre, as the Welsh deemed it. It bears another interpretation, however. Holinshed's account is this: 'A.D. 1176, the same yeare, William de Breause, having got a great number of Welshmen into the castle of Abergavennie under a colourable pretext of communication, proposed this ordinance to be received of them with a corporall oth, That no traveller by the waie amongst them should beare anie bow or other unlawful weapons, which oth, when they refused to take because they would not stand to that ordinance, he condemned them all to death. This deceit he used towards them in revenge of the death of his uncle, Henrie of Hereford, whom upon Easter-even before they had through treason murthered, and were now acquited with the like again.'[5] It must be remembered that William by English law was lord of the district, with large judicial and executive powers. Giraldus asserts, moreover, that in this case he was 'not the author of the crime,' but acted under the orders of the King's sheriff and the King himself. By the English it was doubtless looked upon as a summary execution, not a massacre; but in the history-books as down to our own day no words are strong enough to paint the cruelty, treachery, and hypocrisy of William de Braose. Giraldus (his contemporary) tells some curious things of the Baron's attention to pious forms, not at all in evidence of hypocrisy, but to William's credit,

[1] Brut y Tywysogion.
[2] Annales de Waverley, an. 1176. Holinshed.
[3] Ibid.
[4] Vide Itinerary.
[5] Holinshed.

though he was no favourite of the Welsh Archdeacon. 'He always placed the name of the Lord before his words, saying, "In the name of God we will do this," "If it please God," "By God's grace it shall be so."' And so also in his letters, to a degree (says Giraldus, with demure twinkle), wearisome both to the recipients and the scribes, the latter being paid extra for their frequent insertion of the words 'by Divine assistance.' Also, *ex devotionis abundantiâ*, whenever on his way he saw a church or a cross, though in the midst of talk, whether with great man or plebeian, he immediately broke off and began to say his prayers, which done, he resumed the conversation. His wife, *Matilda de Sancto Waleria* (Maud St. Valeric), used all the same customs; 'a prudent and modest woman, I say emphatically; a woman well placed at the head of her household; a woman most provident both in the conservation within doors and the augmentation without' [of the family prosperity].[1]

We find, in spite of all these troubles, that next year 'the Lord Rhys held a grand festival of music and poetry at the castle of Aberteivy' [Cardigan], which 'was proclaimed a year before it was held' throughout Wales, England, Ireland, and many other countries. 'A young man of his own court . . . obtained the victory in instrumental music, and the men of Gwyneeld in vocal music.' There were 'two chairs' for the victors, and, moreover, large gifts. This was an *Eisteddfodd*—a word (*sedd*, the path of it) only meaning in itself 'session.'

William de Braose, the Baron of Brecon, otherwise Brecknock,[2] continues to show up now and again, as a much dreaded and hated antagonist of the Kymry. One night, seven years after the slaying at Abergavenny Castle,[3] the sons and grandsons of the deceased, having grown to manhood and thirsty with revenge, took advantage of the absence of the Lord of that castle to hide themselves in the woody fosse, and at dawn climbed in with scaling ladders and took the constable and others prisoners, some few escaping to the main tower. Except this tower, the assailants burned all they did not carry away. Soon after this, Ranulf Poer, Sheriff of Hereford (a supposed instigator of the Abergavenny slaying), was building a castle at Landinegat [Church of St. Dingad, now Dynaston, village near Monmouth]: he was attacked at break of day 'by the young men from Gwent and the adjacent parts, with the descendants of those who had been slain.' Sheriff Ranulf's party, drawn out to meet the attack, were driven into their entrenchments, and 'the Sheriff, together with nine of the chief men of Hereford, and many others, were pierced to death with lances.' William de Braose was precipitated into a deep fosse and taken prisoner, but rescued by a sudden effort of his men. Giraldus, telling us these things[4] (which happened in his own time), adds something on the archery of the Welsh, how their arrows penetrated the oaken portal of a tower, which was four inches thick—in memory whereof the arrows were preserved in the gate, also how William de Braose testifies that one of his soldiers, in a conflict with the Welsh, was wounded by an arrow, which,

[1] In his *third* edition, date circa 1214. [Rees' Cambrian Popular Antiquities. Preface, Trans. Series.]

[2] See Collins's *Peerage*, ii. 3.

[3] Giraldus, *Itin. Kambriæ*, i. iv.

[4] *Ibid.*

passing through his thigh and its armour on each side, and through the flap of the saddle, mortally wounded his horse. Yet their bows, he says, are not made of horn, ivory, or yew, but of wild elm, rough and unshapely, but rigid and strong; not fit for shooting to a great distance, but inflicting severe wounds at closer quarters.

In spite of Welsh revenge and arrows, William de Braose lived on in the midst, sturdy, fearless, and unmerciful, for many a year; fighting and slaying, often besieged in his castle, often breaking forth again. He must have been well on in age when King John (year 1208[1]), in his quarrel with the Pope, sent round to the Englishmen of the kingdom to take hostages for their fealty, and his messengers coming to the said William, 'a man of noble blood' (not too, and used to have his own way), in his castle of Ewyd (Radnorshire, near the Wye), were answered by his wife Maud (de Saint Valery), who with a woman's sense took the deployment of the matter: 'I will not give up my sons to King John, who has slay[n] [illegible] own nephew Arthur. King John, indeed, sent a force to seize William, but he, forewarned, fled into Ireland with his wife, children, and household, and Matilda. Two years after this King John was [illegible] and not forgetting [illegible] came into Meath, [illegible] and William de Braose, and William [illegible] with [illegible] and [illegible] William [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

to what the Welsh were seven hundred years ago.

I propose (says Archdeacon Gerald) to give some account of this my native country, and the genius of its people, so distinct from that of other nations. Cambria, modernly but corruptly called Wales, about two hundred miles long by one hundred broad, is a country most fortified with high mountains, deep valleys, immense woods, waters and marshes; so that neither the English, nor after them the Normans, have been able fully to subdue the remnant of the Britons who retired into this region.

The people of this land are light and agile, hardy rather than robust, much given to war. They are lightly armed, each having a small corslet, a bundle of arrows (with bows), and a long lance—rarely a helmet, shield, or leg-armour. The men of rank go on swift horses, but often leap off to fight on foot. They are all very swift, active and terrible in the first attack, but if repulsed, easily fall into dismay and confusion; neither can they endure a long and close conflict. Yet next day after a shameful flight they forget both their losses and their disgrace, and are ready to fight again.

They are not costly in dress or food, and think little to go fasting all day. But they count hospitality the first of virtues. There are no beggars; for the hospitality of all is open to all comers. A traveller has no need to ask for it; he comes into a house, gives up his weapons, water to wash his feet is offered, and, that accepted, he is a welcome guest, or the feet-washing declined, it is understood that he may by wishes for a prosperous journey on his way. If it be not eating-time, he is entertained by the conversation of young women and the music of the harp, to play on which is thought better than any other learning. The evening meal for the family and the guests is laid out on platters placed on rushes and fresh grass, all sitting on the floor in threes (in honour of the Trinity)—three to each platter; the host and hostess seeing carefully to each person's comfort, and themselves eating last. They all sleep in rows, in one room, without change of dress, on rushes covered with a coarse home-made cloth, feet towards the fire (wood fire deathless, which is kept alive all night. All this of course describes the manners of the common peasant.) Both men and women cut their hair close round to the ears and eyes. They have sound white teeth. The men shave all the face, save the upper lip. Their dress is tunic and cloak with tight long breeches, and fur caps. The women wear a large white veil folded like a crown upon their heads. Before marriage, engaged persons meet on terms of closest intimacy (*handfasting* or something like it).

The Welsh sing finely, and [illegible] In the more cultivated parts of England, beyond the Humber and towards York, the [illegible] in these parts, treble and [illegible] in other parts of England [illegible] unison; and I believe (save to [illegible] this) the northerns have taken their way of singing, as well as [illegible] from the Danes and Norwegians who settled there, and [illegible] [illegible] musical quality of the [illegible] England over the rest is very [illegible] to this day.

In their [illegible] the Welsh [illegible] with [illegible] plaintiveness. Nature [illegible] given to them, the lower [illegible] [illegible] and [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

lineage above all things. They are hot and vindictive; they avenge family wrongs as much as personal, and ancient wrongs as much as recent.

They live in wattled huts on the edge of the woods; their land mostly pasture, little of it tilled. For fishing and crossing rivers they use little boats of wicker, covered with raw hide.

They show devout reverence for churches, priests, relics, bells, holy book, the cross. Yet there is much simony and lay sharing in church property.

They are not worn by taxes and burdens, nor molested by their lords.

They are light in mind, inconstant, and not to be trusted. Oaths never bind them; they have no reverence for faith or truth. They are always ready, for gain or convenience' sake, to perjure themselves. They are given to rob, steal, and plunder, not only from foreigners and foes, but from each other.

Above all people they desire the occupation of land, and are continually disputing as to rights and boundaries. Hence lawsuits and contentions; hence murder and incendiarism; hence frequent fratricide. ('Hinc itaque lites in curia, et contentiones; hinc cædes et incendia; hinc crebra fratricidia.')

The above particulars, carefully extracted and abbreviated from Giraldus, are very interesting. The brotherhood of Wales and Ireland (though that, too, not seldom came to fratricide) and of the Kelt of seven hundred years ago and the Kelt of to-day would scarce need other evidence.

As Old Times Changed Wales.

I thought it well to put the 'Description' first. Some three years earlier, Giraldus had issued his *Itinerary*. A brief account of a journey made in the spring of 1188 in company with Archbishop Baldwin, to beat up recruits for the Holy Land.

The first crusade, that of Peter the Hermit and Godfrey of Bouillon, began in 1096, all the Christians wearing a *red cross* of cloth, silk, or any stuff, usually sewn on the right shoulder. Second, the failure of Emperor Conrad and Lewis the Seventh, dates 1147. This third is begun by Philip of France and Henry of England, on news reaching the West of the Holy City once more seized by the Paynim dogs. It is agreed that the French only shall wear the red cross this time, the Flemings taking a green cross, and the English a white.

The English Archbishop was not without opposition here and there from the Welsh clergy, who counted him an interloper and again declared St. David's, not Canterbury, to be their Metropolitan See. Giraldus, who was Archdeacon of Aberhodni (now Brecknock), accompanied the Prelate and acted as his interpreter to the Welsh.

They entered Wales from Hereford, and journeyed through New Radnor, Hay, Abergavenny, Caerleon, Newport, Neath, Swansea, Caermarthen, Haverford, St David's, Aberteivy (i.e. Cardigan), up the river Teivy to Strata Florida Abbey; again to the coast at Towyn (in Meironeth); on to Nevin, Caernarvon, Bangor; crossed the strait into Mona (now Anglesea); returned to Conway; then progressing to Rhuddlan, St Asaph, Chester, Oswestry, Shrewsbury, and Hereford, whence they had started.

On their way from Caermarthen to the Cistercian Monastery of Alba Domus (Whitland in Pembrokeshire, near the Tav) the Crusade missionaries are told that a young Welshman, who had been devoutly hastening to meet them,

lies slain not far from the road. The Archbishop turns aside, finds the bloody corpse, orders it to be covered with his almoner's cloak, and offers up a prayer for the soul of the murdered youth. Next day, twelve archers, of the neighbouring castle of Saint Clare, who killed this youth, were, *in punishment* for their crime, marked with the cross ('in pœnam criminis cruce signatis') in the Monastery of *Ty Gwyn* 'Alba Domus.' Wonderful! The white cross, which these missionaries are preaching as the noblest badge in the world, conferring inestimable opportunities and privileges, is also inflicted as penalty for murder; and the Archdeacon sees nothing odd in the matter. Recruits must be got as best we can, and a dozen trained archers are fine fish for our net.

At the Castle of Aberteivy (Cardigan) the party were decently entertained ('decenter exhibiti') by Prince Rhys, Justiciary of South Wales. The crusade sermons were preached in the open air; and here (at Cardigan) on the Pembrokeshire side of the Teivy, not far from the bridge, the people of those parts being assembled, and Rhys with his two sons present, 'the word of the Lord was persuasively preached both by the Archbishop (in Latin?) and the Archdeacon (in Welsh?), and we allured ('alleximus') many to follow the cross.' One, who took the badge here, was the only son and support of his mother, now an old woman. She gazed upon him steadfastly; and then, as if divinely inspired, she said, 'O dearest Lord Jesus Christ! I thank Thee heartily for allowing me to bring forth a son whom Thou choosest for Thy service.' Another woman was of different mind; lest her husband should go to the Archbishop and take the cross, she impudently, in the sight of everybody, held him fast by the cloak and girdle, and so detained him. But the third night after, she heard in her sleep a terrible voice, 'Thou hast robbed me of my servant, therefore that which thou most lovest shall be taken from thee;' which thing she related to her husband, both of them filled with wonder and fear. Then, falling asleep again, she unhappily overlaid her little boy, who was in the bed beside her, and in the morning found only his dead body. Her husband immediately went to the Bishop of the diocese, told him of this, and took the cross; his wife sewing it on with her own hands. An anecdote which was doubtless made good use of in the subsequent sermons of the missioners.

Giraldus adds, that near the head of the bridge at Aberteivy, in a green field where the sermons were preached, the people at once marked out the site of a chapel, the altar to be placed where the Archbishop stood; and on sick people, who afterwards flocked hither, many miracles were wrought. The spot is to this day called *Parcy-Capel*, Chapel Field.

Prince Rhys and his sons, Malgon and Griffith, accompanied the Archbishop northwards, and the party arrived at the Abbey of Stratflur or Strata Florida, and passed the night there. Passing thence, with lofty mountains on the right hand, they were met at the opening of a wood by Kynwric, the son of Rhys, surrounded by a body of light-armed youths. 'The young man himself was tall and comely, with curling fair hair, clothed only (keeping the usage of his land and race) with a light cloak and a tunic, his legs and feet bare, in defiance of thistles and thorns; a man gifted by Nature, not art, manifesting much dignity in himself and little by the help of adjuncts.' A sermon was now preached to the three sons of Rhys, in presence of their father, and 'the brothers disputing as to

taking the cross' [what this means is left undecided], at length Malgon promised to go with the Archbishop to the King's court, and obey their counsel.

Near the river Dovy, which divides North and South Wales, 'the illustrious' Rhys took his leave, and returned home. We missioners passed into Merioneth, the most rough and horrible of all the lands of Kambria. 'The lances here are very long; for as South Wales excels with the bow, so does North Wales with the lance.' Near Harlech, the youngest son of Conan, prince of this district, named Meredyth, met us at a bridge with his people, where many took the cross. There was one fine young man, whose cloak seemed too poor and thin to have the white cross sewn upon it; which Meredyth perceiving, burst into tears, and flung his own cloak to him.

Between Bangor and Caernarvon the narrator affords a pleasant little glimpse of the Archbishop's [illegible]. Coming to a valley, steep both in descent and ascent, we all dismounted from our horses (says Giraldus), and went forward on foot, as though already practising for our Jerusalem journey. Having climbed the opposite side of the valley, and all of us tired, the Archbishop sat down to take breath on an oak uprooted by the wind, and, 'relaxing into a joyful gravity, such as became a man of so approved a gravity,' said to those about him, 'Now, which of you can please our tired ears by singing a tune—which would be easy for people out of breath?' The Archbishop's words by duly translated were no sooner heard than a nightingale began to sing close by; and just then was heard from a neighbouring wood the sweet whistle of a bird, more and more wonderful, others, more rustic, answering. Then some one remarked that the nightingale never comes into these parts; whereto the Archbishop, smiling with a certain quiet significance, rejoined, 'Philomena listened to wise counsel; and we to unwise, who have come into Kambria.' A pleasant little bit of natural chat, well-nigh seven hundred years ago, in the Welsh valley by the fallen oak-tree. The private talks, the public sermons, the tears and shouts of the men and women, the whole Crusade itself, storming over Europe and Asia: where are they now?—dust, even as yesterday is dust; as we and our lives are flowing,—tritest and most touching of thoughts.

At Bangor the missioners were 'decently entertained' by the Bishop of that diocese; and next morning in the cathedral there was a curious scene. After celebrating mass at the high altar, Archbishop Baldwin made his usual appeal to the people to come forward and take the cross, and then, suddenly turning to the Bishop (Guiaricus by name), said, 'Come, you will set your face the example!' for which Guiaricus was by no means prepared. However, by urgency of the Archbishop and others, he was compelled to take the cross, at which arose in the church a great outcry and lamentation among the people, both men and women.

Thence they crossed the Straits into Mona Anglesea, and were met, daily, by a great multitude.

Rodericus ap Owen, prince of Powis Owen, with the people of that land, as well as many from the contiguous parts. At Llanvaes near to shore, in a place where the ocean stood round about as a theatre; and after the usual sermons many took the cross. Several clergymen, [illegible] of Rodericus family, [illegible] persuaded. Meredyth, it is noted, [illegible] these young men strictly after, and also on Roderic, who refused

certain counsels of the Archbishop.

At Shrewsbury we stayed a few days for rest and refreshment, and here many were drawn to take the cross by the monitions of the Archbishop, and the delightful sermons ('gratiosos sermones') of the Archdeacon [namely, myself]. We also excommunicated Owen Kyfeilhog (Prince of Powys), because he alone of the princes of Wales did not come and bring his people to the Archbishop. This Owen, adds Giraldus, was a man of shrewd and witty discourse, and showed a perspicacious intellect in the government of his territory. He was loyal to Henry II., who treated him with friendly familiarity, and kept his own minor chiefs in check. Nevertheless we excommunicated him.] Giraldus adds that 'in our time' the three parts of Wales were ruled by three just and prudent men: Owen Griffith, in Gwynedd (the north part); Owen Kyfeilhog aforesaid, in Powys (the central part); and Meredyth in South Wales.

Of Archbishop Baldwin himself, and how he died at Acre. (1190.)

And now enough of Archbishop Baldwin's holy 'peregrinations;' but before bidding him a long adieu, let us look a moment at the man himself as Giraldus saw him.[1] He was brown-complexioned, with a sweet and venerable countenance, middle height, good shape, and inclining to be thin rather than fat. A modest and sober man, abstemious and continent, of few words, slow to anger, temperate in everything [born at Exeter, of humble parents]: he was from early years imbued with learning, and in his youth took upon him the yoke of the Lord. Made Archdeacon of Exeter, he resigned that preferment out of humility and devoutness, and took the habit of the Cistercian order of monks, in which, within a year, he was made Abbot of Ford in Devonshire, [illegible] by merit being obviously the rule, and in a few years after he rose to be Bishop, and then Archbishop. His only fault was over-severity, his temper being too much for a ruler, and therefore Pope Urban once began a letter to him somewhat thus: 'Urban, &c. To the most fervent monk, the warm abbot, the tepid bishop, the cold archbishop, greeting!'

The old man, soon after his Welsh tour, set forth on a longer and more hazardous journey, but first he crowned and anointed the new king, Richard, [illegible] name, in Westminster Abbey. That was on Sunday, September 3, 1189; and on December 12 Richard crossed over to Normandy, on his way to the Holy Land, 'so great was the devotion of the king,' says the monk-chronicler.[2] The character of Richard, [illegible] a satisfactory mixture of the [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

Crusaders; they could not take Acre, they quarrelled among themselves, suffered famine, and, moreover, 'became altogether dissolute, and given to drinking, women, and dice, so that it afflicted the soul of the Archbishop even to weariness of life.' He prayed (says the chronicler) to be removed from the turmoil, and, as if heard by the Lord, a fever took him and in a few days he was no more.[1]

Welsh Affairs. (1189–1212.)

During the reigns of Cœur-de-Lion and John, Wales went on much as usual—no marked change in her internal life or her relations to England. We hear of endless fightings, of repeated burnings of towns and castles, especially along the Marches and among the Flemings, as they were still called. We hear of a gigantic human skeleton, supposed King Arthur's, dug up at Glastonbury, and near it the skeleton of Queen Gwen-hwyfer, with, as the rumour runs, a mass of long golden hair. Welsh opposition to England was fostered by prophecies of King Arthur's return. This was very probably a counter-stroke of King Henry, to prove Arthur dead, and the Welsh prophets liars. About the same time, besides, a mythical, the death of Gwenllian, daughter of Rhys, 'the flower and ornament of all Kymru.'[2] We hear of the building by a Welsh chief, of that beautiful Abbey, the Vale Crucis—which I lately saw restored and its ivy, with all evidences of weathering on the carved stones.

Llywelyn ap Iorwerth. (1212–1222.)

The Pope having excommunicated King John (1212) and absolved all vassals from fealty, the Welsh, as they were ever ready to do, rose in insurrection under Llywelyn, Prince of Gwynedd (north realm in Wales), and we are told that John hanged certain young Welsh boys of rank, who, as hostages, had been living at his court. Great on all sides was the cruelty of those days: eyes put out, manhood reft away, deliberate tortures, hasty slaying these were every-day deeds. The evil thoughts of man took fierce and masterful shapes; worst of all, inhuman, merciless, and irresistible, when under the guise of Divine authority. The name Llywelyn, by the way, evidently comes from *Llew*, 'a lion,' and is equivalent to Leonel. Gruffydd, I suppose, is from *Gryf*, 'a griffin.'

Llywelyn ap Iorwerth for a short time was able to call himself King of All Kymru; but after John's death he was forced to submit to the power of the Regent, Earl of Pembroke, and do homage again as vassal, and engage to deal by English law with the English in his lands. John's son, Henry of Winchester, ten years old, was now King of England, the great contest of Barons against Crown going on with fervour. Llywelyn married Joan, half-sister of the young King Henry, and his attachment to the latter was henceforward much strengthened by this natural bond. Also John de Braose (son of William, who died in France) married Margaret, daughter of Prince Llywelyn, and Rhys the Hoarse married the daughter of the Earl de Clare (one of the 'Strongbows'), Hymen thus helping to unite the two races. Llywelyn's letters to Henry were headed 'Llywelyn, true vassal and most devoted friend of Henry, Most Christian lord King of England, Duke of Normandy and Aquitaine, Count of Anjou, Llywelyn, Prince of North Wales.'

Troubles in Pembroke, Henry III. being King of England. (1222–1223.)

Yet the fighting by no means came

[1] Geoffrey de Vinsauf, i. 64.

[2] Powel, 240.

to an end; the men of Pembroke especially (English and Flemish under their Earl William, son of the Regent now dead, 1219) and the Welsh were continually at odds.[1]

The Earl of Pembroke being in Ireland, Llywelyn seized on two of his castles, beheaded all the people he found in them, and left a Welsh garrison in each. William, hearing of this, recrossed the Channel, collected a large force, besieged and retook the castles, and beheaded all the Welsh whom he made prisoners. Further, he invaded Llywelyn's territory and ravaged the country with fire and sword. Llywelyn met him with a strong force, was defeated, and 'nine thousand of his men were computed to have been slain and made prisoners.'[2] After a time King Henry himself advanced in force upon Wales, and, as usual in such cases, the Welsh Chief, unable to resist the weight of England, submitted, took oaths, bound himself to make compensation, and gave sureties therefor.

Llywelyn ap Iorwerth against King Henry; fighting and Terms of Peace. (1228.)

A contemporary chronicler describes another affair between Llywelyn and Henry, some five years later. In the month of August,[3] the knights and soldiers of the castle of Montgomery sallied forth, with the inhabitants of the district, to widen and make safer a road near the castle where the Welsh banditti often robbed and murdered travellers. While at work cutting down trees and shrubs, the Welsh attacked them in great force, compelled them to retreat to the castle, and then laid siege to it. The King of England, who was in those parts, marched to the help of the garrison, relieved it, and burnt down the wood which gave shelter to banditti, though it was very large and difficult to destroy on account of the thick growth of trees. Moreover, the King burnt down the Abbey of White Monks, in the neighbouring vale of Keri, because it was reputed a receptacle for the plunder taken by the Welsh; and, the situation being strong, Hubert de Burgo, Justiciary of England, ordered, with the King's consent, a castle to be there built. But while this was doing the Welsh made continual attacks, and many were slain on both sides; and the noble William de Brause- son of Reginald, son of the former William (?)—when on a foraging expedition, was made prisoner by the Welsh. King Henry was uncomfortable, provisions fell short, and some of his commanders were suspected of sympathy with the Welsh. He at last made terms with Llywelyn, and agreed to pull down the new castle (now almost finished with great labour and cost), accepting 3,000 marks by way of compensation. 'And thus the King of England returned in shame, after having spent nearly three months in building the said castle, wasted much money, and left the noble William de Brause a prisoner in the hands of Llywelyn. The ridicule of many was stirred; for when the castle was begun, the Justiciary himself called it Hubert's folly; and now people said he was not only a prophet, but more than a prophet.'[4] In lieu of paying the 3,000 marks, Llywelyn retained William de Brause, who, it is to be remembered, was betrothed with him by marriage. This William (grandson of the former William?) came to an untimely end at last: two years after this, in the month of April, visiting Llywelyn

[1] Rymer, 'August or September 1220.'
[2] Roger of Wendover, A.D. 1223.
[3] *Ibid.* A.D. 1228.
[4] *Ibid.*

(we are not told where), he was found in the chamber of Llywelyn's wife, the Princess Joan, and next morning taken forth and hanged[1] in broad day, 'in the presence of about 80 men.'[2]

Llywelyn ap Iorwerth, joined by several English Nobles, against King Henry. (1231–1234.)

Next year, 'on account of a dispute,' Llywelyn burned several castles and towns; the knights of Montgomery Castle took many Welsh prisoners, decapitated them, and sent their heads to King Henry; Llywelyn made fierce reprisals in the border lands of the barons, sparing not to burn even several churches 'together with many women and girls who had fled thither for safety;'[3] for which he was excommunicated by the bishops of England, assembled at Oxford, excommunicated him.

It must always be remembered that [illegible] between princes was a recognised and legal mode of seeking redress for injuries, and there were five and twenty rules for legitimate warfare.

April, the year after, [illegible] was [illegible], followed by truce and [illegible]. But in 1233, King Henry having [illegible] was [illegible] of the [illegible] certain of [illegible] Earl of Pembroke, Earl of Kent, and [illegible] Welsh, and [illegible] with Llywelyn and [illegible] King Henry's power. The King [illegible] a large army at [illegible], [illegible] Hereford, Worcester, and [illegible] the Earl of Pembroke [illegible], but [illegible] to [illegible]; and after a time, [illegible] the Earl of Pembroke and Llywelyn too strong for him (they having ravaged all the border, and beyond it, up to Shrewsbury, which they burned), Henry 'retreated, in sore shame, to Winchester,' leaving all the Gloucester district exposed to the ravages of the enemy. There were terrible to all travellers: it was a dreadful sight to see the corpses of the slain, almost numberless, lying unburied and naked in the roads, poisoning the air, and following by herds and beasts.[4] This was after Christmas time. In April Richard Earl of Pembroke [illegible] his Irish territory was [illegible] by royal Anglo-Irish nobles, and set sail for Ireland with only [illegible] knights. As he sailed before a great [illegible] those days did not get [illegible] lands for [illegible]. At last [illegible] Richard died [illegible], of whose [illegible] in Ireland, and was [illegible] at Kilkenny.

Peace for a time ensues. Death of Llywelyn ap Iorwerth, called 'the Great.' (1235–1240.)

After this Llywelyn ap Iorwerth and King Henry agreed to [illegible] for two years, [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

fidelity to David, son of Llywelyn; and in 1240 Llywelyn, Prince of Kymru, died, 'after taking the habit of religion,' and was buried at Aberconway.[1] He reigned fifty-six years, and some call him 'Llywelyn the Great.' He had showed personal force enough to keep supremacy in Wales over his rivals, and had stemmed the English tide for a while with fair success.

Wales disturbed: Prince David. General Insurrection. (1240–1245.)

Llywelyn's two sons contended for the mastery; David made Griffith prisoner; and the country was disturbed. King Henry invaded Wales by way of Chester, in a hot summer, marshes and mountains dry; then David submitted and did homage, and his brother Griffith was transferred as prisoner to the Tower of London, whence attempting to escape from a window, and the rope breaking, he fell and was killed. In the spring of 1244 all over Wales the Kymry, under Prince David, broke out once more into insurrection. They wanted their own laws and language and leaders, their own customs, their own country.

David, Prince of North Wales, now hit on a scheme to counterbalance the hitherto irresistible Saxon neighbour: he sent to the Pope, with gifts, offering to hold his principality as a fief of the Papal See. Pope (Innocent IV.) consistories, enquires; soon finds it his interest to hold by the Saxon King. David nevertheless fights fiercely against the Lords Marchers, and at last King Henry comes on the scene, with the determination (which has many [illegible] entirely [illegible] ever [illegible] to crush [illegible] September [illegible] army [illegible] the king [illegible] at the [illegible] on the east [illegible] country [illegible] to [illegible] excesses. The King [illegible] cruel the castle [illegible] troops from [illegible] to [illegible] the Welsh,' to devastate Anglesea, which they did with fearful zeal, 'even more thoroughly than they were ordered.'[2] So strangely fierce cross is Kelt against Kelt.

Besides this, the King cut off the supplies of food from the miserable Welsh; and having strengthened the castle of Gannock, 'a thorn in their eye,' Henry returned to England, leaving many of his men dead and maimed, and the Welsh [illegible] A year [illegible] to the Welsh, says Matthew Paris.[4]

David dies: his Nephews make a Convention with King Henry III. Poverty, taxes, discontent. (1245–1254.)

Next year, [illegible] of spring, Prince David [illegible] Aberdraw, much [illegible] [illegible] to [illegible], while [illegible] was. Over [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

the English advances.[1] The cause of 'Wales for the Welsh,' slowly but continually losing ground, here has its loss put on record. In this '*concordia*' four cantreds in North Wales are ceded to the King, 'et tota Rivera de Cuneway,' and also the district 'de Monte Alto:' the rest of North Wales to belong to Owen and Llywelyn and their heirs, on condition of their furnishing Dominus Rex with a certain number of horse and foot soldiers, and doing other usual feudal services. If Owen and Llywelyn or their heirs shall break this treaty, they shall lose all their lands, and these shall belong in perpetuity to Dominus Rex and his heirs. Done at Woodstock, April 30th, 1247.

In this year the Welsh were very ill off; bad weather and bad crops, famine and pestilence.

In 1250 they have to complain of heavy taxation, increased by demands for the New Crusade—unlucky Crusade of Saint Louis.

The young English Prince Edward comes to the front. Llywelyn ap Griffith, grandson of Llywelyn ap Iorwerth, having overcome his brother, fights against Prince Edward during several years. (1254–1264.)

In 1254 Prince Edward (whom folk call 'Longshanks,' now fifteen years old) is made Earl of Chester, and received seven castles and much territory in Wales, he having given, about the same time, the lordship of Ireland.[2] Llywelyn and Owen, you will remember, were chosen to reign jointly; but they quarrelled, and the quarrel grew at last (July 1255[3]) to open war. Owen, along with a younger David, marched 'with a great army' against their eldest brother Llywelyn; were beaten; and Llywelyn took possession of the territory of Owen and David without any opposition.[4] Next year, in August, Edward, son of King Henry, Earl of Chester, took a survey of his castles and lands in Gwynedd [Northern division of Wales]; and after he had returned to England, the nobles of Wales came to Llywelyn, the son of Griffith, and declared they would rather be killed in war for their liberty than trodden down by strangers in bondage. Llywelyn, moved by their complaints, invaded the midland country, along with Meredith, son of Rhys the Hoarse, and subdued it before a week's time.[5]

After this Llywelyn attacked and subdued certain Welsh magnates who stood out against him; and for several years to come he held his own against Edward Longshanks, who exercised severe rule in his own Welsh earldom, and made frequent military excursions beyond it, and whose determination to reduce all Wales to subjection must already have been apparent.

This Llywelyn, son of Griffith, was the last Welsh 'Prince of Wales.' But there is more to tell, ere we write *Finis Walliæ*, than this month's space will allow.

By day I perambulated again the closely built streets of Shrewsbury, and admired its lofty gabled old mansions—Ireland's House, Butchers' Row, and many more. In the old Market-Square I found at last (and thought it a piece of luck) the old market-house, stone arcades below, multitudinous windows above, a rich old gray thing with Queen Bess's arms on the west front. And close by stands the statue of a man

[1] Rymer (1745) i. 256.
[2] See Rymer (1745) i. 501, Feb. 14.
[3] Ann. Cam. Brut. puts it at 1254.
[4] Brut.
[5] Ibid.

who extended England's physical dominion in the earth to an extent that not Elizabeth nor her servant Mr. William Shakespeare ever dreamed of. Robert Clive, obscure Shropshire boy, M.P. for Shrewsbury, conqueror of India, suicide. I walked over the 'Welsh Bridge,' its defensive tower and gateway now gone; and saw far off from higher ground the blue tops of mountains, to which the Shrewsbury folk must often have looked with apprehension as the haunt of the marauding and murderous Welsh. No doubt Shrewsbury nurses and children knew well the ditty:

Taffy was a Welshman, Taffy was a thief,
Taffy came to my house and stole a piece of beef;
I went to Taffy's house—he was not at home;

(which was indeed the usual state of the case)

Taffy came to my house and stole a mutton bone;
I went to Taffy's house, Taffy was in bed,

(caught for once)

I took the mutton bone, and beat him on the head.

A one-sided statement, certainly; but which was founded on facts too familiar to the borderers.

The long High Street climbs from the ugliness of a vast Railway Station and runs crookedly along the hill-back to the pleasantness of a richly wooded public garden, with fine linden-trees. Halfway or so, stands Shrewsbury Castle, of dark red stone, now a private residence, part old, part modern, built on the spot[1] where stood the mounded and palisaded British fortress of Pengwern ('Head or Hilltop of the Alder Wood'). Pengwern was the capital of the Kymric realm of Powys. The Saxons drove out the Kymry, built a fortress of their own here, and named the place Scrobbesbyrig - Shrubby Fort, as it were—now turned into 'Shrewsbury.' The Kymry of Powys fleeing farther into the mountains set up their head place at Mathravel in Montgomeryshire, and kept it there many centuries.

Around the house-crowded hill, of bovine shape, Severn curves, making it almost an island, the Welsh bridge to the west, and the English bridge to the east. Over the latter on your way to the huge station you catch a glimpse of the beautiful old Abbey Church, and a rich stone pulpit standing alone in a garden close by. Then away with whistle and roar, and the town, the castle, and lastly St Mary's tall spire, are soon lost sight of.

I sped to Hereford; thence to Ross; and launched on the Wye early on an autumn morning ere the mist was lifted from the beautiful river and its wooded shores.

Down we glided some thirty miles, on the stream that once divided Wales from England, with tower-crowned bluffs of old Kings, Princes, Barons of Edward I. and Owen Glendower and Talbot and Percy to interested me all the while to note on the native and later life of the Kymry, places of civilization

[1] Giraldus Cambrensis Kymeliacus.

THE COMMUNE OF 1871.

THE Revolution of March 18 has been too generally regarded in England as the effect of an unpremeditated impulse favoured by unforeseen circumstances. Similarly, the system of Commune Government in Paris established as the result of that Revolution, has been described as a crude and hasty arrangement, adopted without much of serious consideration and founded upon no very definite or solid basis of political thought and plan. Those who have followed with a careful eye the course of events in Paris, since the Revolution of September, know that this latter movement cannot be explained or accounted for in any such oddly-loosed way; that its causes are to be sought for deeper in the political sentiments of the Parisians, and that its outbreak was only the realisation of a scheme that had long been preparing and maturing in the heart of the French capital. It is true that the expedient of the twenty-seventh March owed much of its success to adventitious circumstances, which its leaders could not have foreseen. But even without such unexpected help the insurrection must have taken place; it would have been [illegible] probably with [illegible], but nevertheless [illegible]. [illegible] was, we believe, [illegible] A [illegible] by [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

every disease of Paris and of France. Thus, in those attacks upon the Hôtel de Ville, which at first, as on October 8, took the form of demonstrations merely, which afterwards, as on October 31 and January 22, threatened actual violence and bloodshed, the Commune was always the war-cry of the malcontents, the standard around which they had been collected, and the creed for which they were half prepared to fight. In the brief hour of success which crowned the attempt of October 31, the very first care of the rebellious chiefs was to take steps for the immediate election of a Commune. Had Paris acquiesced at that time in the rule of those men, as she did four and a half months later on, MM. Pyat and Delescluze would have stepped then instead of afterwards into the place of Jules Favre and Ferdinand; and the Commune would have carried the disgrace or credit of surrender from the siege. But on that occasion Paris —or rather the traitors in Paris— declared against the insurgent party: the Mobiles of Brittany and the Garde Nationale of the central districts suppressed the abortive revolution, and the leaders marched back (under a treaty, let it remembered, which they were pledged to other breakers-up to respect) to their head-quarters. Here, during the siege, they organised and drilled their battalions, not for the fight against the Prussians, but for the political struggle looming in the future. Loud and strong protests they were always ready to utter, and with applause. Once or twice they even threatened to march, with cannon and rifles, to the Hôtel de Ville, to the Tuileries, to the Palais de Justice, to the Chamber of Deputies and the offices of Ministers and the Prefecture of Police.

It must have been known to the Government of Paris that the [illegible] of the National Guard were [illegible]. Experience had taught them, one would think, that a good fourth part of the citizen army were prepared to fight fiercely for what —rightly or wrongly — they considered their municipal rights. The National Guard is as naturally and certainly the bulwark of the Commune as a Prætorian Guard is of Imperialism. Yet, the Government of National Defence committed, with their eyes open, the egregiously rash act of allowing this ill-affected soldiery to retain their arms and even to assume ostensibly the internal government, and become the police of the capital. A way was opened for the dangerous development of the plans of the malcontents — for the concentration of their forces, the expression of their ideas, and the participation of the whole citizen body. The period which elapsed from the capitulation of Paris to the outbreak of March 18 forms a second epoch in the history of the growth of the Communal rebellion — the epoch of final preparation, and almost assured victory.

It was during this period that Ferdinand began to shape upon the efforts of the Communists [illegible] points of great [illegible] may be conveniently noticed as converging to their ultimate success. [illegible] was the first point, actually [illegible] to, in the Avenue de Clichy, the Garde Nationale [illegible] its arms. The second was [illegible] attempt to carry off, on a [illegible] and ride-like plan [illegible] which, by a [illegible] system [illegible] had been [illegible] Avenue [illegible] — [illegible] and [illegible] a [illegible] National Assembly at Bordeaux [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

way in which that rejection was voted, the marked, though, perhaps, often merited, contumely with which it treated the Paris Deputies, did much to swell the numbers of the malcontents by wounding the pride of the vain and silly Parisians, and rousing them to a spirit of combativeness against M. Thiers and his subservient Assembly. To despise and insult Paris was the surest way to irritate and excite her giddy population.

But what shall we say of the conduct of M. Jules Favre, to whom was committed the task of watching over Paris during the dangerous period we are now considering? Did he altogether ignore the movement which was so surely pushing on its way? Was he afflicted with so inconceivable a blindness as to be ignorant of the danger that threatened Paris? Or did he vainly attempt to urge the Ministry, of which he formed a part, to take strenuous measures while there yet was time? Subsequent events have shown plainly enough how vastly M. Thiers underrated the powers of the insurgent party. Did his Minister, with all his opportunities of watching the progress of the embryo insurrection, share that fatal infatuation? Either upon M. Jules Favre or upon his chief must rest the blame of an unpardonable negligence. If signs were wanting of the formidable and determined nature of the rebellion that was preparing, they were amply furnished by the daring and illegal manifestations at the Place de la Bastille and the tragic murder of the unfortunate agent of police.

Even at the last moment, after the disaffected battalions had occupied and fortified Montmartre, and the Central Committee stepping forth into the light openly braved the National Government, publishing proclamations and journals, treating the Assembly and its officers as traitors and conspirators, a little energy and a little foresight might have saved the capital. The sturdy Mobiles of Brittany, the loyal Gendarmes of the old Reign of Order, would have fought then as they have fought since in the cause of the Assembly, and have put down the revolution with an unflinching arm. But instead of entrusting the execution of his plan to trustworthy troops such as these, M. Thiers sent out against them a body of men whom, with a little consideration, he ought to have known to be unreliable. Raw levies from the disorderly army of the Loire, young and ignorant conscripts, amenable to every suggestion made by the revolutionary intriguers,—these were the troops sent into Paris under General Ducrot, and destined to act against the comparatively experienced Communist soldiery. Even these troops, had they been brought fresh from the country, and marched up straight to the attack of the insurgents' positions, would probably have obeyed this order, and vanquished the then half-confident Gardes Nationaux. But a month of idleness in Paris, and exposure to the seductive intrigues and promises of the agitators, had undermined their loyalty long before the 18th of March arrived. The mysterious hesitation of the troops on that fatal morning, the failure of the attack after it had apparently achieved success, is only to be explained on the supposition that the soldiers entrusted by the Government most reliable were thoroughly disaffected, if not absolutely hostile.

The same consideration will alone account for the hasty striking of the loyalist camps in Paris. One after another, from the Tuileries gardens, from the Champ de Mars, from the Luxembourg, the line troops withdrew, or rather fled, from the city they were intended to guard, and in a few hours after the outbreak of the insurrection a

Paris was in the power of the Revolutionists. As for the general population—most of them, of course, soldiers of the National Guard, and therefore still in the possession of arms—they simply acquiesced in the movement with all the inert apathy that has ever been the characteristic of the *bourgeoisie* of Paris;[1] as they acquiesced in the changes of '30, of '48, and of '51, and as they acquiesced—with a little more excitement it is true—in the Revolution of September 1870. Much abuse has been heaped by the English newspapers upon the population of Paris for their cowardly and shortsighted submission to the victory of the minority. They would perhaps plead on their part, that if the regular encamped army, posted for their defence in Paris, ran away, they had some excuse for not rising voluntarily and spontaneously *en masse*, to do the work thus left undone. Moreover, although it would be wrong to say that they sided with the Communists, whose proceedings and projects the great majority of the Parisians have consistently condemned, yet it must be remembered that they certainly had no sympathy with the adverse party, nor any inclination to draw the sword for the 'rurralist' Assembly which had insulted them, or the statesmen of whose blunders they were so cognizant.

Thus we reach the third and most eventful epoch that of the Communal supremacy in Paris. We have to trace through the tangled mass of decrees and proclamations, and amidst the chaos of a confused and constantly shifting system of government, this administration of public affairs by the Commune. We have an opportunity of watching the actual working of those Socialist principles which Paris has now for the second time attempted to carry into the sphere of practical politics. It is extremely important that the serious lesson which the world may read in the history of the Revolution should not be weakened in its significance or interest by any ill-grounded contempt either for the acts of the Communal leaders or for the sincerity of their motives. We have seen that the army on which the Revolutionists relied, and by means of which they climbed to power, was not, as certain French statesmen pretended, and some English papers would have had us believe, a 'mere handful of disorderly rebels,' but a compact force, well drilled, well organised, and valiant when fighting for a cause that they really had at heart. It is equally false and unfair to regard the Communal Assembly as a crew of unintelligent and mischievous conspirators, guided by no definite or reasonable principle, and seeking only their own aggrandisement and the destruction of all the recognised laws of order. Yet it is certain that such an idea respecting the Commune is very generally entertained by ordinary English readers. It may be shown that the policy of this Government, though defaced by many gross abuses and errors, had much in it to deserve the consideration, and even to extort the admiration, of an intelligent and practical statesman.

It is unnecessary to add, that we should attach their true weight to the various difficulties which from its very outset embarrassed and threatened the Revolutionary Government, difficulties which can only be properly appreciated by a review of the events immediately following the 4th of the 18th, and a survey of the situation of the various parties which existed in Paris during the few

[1] 'Indifferent à tout, sauf à leurs affaires, ils se résignaient à tout pourvu qu'on les laissât faire.'—*La Commune de Paris et la société parisienne*, p. 31.

days between that date and the election of the Commune.

The troops of the Assembly once defeated and chased from the capital, the promoters of the new Revolution found themselves at once face to face with obstacles hardly less formidable than those which they had so suddenly overcome. Foremost among these were the very diverse and often irreconcilable opinions professed by different sections of their own party. Nothing is more illustrative of the incapacity of the French for democratic government than the utter disunion which reigned from the first among the Revolutionists of 1871, and split up their party, small as it was, into a whole host of different camps. It might have been thought that the tenets they professed in common restricted them to so narrow a field as not to admit of any very serious divergence of opinion. But such is the character of the French people, and more especially of French reformers, that a disagreement which to us might appear trifling is sufficient to separate them into opposite and even hostile factions. The precise differences of opinion that existed between the several parties who together brought about the late Revolution can probably never be ascertained. The parties themselves, however, though not the tenets they professed, can be pretty accurately defined. They divide themselves under four principal heads, and this division, though not actually exhaustive, is sufficiently so for practical purposes.

First, there is the 'Central Committee of the Federated Guards of the National,' the fighting part of the Revolution, by which it was effected, the material instrument of the new power, its armed force. It was prepared and organised and finally set in motion by it. It was the body which after the triumph of the party established itself at the Hôtel de Ville and assumed provisionally the task of governing Paris, and exercising the functions of a State Government. The 'Delegates' occupied the several Ministries, and by their edicts regulated the administration of the different departments.

Secondly, the 'Committee of the International League of Working Men,' a more mysterious body, corresponding very much, in a social point of view, with what the Central Committee was in military and executive affairs. This party afforded to the Revolutionists the sole link which connected them with the outer world, whether in France or elsewhere. It was by its agency alone that the Commune got to itself any allies at all; for the National Guards of the Seine, composed partly of the vain and arrogant Parisians, commanded no sympathy—on the contrary, excited only jealousy and distrust amongst the nation at large. The League, professing cosmopolitan principles, and founded on the rights of mankind in general, appealed with a greater, though of very slight, success to the sympathies of all true republicans through out the world. It would probably be found, if the truth could ever be established by public proof, that the fate of the Commune came in great part through this committee's hands. At Geneva and in London—and it was represented at both—the chiefs of the League were working and declaiming while their Delegates directed the operations at the Hôtel de Ville and the barricades of the walls of Paris. Little as we saw of it and exactly of the influence of the International,' it was in fact the real motive power which behind the legal, was always working the whole machine of Revolution. In short, the League provided and ordered the arrangements with the Communes throughout France, the National Guards the Central Committee with the right hand of the Commune, the [illegible] as called its head

Closely connected with the insurrectionary movement, although not actually among its promoters, were the Mayors and adjoints of the city. They had been elected by universal suffrage at a time when the majority of the Paris electors were certainly far from 'reactionary.' On the fall of the Versailles Government in Paris they represented, as they claimed to do, the only legitimate authority in the city. Had the Revolution taken a different course—had the Central Committee deigned to listen to their counsels, and moderate in accordance with them its extravagances—they must have joined the insurrection or abjured the creed on the strength of which they had been elected. On the other hand, had the Assembly condescended to grant to Paris the municipal rights which the Mayors considered her entitled to, they must have thrown their whole weight into the scale opposed to the Communists. But their persistent overtures for conciliation were rejected on both sides. Whether the obstinate repudiation of their terms by M. Thiers was more justifiable than the rejection of them by the party in Paris, is, of course, matter for argument.

A fourth party, still less intimately connected with the Communists and yet not wholly alien in sentiment from them, consisted of Paris Deputies, their opinions and actions corresponding in a great measure with those of the Mayors of Paris, with whom they were associated in the attempts at conciliation, and finally, in the furious debates convoking the municipal elections for the 26th. How many of them would, under more favourable circumstances, have joined the fighting side of the Commune is impossible to say, but the party at the head of the Revolution made no efforts, and would hear of no concessions, to induce the Deputies to cast in their lot with the Commune.

Besides these four sections of professed Republicans, whose divided counsels distracted the Revolutionary party, there were two other powers who menaced it with dangers and difficulties, and against whom the insurgents had to exercise a continual watchfulness. The 'party of order,' the *reactionnaires* of Paris, had acquiesced, as we have said, in the Revolution, but they were very far from approving it: the viper of re-action was only scotched, not killed, and the spirit of remonstrance made itself heard at all convenient opportunities and in no measured tones. The Commune was forced to adopt towards this part of its 'subjects' a system of severity and terrorism which, if not so sanguinary, was to the full as arbitrary as the old proscriptive measures of the Robespierre times. The other danger was the presence of the German army of occupation, ready at a moment's notice, as the Revolutionists well knew, to resume their arms and crush Paris this time like a scroll of paper: hence the extreme deference shown throughout this latter siege by the Parisian Government to the Prussian Commander just outside the gates.

Could the Revolutionists of March but have managed to conciliate and consolidate into one harmonious working Government the diverse sections of their party, it is possible that the subsequent might have given to the Rebellion much larger proportions than it actually attained: that the streets of Paris might have run with blood to a still worse extent than they did, and that a still more fearful civil war might have been waged. But the large proportion of the moderate Republicans, the Local Socialists, might have been persuaded, by the example of the capital and the influence of men of more moderate ability, to take up arms in the cause of the Commune. But unfortunately for that cause, the strife between the Revolutionists and the conservatives of the new

Government fell into the hands of the least-known, worst-educated, and most violent faction, that of the Central Committee of the Garde. The alienation of the two more moderate sections took from Paris all hope of outward help from the rationality of France. Mt. Valérien was not materially a greater loss to the Commune than was, in a moral point of view, the defection of the Mayors and Deputies.

It is the attitude of these two latter parties towards the Central Committee the then *de facto* Government of Paris that constitutes the great interest of the week that elapsed between March 18 and 26. Wavering between active support and lukewarm hostility, they played for several days an intermediate part between the two rival Governments of Paris and Versailles. On the 22nd they issued an address, signed by 16 Deputies and a vast majority of the Mayors, condemning the municipal elections and exhorting the Parisians to have nothing to do with them. On the 24th they were, to all appearance, heart and soul with the 'Party of Order.' Their proclamation, affixed in the second arrondissement in open defiance of the Commune, offered pay to the National Guards who should join the ranks of order. They now wished, ignoring Citizen Lavalette, the nominee of the Hôtel de Ville, to appoint Admiral Saisset to the command of the Garde Nationale, a direct opposition to the Central Committee. But these attempts at possible opposition utterly broke down. On the evening of that same 24th of March a menacing attack upon the Commune roused the Mayors of Paris almost to the spirit of active opposition to the Revolutionists. A display of their arms convinced the low-hatted loyalists that a prolonged resistance was entirely hopeless, and would end even in a massacre similar to that of the Rue de la Paix, but on terribly greater proportions and more fatal effects. So, on the following day the loyalist positions were abandoned. Admiral Saisset fled headlong, and the Deputies and Mayors were 'convinced of the necessity of proceeding immediately to the municipal elections.' Thus much they avowed, in an address dated March 25, signed by six Deputies and a certain proportion of the Mayors and adjoints, whose names were all set forth at imposing length below those of the Central Committee. The latter body, from that moment till it was succeeded by the Commune, reigned undisputed and supreme. But it reigned unsupported by the more respectable friends of the Revolution, who gradually dropped away from alongside their more violent friends. Before the end of the month the extreme party stood alone, committed to an extravagant policy, condemned by the intelligence of France, and even of Paris herself. The long-desired, long-deferred municipal elections took place on the 26th, the very day only, it will be remarked, after the collapse of the reactionary party and the dissolution of the battalions of order. As soon as the result of the elections was known, the Central Committee, who had already resigned, retire[illegible] from affairs of state. They maintained, nevertheless, a mysterious and ill-defined influence over the policy of the Commune, and especially over the conduct of military affairs.

Here, at the moment of the Commune's birth, we may pause to ask what did its partisans really want, and what was their aim and object in the insurrection? Foreign writers have delighted to represent the purposes of the Commune as vague and unintelligible. Even in Paris and at Versailles writers and talkers affected at first to be ignorant of the real projects and principles entertained by the Revolutionists. But the Commune of 1871 has stood

destroyed all possibility of mistake upon the subject. It has put to itself and answered the question in the most explicit terms. The *Journal Officiel* (of Paris) contained, on April 20, a document worthy of the most careful perusal. It appears in the form of a declaration to the French people, and explains fully enough the main principles and the chief objects which animated the men of the Commune. Without bestowing on this address the ecstatic eulogies to which certain Utopian philosophers have deemed it entitled, we may credit it as being a straightforward, manly, and not altogether unpractical *exposé* of the ideas of modern Communists. We quote the most important parts.

. . . 'It is the duty of the Commune to confirm and determine the aspirations and wishes of the people of Paris; to explain, in its true character, the movement of March 18 — a movement which has been up to this time misunderstood, misconstrued, and calumniated by the politicians at Versailles. Once more Paris labours and suffers for the whole of France, for whom she is preparing, by her battles and her devoted sacrifices, an intellectual, moral, administrative, and economic regeneration, an era of glory and prosperity.

'What does she demand?

'The recognition and consolidation of the Republic as the only form of government compatible with the rights of the people and the regular and free development of society, the absolute independence of the Commune and its extension to every locality in France; the assurance by this means to each person of his rights in their integrity, to every Frenchman the full exercise of his faculties and capacities as a man, a citizen, and an artificer. The independence of the Commune will have but one limit — the equal right of independence to be enjoyed by the other Communes who shall adhere to the contract. It is the association of these Communes that must secure the unity of France.

'The inherent rights of the Commune are these: The . . . the Communal budget of receipts and expenditure . . . reforming the system of taxation, and of directing local services; the right to organise its own magistracy, the internal police, and education; to administer the property belonging to the Commune; the right of electing by election or competition, with responsibility and permanent right of control and revocation, the communal magistrates and officials of all sorts; the right of individual liberty under an absolute guarantee, liberty of conscience and liberty of labour, the right of permanent intervention by the citizens in communal affairs by means of the free manifestation of their ideas, and a free defence of their own interests; guarantees being given for such manifestations by the Commune, which is alone charged with the duty of granting and securing the free and just right of meeting and of publicity, the right of organising the urban defence and the National Guard, which elects its own chiefs, and alone provide for the maintenance of order in the city.

'Paris asks no more than this, with the reservation, of course, that she shall find in the Grand Central Administration, composed of delegates from the Federal Communes, the practical recognition and realisation of the same principles. To insure, however, her own independence, and as a natural result of her own free action, Paris reserves to herself the liberty of effecting as she may think fit, in her own sphere, those administrative and economic reforms which her population shall demand, of creating such institutions as are proper for developing and extending education, labour, commerce, and credit,

of popularising the enjoyment of power and property in accordance with the necessities of the hour, the wish of all persons interested, and the *data* furnished by experience. Our enemies deceive themselves or deceive the country when they accuse Paris of desiring to impose its will or its supremacy upon the rest of the nation, and of aspiring to a Dictatorship which would amount to a veritable attack against the independence and sovereignty of other Communes. They deceive themselves or the country when they accuse Paris of seeking the destruction of French unity as established by the Revolution. The unity which has hitherto been imposed upon us by the Empire, the Monarchy, and the Parliamentary Government is nothing but a centralisation, despotic, unintelligent, arbitrary, and burdensome. Political unity as desired by Paris is a voluntary association of each local initiative, a free and spontaneous co-operation of all individual energies with one common object—the well-being, liberty, and security of all. The Communal Revolution initiated by the people on the 18th of March inaugurated a new political era, experimental, positive, and scientific. It was the end of the old official and clerical world, of military and bureaucratic despotism, of jobbing in monopolies and privileges, to which the working class owed its state of servitude, and our country its misfortunes and disasters' . . .

This ideal programme of the Communist Revolution will remain for its justification or excuse long after the nation has swept away and cast out the feeble and disunited men whose acts mocked and turned into ridiculous satire the principles which they professed to carry out. Side by side with it, and as a comment upon it, men will remember the practical conduct of the Communal Government, their tyrannous and childish acts, more petty and contemptible, if less wicked and disgusting, than the excesses of the first Commune. The pith and substance of the Declaration is a claim on the part of the working classes to the unfettered right of administering certain political offices, executing certain functions in the State, and freely discussing all matters thus coming within the scope of their jurisdiction. The concession of these rights entails of necessity that bright dream of French reformers, decentralisation. Perhaps the word expresses more vividly than anything except a detailed explanation the object of the Revolution. The hated centralisation of the old *régime* was to be replaced by a system of federation under the new and, instead of their odious subjection under the surveillance of an imperial magistrate, the several municipalities would enjoy a comparatively full independence, limited only by the mutual rights of, or respect due to, the other members of the federation. Whether so complicated a scheme could ever have been carried into practice—whether, supposing it to be so, the town would have made proper use of its extended powers are questions upon which grave doubts may exist. But the partisans of the Commune had no room for doubt upon the subject, and would have answered both questions in the affirmative. The French workman, with his thirst for social knowledge, and his unstable equilibrium between [illegible] is apt to dream of [illegible] this speedy application of [illegible] Half-fed as he is, [illegible] he loves, for the sake of [illegible] With a [illegible] he never reflected upon the chances of a war of conquest, but he was ready to [illegible] a war of conquest for he said and felt him to be the champion of labour thus asserted

might lead to a complete disintegration of human society. There is another word which expresses accurately the aspirations of the men of the Commune, and illustrates the object at which they were aiming. It is an English word, much coveted by French orators and writers — *self-government* — a word that exists not in their language, an institution which seems to be practically incompatible with the national character; the abortive attempts to establish which for the last eighty years have plunged France again and again into anarchy and distress.

The Commune, once born, proceeded without delay to divest itself, in a great measure, of all active initiative duties and powers, reserving only its superintendence over the measures taken by its committees and delegates. The power of originating measures seems at first to have been vested in an executive committee, upon which the most conspicuous names are Pyat and Delescluze. Over this body as well as over the generals of the army the Commune was supposed to exercise a control. But from the very first it became apparent how slight was the authority of the latter in matters executive. Constantly measures passed by the Commune remained altogether unexecuted. As an instance, the order prohibiting bakers from working at night was simply ignored and neglected by the bakers, as it had to be passed afresh, was very imperfectly obeyed, and has been since withdrawn. The Council itself, a scene of frequent tumult and disorder, made up its own mind with great difficulty. In successive divisions on the same subjects, which were often if not ordinarily taken, members would change sides as if under mere caprice, and vote without any consistency or apparent sense of responsibility. It was, in every sense of the word, 'a house divided against itself.' The more energetic members, urging matters on with reckless precipitation, disgusted and terrified their less violent colleagues. The consequence was the resignation and retirement of the latter in extraordinary numbers. By the time the war had fairly broken out no less than a fourth part of the deputies had withdrawn from the Commune, and before the supplemental elections could be held a full third of the Chamber had to be re-elected.

The divided councils of the Communal Assembly and its two committees, the Executive and the Central, must account for the delay—the fatal delay as it turned out—to march against Versailles. Had the Commune followed up its successes of the 18th by an immediate attack upon Versailles, it is extremely probable that the disorganised and disaffected regiments there would have been defeated or decoyed into the insurgents' ranks. There is abundant testimony that until near the end of March the soldiers in camp at Versailles were wholly untrustworthy, and were known by their officers to be so.

Exactly a fortnight after the affair of Montmartre, the commencement of actual war and the consequent interruption of communication committed definitely to the cause of the Commune those who had elected to be its partisans. Reviewing its forces after the unnecessarial sortie of the 3rd of April, the Commune could hardly congratulate itself upon the adoption of ultra measures and the result of their violent policy. They found themselves weakened at the end of these deputies and men of position who had once so loudly advocated their cause.[1] Their leaders were, as Thiers had called them, men

[1] Louis Blanc, *La Commune et Paris.*

either quite unknown or known only to bad fame. They stood alone in France, unsupported by a single city, even those most prone to revolution and most imbued with socialist ideas. Their army was plainly overmatched; their position clearly not tenable for long. The die was cast; the game was lost: it remained only to hold out as martyrs to the cause; to defend Paris, the sole enlightened spot on the whole earth, to the last ounce of powder and behind the last barricade; to give a pattern to the blind and thankless world, and carry out to the last their peculiar schemes of Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity.

To the Executive Committee, whose authority gradually and unaccountably waned, succeeded, as the most influential power in Paris, the 'Delegates,' appointed by the Commune. These citizens occupied the post and discharged, to all intents and purposes, the functions of ministers ordinarily so called; their authority, as limited by the mandate which appointed them, was exceedingly vague and indefinite. That it was capable of being stretched to a very wide extent is proved by the vast power usurped and long exercised by General Cluseret, the Delegate of War. That man seems to have had the power of a Dictator almost already within his grasp, when he was suddenly degraded, supplanted by the intrigues of his aide-de-camp and his chief General in a manner at present wholly incomprehensible. The treachery and ingratitude of Rossel are doubly conspicuous, from the consideration that after overreaching his patron he was found incapable to take his place, and almost on the morrow of his appointment threw up his cards and avowed himself unable to play out the game which he had refused to allow an abler man to finish. With Cluseret fell the hope or fear of a military dictatorship, and the possibility of united councils among the Executive Ministers of the Commune.

During the rule of Cluseret at the War Office an important decree had been passed by the Commune, professing to define, but in reality leaving more undefined than ever, the powers of the several Delegates. Thenceforth they were to be nine in number, and to exercise jurisdiction over the nine ministries or delegacies amongst whom the decree divided the whole executive functions of Government. To each ministry was appointed also a Committee, consisting of five members, the nature of whose relations with the Delegate was the subject of a fierce debate. The moderate party and those who saw no chance of making themselves dictators wished the Committee to be a check upon the Delegate; Cluseret and the extreme men were for setting up the authority of the Delegates above and out of reach of all interference from below them. The discussion, like many of those in the Commune, ended in no decision being arrived at: it was understood, of course, that the Commune should have a supervising and correcting power over all acts of each Delegate, but as the authority of the Commune was, at best, an unwieldy and slow-moving power, its supremacy did not imply any very serious check. The escape of Rossel while the Commune was actually voting his arrest is an illustration of this remark.

Immediately after the fall of Cluseret followed the appointment of the Committee of Public Safety, a power which it was expected, perhaps, owed much to the historic terror of the name, would overrule and supersede the authority both of Delegates and committees of all kinds. Instead of this, however, it sank into the same rank with its fellow committees, and fluttering forth now and then in proclama-

tions and decrees, relapsed always immediately into silence and insignificance. The old Central Committee, which had been rather under a cloud since Cluseret's assumption of power, started up into fresh life at his dismissal, and again began to meddle with military matters, and to worry the Delegate of War. As if committees could never be numerous enough, we had next on the scene the Committee of War, a lumbering and useless body, whose interference or unmanageable assistance was equally troublesome to the War Minister, and drove the impatient and inexperienced young successor to Cluseret to an angry resignation. While these rapid changes were being effected in the important bureau of the War Department, other Delegates were carrying on their duties, if not to the satisfaction of the public, at least without any very flagrant acts of folly or incompetency. It is too early at present to criticise the acts of internal administration which they carried out during their stay in office. When the history of the Communal Government of 1871 shall have been made more fully known to us, it will be curious to note how far they have succeeded in carrying into practice in the several departments of the State the theoretic principles of their philosophy.

Very interesting it would be, moreover, to compare the history of the modern Commune with that of its dreaded prototype in 1791. The similarities are many, and the former always took the latter as its pattern and ideal. The differences between the two, which are also great, are such as one might reasonably expect considering the advance in latter times of the Socialist ideas and of the positivism preached by Comte. As the causes of the first Communal Revolution were far stronger, so was its career far more vigorous and energetic. But more striking is more particular in the history of the Revolution, as in the history of the Prussian war, than the fact that no really great man has been floated to power by his exertions or his luck from amidst the confusion and disorder of these troubled times. There has been no Robespierre and no Marat in the Commune of 1871. In gazing on the dreary records of defeats, failures, and weaknesses, one is tempted to ask is the old race of French men come to an end for ever? Are the men of the great vigour and most dangerous qualities in France stark to the level of Gambetta and Cluseret, and is there no abler man than the poor vain Pyat and the blatherskite Delescluze to become the right-hand man of the Commune? The acts of crime, rash riot and wanton folly in which the modern Communards have indulged are more contemptible, less criminal and disgusting, than the excesses of 1791 and 1792. But even the Paris Government can only be compared by contrast with [illegible]

F. H. M.

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